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THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY:

A

COLLECTION

OF

SCARCE, CURIOUS, AND ENTERTAINING

PAMPHLETS AND TRACTS,

AS WELL IN MANUSCRIPT AS IN PRINT.

SELECTED FROM THE

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SECOND EARL OF OXFORD.

INTERSPERSED WITH

HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND CRITICAL ANNOTATIONS,

BY THE LATE

WILLIAM OLDYS, ESQ.

AND

SOME ADDITIONAL NOTES,

BY

THOMAS PARK, F. S. A.

VOL. IV.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR WHITE AND CO., AND JOHN MURRAY, FLEET-STREET; AND JOHN HARDING, ST. JAMES'S-STREET.

1809.

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OF THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

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Strangulat inclusus dolor, atque cor æstuat intùs. Ov. Trist. l. v.

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'*Die Lunæ*, 26° *Martii*, 1660.

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of Essex. All tending to the Securing and Fortifying of this Kingdom, both by Sea and Land, and now seasonably published for the Benefit of these Times.

'A Word spoken in Season is like Apples of Gold in Pictures of Silver.' Prov. xxv. 11.

Printed at London, 1642. 268

The Process and Pleadings in the Court of Spain, upon the Death of Anthony Ascham, Resident for the Parliament of England, and of John Baptista Riva, his Interpreter, who were killed by John Guillim, William Spark, Valentine Progers, Jo. Halsal, William Arnet, and Henry Progers: Who are all in close Prison in Madrid for the said Fact, except Henry Progers, who fled to the Venetian Ambassador's House, and so escaped. Sent from Madrid, from a Person of Quality, and made English. Printed at London, 1651. 280

Killing no Murder: briefly discoursed in thee Questions. By William Allen.

'And all the People of the Land rejoiced, and the City was quiet, after that they had slain Athaliah 'with the Sword.' 2 Chron. xxiii. 21.

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'Woe unto them that decree unrighteous Decrees, and that write Grievousness that they have pre- 'scribed: To turn aside the Needy from Judgment, and to take away the Right from the Poor of my 'People, that Widows may be their Prey, and that they may rob the Fatherless.' Isa. x. 1, 2.

'The Spoil of the Poor is in your Houses.' Isa. iii. 14.

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The Petition of the Ladies of London and Westminster, to the Honourable House, for Husbands. London, printed for Mary Want-man, the Fore-maid of the Petitioners; and sold by A. Roper in Fleet-street; 1693. 326

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'Die Septembris 27, 1652.

'Extracted out of the Original Papers, sent, from Captain Stoaks, to the honourable Council of State, 'on Sunday last, September the Twenty-sixth.'

Imprinted at London, 1652. 330

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'There is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed; neither hid, that shall not be knowen.' Luke xii. 2.

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Rome for Canterbury: Or, a true Relation of the Birth and Life of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. Together with the whole Manner of his Proceeding, both in the Star-chamber, High-commission Court, and in his own House; and some Observations of him in the Tower. Dedicated to all the Arminian

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Tribe, or Canterburian Faction, in the Year of Grace 1641. Whereunto is annexed a Postscript in Verse. Printed in the Year 1641. 377

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Quis leget hæc?——
Vel duo, vel nemo. PERSIUS.

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The Petition of the Widows, in and about London and Westminster, for a Redress of their Grievances. By the same Solicitor that drew up the Petition for the Ladies. London, printed for the Use of the Wide—o's, 1693. 400

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'There is no Power but from God.' Rom. xiii.

Printed at London, 1602. 423

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1 Cor. viii. 13.

Printed at London, 1655. 478

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The Irish Cabinet: Or, His Majesty's secret Papers, for Establishing the Papal Clergy in Ireland, with other Matters of high Concernment, taken in the Carriages of the Archbishop of Tuam, who was slain at the late Fight at Sleigo in that Kingdom. Together with two exact and full Relations of the several Victories obtained by the Parliament's Forces, through God's Blessing, in the same Kingdom.
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Printed at London, January 20, 1645. 494

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——— *Artis et Naturæ proles.*
London, printed in 1663. 515

The Bill of Attainder that passed against Thomas Earl of Strafford. Printed in 1641. 527

Strange Apparitions; or the Ghost of King James: With a late Conference between the Ghost of that good King, the Marquis of Hamilton's, and George Eglisham's, Doctor of Physick; unto which appeared the Ghost of the late Duke of Buckingham, concerning the Death and Poisoning of King James, and the rest. Printed at London, 1642. 528

A lamentable and piteous Treatise, verye necessarye for everie Christen Manne to reade: wherin is contayned, not onely the high Entreprise and Valeauntnes of th'Emperour Charles the V. and his Army (in his Voyage made to the Towne of Argier in Affrique, agaynst the Turckes, the Enemyes of the Christen Fayth, th'Inhabitoures of the same), but also the myserable Chaunces of Wynde and Wether; with dyverse other Adversites, hable to move even a stonye Hearte to bewayle the same, and to pray to God for his Ayde and Succoure. Whiche was written and sent unto the Lorde of Langest. Truly and dylygently translated out of Latyn into Frenche, and out of Frenche into English, 1542. *Ricardus Grafton excudebat, cum Privilegio ad imprimendum solum.* 532

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Leicester's Commonwealth fully epitomised: conceived, spoken, and published, with most earnest Protestation of all dutiful Good-will and Affection towards this Realm, for whose Good only it is made common to many. Contracted in a most brief, exact, and compendious Way; with the full Sense and whole Meaning of the former Book, every Fragment of Sense being interposed. With a pleasant Description of the first Original of the Controversies betwixt the two Houses of York and Lancaster. Printed in the Year 1641. 576

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A true Relation, from Germany, of a Protestant Shepherd's killing a counterfeit Devil, that would have perverted him to Popery; July the Twenty-ninth, N. S. 1676. Being a Contrivance of two Monks, that dressed themselves, one in the Likeness of an Angel, the other of a Devil; and so, in the Night, came to this poor Shepherd to affright and seduce him. With an Account of what passed between them; how the Shepherd killed him that acted the Devil, and buried him; and the Trouble he has been like to come into since, for the same.

'They compass Sea and Land to make one Proselyte;' &c.

Licensed, August the Seventh, 1676. Roger L'Estrange. Printed at London, 1676..... 590

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THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

The Unhappy Marksman: Or, a perfect and impartial Discovery of that late barbarous and unparalleled Murder committed by Mr. George Strangeways, formerly a Major in the King's Army, on his Brother-in-law, Mr. John Fussel, an Attorney, on Friday the Eleventh of February[1]. Together with a full Discovery of the fatal Cause of those unhappy Differences, which first occasioned the Suits in Law betwixt them. Also the Behaviour of Mr. Strangeways at his Tryal: the dreadful Sentence pronounced against him: his Letter to his Brother-in-law, a Member of Parliament: the Words delivered by him at his Death; and his stout, but Christian-like Manner of Dying. Published by a faithful Hand.

Strangulat inclusus dolor, atque cor æstuat intus. Ov. Trist. l. v.

London; printed by T. N. for R. Clavell, at the Stag's-Head in St. Paul's Church-yard, by St. Gregory's Church. 1659.[2]

[Quarto; containing Thirty-two Pages.]

SINCE the various relations of this sad and horrid act (even in the city where it was committed) are so many, that the illegitimate births of those corrupted parents must of necessity fill more distant places with so spurious an issue, that when it comes to be nursed with those usual adjuncts, which either envy, or love, will extort from most relators; it may possibly grow to so monstrous a form, that all the *vestigia* of verity must of necessity be lost in its variety of disguise. Wherefore it was thought fit by one that is not only a lover of truth, but an honourer of both the parties deceased, before a farther travel hath warmed her with impudence, to unveil report in so clear and impartial a discovery, as may neither deform the truth, nor disgust their relations.

[1] [1658.] [2] [See Oldys' Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 57.]

Mr. George Strangeways, commonly known in the country, where he chiefly resided, by the name of Major Strangeways, (an office which he had, with much honour and gallantry, performed in the unhappy war[3],) was second son to Mr. James Strangeways of Mussen, in the county of Dorset: a gentleman of an ancient and unblemished family, whose virtues this unhappy son of his, till sullied by this rash act of ungoverned fury, did rather seem to illustrate by a constant course of worthy and manly actions, than any ways to degenerate from the best achievements of his most successful predecessors. He was now about the five or six and fortieth year of his age: a person that had a brave and generous soul, included in a stout and active body. He was of stature tall, and framed to the most masculine proportion of man; his constitution, such as rather fitted him for the active employments of busy war, than the more quiet affairs of peace-affecting studies; yet was he not so much a stranger to those arts, which are the adorning qualifications of a gentleman, but that he had sacrificed to Minerva, whilst in the temple of Mars: and, in the most serious consultations, had always a judgment as dextrous to advise, as a heart daring to act. What he appeared most unskilled in, was love's polemicks; he having spun out the thread of his life, without twisting it in matrimony.

He was in some trivial actions, performed since the time of his imprisonment, condemned for a parsimonious sparing, too low for the quality of a gentleman; which if true, I much wonder that he whose former frugality was but the child of discretion, being now so near a *supersedeas* from all the afflicting wants, mortality trembles at; and having none of his relations, whose necessities craved a subsistence from what he left behind; should, near his death, save that with dishonour, which in his life he spent with reputation.

But to detain thee no longer with the character either of his person or qualities, which probably some of his many enemies may unjustly censure for partiality; I will hasten to as full a relation, both of the original ground of their unhappy difference, and the fatal conclusion of his implacable wrath, as it hath been possible by the most diligent inquisition to obtain, both from the nearest in acquaintance to both parties, and such ocular informations, as were observable in much of the time from his sentence to his execution.

The father of Mr. Strangeways, dying about some ten years since, left him in possession of the farm of Mussen, leaving his eldest daughter, Mrs. Mabel Strangeways, (since wife to Mr. Fussel,) his executrix.

The estate being thus left, Mrs. Mabel, being then an ancient maid, rents the farm of her brother George, and stocks it at her own cost: towards the procuring of which stock, she engaged herself, in a bond of three-hundred and fifty pounds, to her brother George; who presuming on her continuance of a single life, and, by consequence, that her personal estate might, in time, return to her then nearest relations (of which himself had a just reason to expect, if not the whole, the greatest share), he not only entrusted her with the forementioned bond, but likewise with that part of the stock, and such utensils of the house, as by his father's will properly belonged to himself; which, he presumed, she could better secure, passing under the notion of her's, than he, whose whole estate was liable to the dangerous hazard of sequestration[4]; a disaster so epidemical, as many thousands, besides himself, by sad experience know; that honesty, the common preservative against other calamities, was the principal means that made them obnoxious to this.

His estate being, as he then conceived, thus in a fair probability of preservation from those vultures of a commonwealth, sequestrators, by the calm neutrality of a discreet sister; they, for some time, lived very happily together, he making the farm of Mussen the common place of his residence. But, on a sudden, the scene alters, and she, whom he thought, age and a long-continued single life had imprisoned too fast in her virgin ice, ever to be thawed with the thoughts of a matrimonial life, began to express some resentments of affection towards Mr. Fussel; a gentleman of good esteem in the country where he lived, and of much repute for his eminent abilities in matters of law. He had formerly bore arms under the same royal standard which Major Strangeways did; in which trou-

[3] Between the King and Parliament, in 1642. [4] By the Parliament-forces.

blesome time of action, he always proved himself a very useful member of that unfortunate army, serving them faithfully, till their sad declination, with many other noble sufferers, forced him a long time to mourn both his and their calamities, in an uncouth jail. His ordinary place of residence was now in Blandford, an eminent town in Dorsetshire; in and about which place, though some, that feared his vigorous proceedings in the law, may seem glad to have their weakness protected by the absence of so able a prosecutor, the major part, especially such as had the happiness to experiment his honesty and ability in solliciting their causes, will with a far greater weight both of reason and religion, have a just cause to repent so considerable a loss.

But not to dismantle too many of those unhappy differences which were the prodigious monsters that first hatched this horrid murder, it looking too much like a crime, to pollute the ashes of the dead, with the sins of the living, wishing all the enmity, that like Hydra's fruitful heads may spring up between the friends of both the deceased parties, were sepulchered in their grave; we will only insist upon what appears to be the first and most fatal argument of their quarrel. Mrs. Mable Strangeways, now no longer disguising her affections to Mr. Fussel (being then a widower), lets her resolutions discover themselves in so public a way, that it soon arrives to the ear of her discontented brother, who, though not apparently for any former hate between them, yet (as is most likely) doubting those abilities of Mr. Fussel, which, since in relation to the law, he with many others were pleased by an easy metaphor to term subtlety, might, if not prejudice him in part of his own estate, yet wholly deprive him of that part of his sister's, which before hope, grounded on fair probabilities, told him he was of all men most likely to enjoy.

To prevent this approaching storm, he lets his sister know his disgust of her intended marriage; and being further exasperated by her unmoveable constancy, (as it is affirmed by the friends of Mr. Fussel,) broke out into such exuberant expressions of passion, that to her terror he affirms, "if ever she married Mr. Fussel, to be the death of him, either in his study or elsewhere;" which bloody resolution, since the time wherein those black thoughts disveloped themselves by action, she hath under her hand confirmed, as is reported by the relations to Mr. Fussel, by several letters; but such, as since they contain little, besides this asseveration, concerning our present purpose, I shall omit the inserting of them; presuming, all wives, especially good ones, need not a pattern by which to be taught to mourn such losses as these.

To trouble thee no further with a digression; whilst this paroxysm of his passion continues in such a dreadful vigour, he and his sister are parted; at which time (as she pretends) he unjustly detained much of the stock belonging to the farm, which either by her father's will, or her own purchase, was properly her's: withal she denies any such thing as the sealing the forementioned bond, pretending it only a forgery of her brother's.

On the other side, he complains of injuries done to him, of no less extent than the endeavouring to defraud him of a part of his estate, besides the money due by bond.

These were the differences, which first fomented a rage not to be quenched, but by blood; over which part unspotted justice spread her wings. Who groaned under the burthen of afflicting wrongs, or who had the greater unhappiness to be the oppressor of the innocent, (since the law hath left it undetermined,) I think it not only an audacious presumption, but savouring very much of partiality, and a soul biassed by a self-interested affection, than of an even and equal-tempered friend; in whoever should so peremptorily affirm the justice of one cause, as to brand the other with an ignominious scandal of forgeries and oppression. Their bodies are both at rest in their silent dormitories; their souls, no doubt, triumphing in eternal joys; and shall we, whose uncertainty of life, and certainty of sin and its consequence, death (which, we know not in what shape, the eternal Disposer of the universe will send to assault us), with uncertain censures sully their memories, the only, and that doubtful remainder, of swiftly-fading mortality? No; let their fames rest as peaceable, as we know their bodies, and hope their souls do. If thou hast been a friend to either; be not so much an enemy to thyself, as to abuse the other; but let thy resentments of love, or sorrow, rather disvelope themselves in a sober and silent pity, than loud

and clamorous censures; that being the dress, in which, I can assure thee, it will appear most lovely to the view of those, which having to neither party any more of concern, than what pity extracted from the goodness of their natures, look upon the action with a general sorrow; upon the parties deceased, with a charitable remorse; and upon their surviving friends, with the wishes of a hearty reconciliation.

And here (though I would not have it look like flattery) he being a person I have little acquaintance with, and one that, probably, may never know me, as author of these papers; I cannot choose but commend the calm and equal temper of Mr. John Fussel, eldest son to the gentleman that was slain; whom, as well by the public report, as by my own private experience (I having been since some time in his company) I find to behave himself with that comely discretion, that though he did violently prosecute him, as his father's murderer, he hath not been, at any time, heard to let fall any undecent language concerning his uncle Strangeways; but such as appears to express more sorrow for the offence, than envy to the man: a temper which, by preserving, will gain him, whilst living, the love of all, whom the common invitation of a general pity, or the nearer call of relative respects, summons, as mourners for either of the lamented dead.

I have now done with the introduction to this tragic and dismal story, having unravelled almost as many of those almost occult causes, by which being first propagated, it since hath been made horridly public, as civility or necessity in enucleating the truth requires. For he that would see more, it is his best course to confer with their council, and look over the large impertinencies of litigious courts, than to expect them in this piece, whose small bulk, by as much of their sense, as, in an ordinary dialect, might be expressed in two lines, when stuffed with their fucagoes of tautologies, would be swelled beyond its intended growth: wherefore, to leave that to those it more concerns, I shall hasten to reveal how he carried on the design, since any discovery on his confession argues, he intended to murder him. Mr. Fussel, both for the better prosecuting his own suits against his brother Strangeways, as likewise for the following of several causes for many others, (he being a man of very great employment,) being in this city on Hilary-term last, had his lodging one story high, at the sign of the George and Half-moon, three doors farther, without the Bar, than the Palsgrave's-head tavern, opposite to a pewterer's shop. He being retired to his lodgings between nine and ten, not having been in it above a quarter of an hour before the fact was done, he sitting writing at his desk, with his face towards the window, (the curtain belonging to it being so near drawn, that there was only left room enough to discern him,) two bullets, shot from a carbine, struck him; the one through the forehead, and the other in about his mouth; the third bullet or slug stuck in the lower part of the timber of the window; the passage, where the other two came in, (since in the corner of the window) being so narrow, that little more than an inch over, or under, had saved his life, by obstructing their passage; but,

Nemo tam dives habuit faventes,
Crastinum ut possit sibi polliceri. SEN. in Hippol.

His appointed time was come; and those eternal decrees, by which all men are ordained once to die, had stinted the farther progress of his life to this fatal minute. In that punctilio of time, wherein the bullets struck him, (ere giving warning by a dying groan, or being tortured by those almost inseparable concomitants of death, convulsive motions,) he is in an instant disanimated, the swiftness of the action not giving warning to his clerk, though then in the room, to assist his murdered master; till, perceiving him lean his head on the desk, and knowing him not apt to fall asleep as he wrote, conceiving that some more than ordinary distemper was the cause of it, he draws near to assist him: but, being suddenly terrified with the unexpected sight of blood, such an amazing horror seizes him, that for the present, he is in a dreadful ecstasy, lost to action. But speedily recollecting himself, he, with an hasty summons, calls up some of the household; by whose assistance he discovers what sad disaster had bereaved him of his master. They speedily make down into the street, but found there nothing that might light them with the least beam

of information; all, as if directed by those evil angels that favour such black designs, appearing (as they conceived) more silent and still than is usual in this populous city at that time of night. Officers are raised, and Mr. Fussel's son acquainted with the sad news; who, ere he could spare time to mourn his father's unexpected death, must, with more active passion (as near as those dark suspicions, which only directed them, could give leave) prosecute his revenge. Several places are troubled with a fruitless search; the first, that was apprehended, being a barber, whose lodging being in the same house with Mr. Fussel's, and he that night absent, gave them very pregnant causes of suspicion, all being aggravated by the wild humour of his wife, and she exasperated by the extravagancy of her husband, as if she had done it purposely to foment their suspicion. Besides, that constant torrent of her passion, which ran with the usual current of ordinary scolds, had some collateral streams of expressions; so that, had not the sudden Providence of the Almighty Protector of innocence (by as much of miracle, as this latter age hath heard of,) discovered the author of the murder, it had, without doubt, wafted her husband to a gibbet. But, presuming that for what she did then, in the hot intemperance of a jealous rage, she hath long since made a calm recantation, I will here give no farther occasion of continuing a difference betwixt them, but go on in the prosecution of my story, which proceeded thus.

Having yet apprehended none, that they had, on former differences, any important reasons to suspect, young Mr. Fussel, calling to mind these irreconcileable quarrels, which had of long time been between his father and his uncle Strangeways; and knowing him to be a man, whose impetuous rage had formerly been so often allayed in blood, that though the then motive to it, being a legitimate war, made the action not only honest, but honourable, yet, being so well versed in that killing-trade, he might still retain enough of the sharp humour to sharpen his anger into so vindictive a guilt, that he might be prompted to act what weaker spirits would tremble to think.

Upon which considerations, he propounds to the officers the apprehending of him; which motion, finding a general approbation, is suddenly prosecuted, and he apprehended between two and three in the morning, being then in bed at his lodging in the Strand, over-against Ivy-bridge, at one Mr. Pim's, a taylor; a door on this side the Black-Bull. He, being now in the officers' custody, is had before Justice Blake, by whom, (although with an undaunted confidence denying the act) he is committed to Newgate; where remaining till the next morning, he is then, by a guard, conveyed to the place where Mr. Fussel's body lay, where, before the coroner's jury, he is commanded to take his dead brother-in-law by the hand, and to touch his wounds; a way of discovery, which the defenders of sympathy highly applaud (on what grounds, here is no place to dispute). But here the magnetism fails; and those effluviums, which, according to their opinion, being part of the *anima media*, tenaciously adhere to the body, till separated by its corruption; being the same that, by united atoms becoming visible, compose those spectrums, that wander about the cœnotaphs and dormitories of the dead; and do, when hurried from the actions of vitality by a violent death, as endeavouring to revenge its wrongs, fly in the face of the murderer; and though in such minute parts as are too subtile for the observations of sense, keep still hovering about him; and, when he is brought to touch the murdered body, which was its former habitation, by the motion of sympathy, calls from those sally-ports of life some of those parts of her life, which yet remain within it; who, that they may flow forth to meet it, are conveyed in the *vehiculum* of the blood. They illustrate this by dogs, and other animals, which, with a violent impetuosity, assail those, that make a custom of murdering things of the same species.

There having been nothing discoverable by this experiment, he is returned back to the prison, and the jury, though but with little hopes of satisfaction, continue their inquest; when now, to the amazing wonder of future ages, and the further confirmation of those continued miracles, by which the all-discerning power of the eternal and ever-living God pleases often to manifest itself in the discovery of black and secret murders, which though acted in the silent region of the night, and plotted with all the deep obscurity that hell

and the black spirits of eternal darkness can lend to the assistance of such dismal and horrid designs, yet are disveloped by ways so unthought of, even by those which torture their wits for discovery, that man, though adorned with all the knowledge, the world's first transgressors ravished from the forbidden tree, instead of an angel-illuminated paradise, finds his fancy clouded in a chaos of confusion, black and obscure as that, which, ere penetrated by Heaven's segregating breath, spreads its gloomy curtains over the first unformed matter.

Several questions are propounded amongst all, by the foreman of the jury; one of which, though not to the disparagement of the gentleman, succeeding ages will count more fortunate than wise; it was this,—That all the gunsmiths' shops in London, and the adjacent places, should be examined what guns they had either sold or lent that day. This being a question, in the apprehension of most of the jury, so near approaching to an impossibility, as not, without much difficulty, to be done; one Mr. Holloway, a gunsmith living in the Strand, then one of the jury, makes answer, It was a task, in his opinion, who knew how numerous men of that profession were, in and about the city, not to be done; withal replying, that, for his own part, he lent one, and made no question but several others had done the like. This answer of his being, by the apprehensive foreman, speedily took notice of; he is demanded, for the satisfaction of the rest of the jury, to declare to whom he lent the gun: he, after some small recollection, answers, To one Mr. Thomson, living in Long-Acre, formerly a major in the King's army, and now married to a daughter of Sir James Aston. Upon this, a speedy search is made after Major Thomson, who being abroad, as some say fled, though most moderate men conceive, about his ordinary occasions, it being unlikely any man would discover a guilt by flight, which, if culpable of, though, by all charitable people, the contrary is generally hoped, he might rationally expect more security in a confident stay, than in a betraying absence; besides, being of no former acquaintance with Mr. Fussel, there was no probable cause to render him suspected.

But, with our charitable prayers for his freedom, referring our censures, either of his innocence or guilt, to his further trial at the next sessions, we will return to our relation.

Major Thomson not being found, his wife is taken in hold; who, though clearing herself from the knowledge of any such thing as borrowing of the gun, yet is continued a prisoner, till her husband shall be produced; who being then about some urgent occasions in the country, on the first news of her confinement, suddenly hastens to London, where, being examined before a justice of peace, he confesses he borrowed a carbine that day of Mr. Holloway, and that he borrowed it at the desire of Mr. George Strangeways, who acquainted him with no farther use he intended to make of it, than for the killing of a deer; for which use, he charged it with a lease of bullets, and, as some say, a slug, which I believe not; there being but two orifices, where they entered his head, and one bullet sticking in the window.

If any object, two bullets may enter at one orifice, though it be something unlikely, we will not stand to dispute it; the number not being so uncertain, as their fatal errand was certainly performed.

Being thus charged and primed, between the hours of seven and eight at night, he meets Mr. Strangeways in St. Clement's church-yard, to whom he delivers the gun. Where he spent that interval of time, between the reception of it, and the execution of the murder, is uncertain; he having left, in that kind, no satisfying relation: it is most like, traversing the streets near the place, that so he might take advantage of the fairest opportunity, which now unluckily offers itself.

Mr. Fussel, in the manner as is declared before, was retired into his chamber; he, that shot the gun, as some report, stood on a bulk belonging to a pewterer, living over-right Mr. Fussel's lodging; but it is something unlikely, the bulk being of such a shelving form, as not to admit a firm standing-place, unless he stood on that end of it next to Temple-bar, which, if so, the situation of the window would have forced him to shoot much sloping; wherefore, I rather conceive, (which hath been to some confirmed by

Major Strangeways' own confession,) that he, which shot, stood on the ground; which hath the most probable appearance of truth, the window not being so high, as to impede his aim, nor the distance so great, for the shot to lose its force, though the carlip is but short, wanting some inches of a yard in the barrel; as is affirmed by young Mr. Fussel, in whose hands it now is.

To give you a certain relation who fired the gun, is that which I believe no man living can do, (except there be, which I hope not, some such unhappy person yet alive,) Mr. Strangeways carrying that great secret with him to his grave, denying to reveal it at the sessions here, as reserving it for the general assize hereafter; but, joining with the common opinion of most men, I think it to be himself, knowing him to be a person that through the whole course of his life, in those actions that deserved the name of discreet, shewed too great a want of that in this, where a wicked subtlety was as requisite, as ever, in his former actions, a noble policy had been, to commit his life, which lay exposed to the danger of every engager's discovery, into the hands of many, in the performing an act which might, with more facility, be done by one. When he had fired it, the streets were so empty, that he passed unnoted by any. Between the hours of ten and eleven, he brought back the gun to Major Thomson's house, where leaving it, he retires to his lodging, where, in his absence, he had left one to personate him: that piece of policy being thus performed, he comes, according to his usual custom, into his lodging, about seven in the evening, and, going up into his chamber, made some small stay there; from whence, taking the advantage of a time, in which he found the employments of the household such as not to have the leisure to take much notice of his actions, he secretly conveys himself down the stairs, and having a private way of opening the door, conveys himself out, and his disguised friend in; who, by those of the family, being oft heard walking about the chamber, occasions that mistaken deposition of theirs, concerning his being in the house.

Having now concluded that act of darkness he went about, he is once more returned to his lodging, and secretly discharges his disguised friend: hastening to bed, he lay there, though, in all probability, with no very quiet night's rest, till three in the morning; at which time the officers, sent to apprehend him, enter the house, and hastening to his chamber, make known their dreadful errand; an act enough to have frightened a timorous soul to a present confession; but he, with a resolved constancy, slights those terrors of the law, and without any such reluctancy, as argued the least depression of spirit, goes with them before Justice Blake, by whom, though carefully examined, there was nothing discoverable that could render him any ways suspected, more than the former enmity betwixt them; however, he is on suspicion committed to Newgate, where, remaining with a countenance that appeared no ways clouded with guilt, he continued constant in the denial of the fact. In the interval between the time he was first committed, and his confession, he fell violently ill of a sharp and dangerous pleurisy; in which acute distemper, though summoned by the approaches of death, he continued in a resolute denial of the fact; but God, whose judgments here in this appeared but the road to his mercies hereafter, freed him from that less ignominious death, that dying, by the formalities of law, the burthening of his body might in confession disburthen his soul. This was the time, in which some of the church of Rome, and those of the more learned sort of the clergy, gave him frequent visits, and (as they have caused it to be reported) converted him to their church: what of truth there is in this, with what the opinion generally received is, you shall hear toward the conclusion of our story.

On the Monday following, the time of his being apprehended, being the one-and-twentieth of February, Major Thomson, to hasten the enlargement of his imprisoned wife, being returned to London, makes a full discovery before an officer, on what occasion he borrowed the gun, and in what manner, and at what time he delivered it to Mr. Strangeways in St. Clement's church-yard; who, on this happy discovery, is brought before Justice La Wright, he that took the examination of Mr. Thomson. Here it being demanded of him, on what occasion he caused the gun to be borrowed, and brought to him charged at that time of the night; with such other questions as most immediately concerned the

business in hand; and withal seeing Major Thomson there, whose discovery he had so little cause to doubt; that now seeing it performed, and not being able to apprehend the manner how, he (in an amazed terror, after some minutes of a deep and considerate silence) in a most pathetical manner, acknowledging the immediate hand of God to be in this wonderful detection, no longer veils his guilt with confident denials, but in an humble and submissive lowliness of spirit, such as rather strove with the tears of a penitential Magdalen, to expunge the rubric characters of his guilt, than with the brazen impudence of a despairing Cain, by a sullen and surly denial, to fly the mercies of that God, whose vengeance will pursue him. He hath now confessed the fact, he stands now a contrite penitent, with the excellent Seneca, acknowledging that

Maxima peccantium pœna est peccâsse. Epist. 97.

Yet, though a convicted murderer, he is the compassionated object of all the beholders, whose heads he now makes fountains of tears, by having so lately made his brother's a fountain of blood.

This doleful scene, with the pity of most, but the wonder of all, being thus passed over, he is now returned again (a much lamented prisoner) to Newgate, from whence, February the four-and-twentieth, he was brought to his trial at the Sessions-house, in the Old-Bailey, where appearing with a countenance that carried in it a mixture of courage and contrition; being such as rather seemed dejected for offending the law of God, than any ways terrified for any torments that could be inflicted upon him by the laws of man. Being demanded to plead, he answers, "That, if it might, on his being tried, be admitted him to die by that manner of death by which his brother fell, he would plead; if not, by refusing to plead, he would both preserve an estate to bestow on such friends for whom he had most affection, and withal free himself from the ignominious death of a public gibbet."

Many arguments, and those urgent and pressing, were used by the Lord Chief-Justice Glyn, and the rest of the bench, to induce him to plead, as laying before him the sin he committed, in refusing to submit to the ordinary course of law, the terror of the death his obstinate silence would force them to inflict upon him.

These, with many other motives, were used, but all invalid; he remains impenetrable, refusing either to plead, or to discover who it was that fired the gun; only affirms, (which he continued till his death,) "That, whoever fired it, it was done by his directions, but with no intent to be the death of his brother-in-law; but only, as he was pleased to say, to let him know, that a life, made odious by so many pressing acts of injustice as he had received from him, though, by their politic contrivance, defended from any punishment the law could inflict, yet was not safe, where the person offended hath spirit enough to revenge an injury."

This not to be justified resolution, cherished a long time by his hot and haughty spirit, had often, on the sight of Mr. Fussel, raised in him impetuous storms of rage; such that often broke out into that intemperance, as, both by word and letter, he several times challenges him; and, in consideration of his being something more impaired by age than himself, offers him what odds, in length of weapon, he could with reason and honour demand. This encountering nought but a silent and slighting repulse, he, one day, meeting him in Westminster-hall, accosts him with this compliment:

"Brother Fussel, it argues not discretion in us of either side, we being both Cavaliers, to submit our causes to this present course of law, where the most of our judges are such as formerly were our enemies; Calais-sands were a fitter place for our dispute, than Westminster-hall."

These affronts finding a man too subtle to seek any other revenge, than what lay safe under the sure guard of the law; he rather seeks from thence to do him a certain mischief, than, by the uncertain managing of a duel, to run the hazard of being mischieved himself; so that he not only refused that way of deciding the quarrel, but indicts his brother

Strangeways as a challenger; which, adding more fuel to his former conceived rage, puts him upon this dangerous way of satisfying his vindictive passion. And though he, by a constant asseveration, affirms, that the firing of the gun was only intended to terrify him; he affirming, that had not the hand of him who fired it fell lower than was intended, it had been impossible for the bullets to have so unhappily hit the mark; yet, its being charged with three bullets, whereas small shot, if only intended to affright, would have been a more certain terror, with less hazard of danger, is an argument so prevalent with most men, that the action carries no fairer a face, than a horrid and wilful murder.

But, not to ingulf too far in censuring the act, we hasten to declare, as far as concerns our business in hand, the demeanour of the actor, who, persisting in his first resolution not to plead, hears from the offended Court this dreadful sentence:

'That the prisoner at the bar be sent to the place from whence he came; and that he be put into a mean house, stopped from any light; and that he be laid upon his back, with his body bare, saving something to cover his privy parts: that his arms shall be stretched forth with a cord, the one to the one side of the prison, the other to the other side of the prison; and in like manner shall his legs be used: and that upon his body shall be laid as much iron and stone as he can bear, and more: and the first day shall he have three morsels of barley-bread, and the next day shall he drink thrice of the water in the next channel to the prison-door, but no spring or fountain water: and this shall be his punishment till he die.'

The thunderbolt of judgment, levelled at his life, he yet, with a passive valour (high as ever was his active), with a constancy, which might cast a blush on the ghost of an ancient Roman hearse, but continues his resolution; and, being returned to the prison, from thence writes this sad letter to his brother-in-law, Major Dewie, a member of parliament, and a gentleman that had married another of his sisters.

'Dear Brother,

'I HOPE these lines, and pressing death, will so far expiate my crime, as to procure 'your and my other friends' forgiveness, for my conscience bears me witness, I was pro- 'voked by many of my brother-in-law's insufferable wrongs. After divers parlies, finding 'his inveterate spleen so implacable, as to indict and inform against me at the open bench, 'my flesh and blood held no longer patience, but sought to usurp the revengeful attribute 'which God appropriates to himself, when he would not answer me in single combate, 'though I offered him advantage in the length of weapon; yet this I will assure you, that 'I did not intend his death, but, by the discharging of a warning-piece, to have only ter- 'rified his heart from practising litigious suits, and thereby to let him know, that he was 'at another man's mercy, if he contemned the same.

'In a word, each man oweth a death, I two, by this untimely fact: the one to my 'Maker, the other to the law; which invokes to pay the one the more willingly, being 'confident that the other is cancelled, by the all-seeing eye of Divine mercy and justice: 'these, in short, are the last words of

'From the Press-yard in Newgate, 'Your dying Brother,
'February 13, 1658. 'GEORGE STRANGEWAYS.'

This being one of the last scenes he was to act on the stage of mortality, he now retires, by divine contemplation, to dress his soul in those robes of repentance, wherewith she was suddenly to meet her celestial Bridegroom; in which pious action he hath the frequent assistance of divines, some of excellent abilities, as Dr. Wilde and Dr. Warmsley; there was also with him Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Watson, and Mr. Norton, to all of which, by a repentant acknowledgment of the foulness of his crime, by a detestation of all those thoughts that had formerly fomented his malice, and by a solemn and serious invocation of his Redeemer, for the increasing of those rays of mercy, which (even in that dark and dismal

agony the apprehension or guilt might have plunged her into) he yet found irradiated the darkest apprehensions of a soul clouded with sin and sorrow.

To some, whose zeal (if meriting the name) was more in that act than their discretion, when, with the harsh and unseasonable rigid means of the law, they appeared rather as if they came to fright his soul into a distracting despair, than to fortify her with comforts fit to undergo so sad a conflict, he desired them to proceed no further in so unseasonable a discourse; with an exalted height of Christian confidence affirming, that through the powerful operation of mercy, whose restoratives he felt even in the grasp of death, he doubted not but his scarlet sins were washed white as wool; and that (through the red sea of his brother's blood) he should safely arrive at the celestial Canaan. Thus spending that narrow stock of time, allowed him for the levelling his accounts with Heaven, as if his soul, which before travelled with a snail-like slowness towards her celestial home, were now in her full career, the fatal day arrives. On Monday the last of January, about eleven of the clock in the morning, the sheriffs of London, accompanied with divers officers, came to the Press-yard, where, after a short time of stay, Major Strangeways was guarded down. He was clothed all in white; waistcoat, stockings, drawers, and cap, over which was cast a long mourning cloke; a dress that handsomely emblemed the condition he was then in, who though his soul wore a sable robe of mourning for her former sins, it was now become her upper garment, and, in some few minutes, being cast off, would discover the immaculate dress of mercy which was under it.

From hence is he guarded to the dungeon, the sad and dismal place of execution, being accompanied by some few of his friends, amongst which was the Reverend Dr. Warmsley, whose pious care intended now to be near as inseparable to him as life itself; having asked the executioner for a place to kneel in, and being answered, that there was none of more conveniency than the bottom of the dungeon; "Well, (said he,) this place must then serve him, who is forced immaturely to fall, for there can be no greater vanity in the world, than to esteem the world, which regardeth no man, and to make slight account of God, who greatly respecteth all men; for only, Gentlemen, let me tell you, had I served my God as faithfully as I served my lord and master my King, I had never come to this untimely end; but, blessed be God for all, I shall willingly submit, and earnestly implore your prayers for the carrying me through this great work." Then, turning to Dr. Warmsley, he said, "Will you be pleased to assist me with your prayers?"---*Doctor.* "Yes, Major, I come to officiate that Christian work; and the Lord strengthen your faith, and give you confidence and assurance in the merits of Jesus Christ!"

After they had spent some short time in prayer, Dr. Warmsley, taking him aside, had with him some small time of private conference, concerning the clear demonstration of the faith he died in, and about receiving the sacrament: they appeared something to differ in opinion, which renders the world much unsatisfied, as, in point of religion, whether he died a Protestant or not; those of the church of Rome affirming, that whilst he lay sick of his pleurisy, he was visited by several Catholicks that are in orders, some of whose names I have heard, and that they proved so prevalent with him, that they had wrought him to an absolute conversion, and that they were confident, though he had not long lived so, in that faith he died. Whether this be true, I leave every judicious reader to judge, by the succeeding circumstance, when he had left off his conference with Dr. Warmsley, in which he desired him not to press at that unseasonable time matters of controversy, it being a matter full of danger, to disturb that calm the soul ought to wear when she comes to encounter death. And then, applying himself to the company in general, with a voice something more elevated than ordinary, he speaks these words:

"For my religion, I thank my God, I never had thought in my heart to doubt it; I die in the Christian religion, (but never mentioned the Protestant,) and am assured of my interest in Christ Jesus, by whose merits I question not but my soul shall, ere long, triumph over these present afflictions in eternity of glory; being reconciled to the mercies of my God, through my Saviour Jesus Christ; into whose bosom I hope to be

gathered, there to enjoy that eternal, infinite, and boundless happiness, wherewith he rewards all the elect: so the Lord bless you all, bless you in this world, till he brings you to a world ever blessed; and bless me in this last and dreadful trial: so let us all pray; Jesus, Jesus, have mercy on me!"

Having said this, he takes his solemn and last leave of all his lamenting friends; and now prepares for that dreadful assault of death he was speedily to encounter; his friends placed themselves at the corners of the press, whom he desired, when he gave the words, to lay on the weights. His hands and legs are extended, in which action he cries out, "Thus were the sacred limbs of my ever-blessed Saviour stretched forth on the cross, when suffering to free the sin-polluted world from an eternal curse." Then crying forth with a clear and sprightful voice, "Lord Jesus, receive my soul!" which was the promised signal, those sad assistants performed their dreadful task; and laid on at first weight, which, finding too light for a sudden execution, many of those standing by, added their burthens to disburthen him of his pain; which, notwithstanding, for the time of his continuance, as it was to him a dreadful sufferance, so was it to them a horrid spectacle; his dying groans filling the uncouth dungeon with the voice of terror. But this dismal scene soon finds a quiet catastrophe; for in the space of eight or ten minutes at the most, his unfettered soul left her tortured mansion, and he, from that violent paroxysm, falls into the quiet sleep of death.

His body having laid some time in the press, he was brought forth, in which action, ere coffined, it was so much exposed to public view, that many standers-by beheld the bruise made by the press, whose triangular form, being placed with the acute angle about the region of the heart, did soon deprive that fountain of life of its necessary motion, though he was prohibited that usual favour in that kind, to have a sharp piece of timber laid under his back, to accelerate its penetration. The body appeared void of all scars, and not deformed with blood, but where the eminencies of the press touched on the middle parts of his breast, and upper of his belly; his face was bloody, but, as it appeared to the most inquisitive spectators, not from any external injury, but the violent forcing of the blood from the larger vessels into the veins of the nose and eyes, whose smaller branches, forced open by so sudden a compression, as if they mourned in the colour of his crime, had their last tears composed of blood. And now committed to that sable cabinet, his coffin, he is, in a cart, that attended at the prison-door, conveyed to Christ-church, where his ashes shall sleep, till time herself be dissolved to eternity: and, as it is our Christian duty to hope, hath made good, in every part, this excellent saying of an ancient philosophical poet:

Cedit item retro, de terrâ quod fuit ante,
In terram, et quod missum est ex ætheris oris
In rursum cœli fulgentia templa receptant. Lucretius, lib. iv.

THUS did they leave the busy world; the one
So swiftly from all mortal trouble gone;
As if his soul practis'd at first to fly
With the light motions of eternity;
Gone with such silence, as his hasty breath
By a few groans disdain'd to parl with death:
Which fatal swiftness did the other lead,
A sad slow road to th' grave; his soul to read
Repentant lectures, being taught before;
It in a storm of tortures did pass o'er
The rubric sea of life, whose high-swoln flood,
Passions, hot dictates, doubly dy'd in blood.
When scarce this nation e'er saw son of her's,
That wrote revenge in such red characters.

Can she but mourn, her offspring should inherit,
With English valour, an Italian spirit?
Such as is, by a hot intemp'rate rage,
Become the shame and wonder of the age.
No, let her mourn; the sad expression runs
In the same strain with what her true-born sons
Disrobe their thoughts in; but methinks I hear
A sort whose separation would appear,
As if refin'd with purer flames of zeal,
Than other Christians are; by no appeal
Made to the throne of mercy to be won,
From harshly censuring: but such acts being done
By men, whose different judgments not embrace
Their tenets in the whole, defects of grace,
Not human lapses. But take heed thy proud
And pharisaic heart speak not too loud,
Where Heaven commands a silence: since none knows
To what mysterious destiny he owes
A debt to nature, in whose gloomy cell
Life's fairest transcripts have too often fell
By sad untimely deaths. Then, with the free
And Christian candour of white charity,
Forbear to cast thy sable censure on
This sanguine guilt; and, since that both are gone
Beyond the verge of mortal knowledge, let
Not thy harsh censure aggravate the debt,
Which (if they nature's common laws obey)
Just sorrow teaches all their friends to pay.

A brief Relation of certain special and most material Passages and Speeches in the Star-chamber; occasioned and delivered, June the Fourteenth, 1637, at the Censure of those three worthy Gentlemen, Dr. Bastwicke, Mr. Burton, and Mr. Prynne; as it hath been truly and faithfully gathered from their own Mouths, by One present at the said Censure.

Printed in the Year 1638.[1]

[Quarto; containing Twenty-eight Pages.]

BETWEEN eight and nine o'clock in the morning, the fourteenth of June, the Lords being set in their places in the said court of Star-chamber, and casting their eyes upon the prisoners, then at the bar, Sir John Finch, Chief-justice of the Common-Pleas, began to speak after this manner:

[1] [See Oldys' Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 52.]

"I had thought Mr. Prynne had had no ears, but methinks he hath ears;" which caused many of the Lords to take the stricter view of him: and, for their better satisfaction, the usher of the court was commanded to turn up his hair and shew his ears; upon the sight whereof the Lords were displeased they had been formerly no more cut off, and cast out some disgraceful words of him.

To which Mr. Prynne replied, "My Lords, there is never a one of your Honours, but would be sorry to have your ears as mine are."

The Lord-Keeper replied again, "In good faith he is somewhat saucy."

"I hope (said Mr. Prynne) your Honours will not be offended; I pray God give you ears to hear."

"The business of the day (said the Lord-Keeper) is to proceed on the prisoners at the bar."

Mr. Prynne then humbly desired the Court to give him leave to make a motion or two; which being granted, he moves,

"First, That their Honours would be pleased to accept of a cross-bill against the Prelates, signed with their own hands, being that which stands with the justice of the Court, which he humbly craved;" and so tendered it.

Lord-Keeper. "As for your cross-bill, it is not the business of the day; hereafter, if the Court should see just cause, and that it savours not of libelling, we may accept of it; for my part I have not seen it, but have heard somewhat of it."

Mr. Prynne. "I hope your Honours will not refuse it, being it is on his Majesty's behalf; we are his Majesty's subjects, and therefore require the justice of the Court."

Lord-Keeper. "But this is not the business of the day."

Mr. Prynne. "Why then, my Lords, I have a second motion, which I humbly pray your Honours to grant, which is, That your Lordships will be pleased to dismiss the Prelates, here now sitting, from having any voice in the censure of this cause, being generally known to be adversaries, as being no way agreeable with equity or reason, that they, who are our adversaries, should be our judges; therefore we humbly crave they may be expunged out of the Court."

Lord-Keeper. "In good faith, it is a sweet motion: is it not? Herein you are become libellous; and if you should thus libel all the Lords and reverend Judges, as you do the most reverend Prelates, by this your plea, you would have none to pass sentence upon you for your libelling, because they are parties."

Mr. Prynne. "Under correction, my Lord, this doth not hold; your Honour need not put that for a certainty which is an uncertainty; we have nothing to say to any of your Honours, but only to the Prelates."

Lord-Keeper. "Well, proceed to the business of the day: read the information."

Which was read, being very large, and these five books annexed thereunto, viz. A book of Dr. Bastwicke's written in Latin[2]. The second, a little book intitled, 'News from Ipswich.' The third, intitled, 'A Divine Tragedy, recording God's fearful Judgments on Sabbath-breakers.' The fourth, Mr. Burton's book, intitled, 'An Apology of an Appeal to the King's most Excellent Majesty, with two Sermons for God and the King, preached on the Fifth of November last.' The fifth and last, 'Dr. Bastwicke's Litany[3].'

The King's council, being five, took each of them a several book, and descanted there, at the bar, upon them, according to their pleasure.

Mr. Attorney began first with Dr. Bastwicke's Latin book, picking out here and there particular conclusions, that best served for his own ends, as did all the other council, out of the former other books, to the great abuse of the authors; as themselves there immediately complained; entreating them to read the foregoing grounds, upon which the said conclusions depended, without which they could not understand the true meaning of them

[2] [*Apologeticus ad Præsules Anglicanos*, &c. An apology for himself, addressed to the Bishops. Written during his confinement at the Gatehouse, and printed in 1636.]

[3] [This Litany was a satire on the Bishops and the High-Commission Court.]

Next unto the Attorney, Serjeant Whitfeild falls upon the Reverend Mr. Burton's book, who vented much bitterness against that unreproveable book; as all that read it, with an honest and orthodox heart, may clearly perceive; swearing, "In good faith, my Lords, there is never a page in this book, but deserves a heavier and deeper censure than this Court can lay upon him."

Next followed A. B. who in like manner descanted upon the 'News from Ipswich,' charging it to be full of pernicious lies, and especially vindicating the honour of Matthew Wren, bishop of Norwich, as being a learned, pious, and reverend father of the church.

In the fourth place follows the King's Solicitor, Mr. Littleton, who acts his part upon the 'Divine Tragedy;' to which part of it, concerning God's judgments on Sabbath-breakers, he had little to say, but only put it off with a scoff, saying, "That they sat in the seat of God, who judged those accidents, which fell out upon persons suddenly strucken, to be the judgment of God for Sabbath-breaking;" or words to the like effect; but enlarged himself upon that passage, which reflected upon that late reverend (as he termed him) and learned professor of the law, and his Majesty's faithful servant, Mr. William Noy, his Majesty's late attorney, who (as he said) was most shamefully abused by a slander laid upon him; which was, that it should be reported, that God's judgment fell upon him for so eagerly prosecuting that innocent person Mr. Prynne; which judgment was this, that he, laughing at Mr. Prynne, while he was suffering upon the pillory, was struck with an issue of blood in his privy part, which, by all the art of man, could never be stopped unto the day of his death, which was soon after. "But the truth of this, my Lords, (saith he,) you shall find to be as probable as the rest; for we have here three or four gentlemen, of good credit and rank, to testify, upon oath, that he had that issue long before; and thereupon made a shew, as if he would call for them in before the Lords, to witness the truth thereof, with these particular words, 'Make room for the gentlemen to come in there;" but no one witness was seen to appear; which was pretty delusion, and worth all your observations that read it; and so concluded, as the rest, "that this book also deserved a heavy and deep censure."

Lastly, follows Mr. Herbert, whose descant was upon 'Dr. Bastwicke's Litany,' picking out one or two passages therein; and so drawing thence his conclusion, that, jointly with the rest, it deserved a heavy censure.

The King's council having all spoken what they could, the Lord-Keeper said to the prisoners at the bar:

"You hear, Gentlemen, wherewith you are charged; and now, lest you should say, you cannot have liberty to speak for yourselves, the Court gives you leave to speak what you can, with these conditions:

"First, That you speak within the bounds of modesty.

"Secondly, That your speeches be not libellous."

Prisoners. They all three answered, "They hoped so to order their speech as to be free from any immodest or libellous speaking."

Lord-Keeper. "Then speak in God's name, and shew cause why the Court should not proceed in censure, as taking the cause *pro confesso*, against you."

Mr. Prynne. "My honourable good Lords; Such a day of the month, there came a subpœna from your Honours, to enter my appearance in this court; which being entered, I took forth a copy of the information; which being taken, I was to draw my answer, which I endeavoured to do; but, being shut up close prisoner, I was deserted of all means, by which I should have done it; for I was no sooner served with a subpœna, but I was shortly after shut up close prisoner, with suspension of pen, ink, and paper; which close imprisonment did eat up such a deal of my time, that I was hindered the bringing in of my answer. You did assign me council, it is true; but they neglected to come to me, and I could not come to them, being under lock and key. Then, upon motion in court, ye gave me liberty to go to them; but then, presently after that motion, (I know not for what cause, nor upon whose command) I was shut up again: and then I could not compel my council to come to me; and my time was short, and I had neither pen, nor ink, nor ser-

vant to do any thing for me; for my servant was then also kept close prisoner, under a pursuivant's hands. This was to put impossibilities upon me. Then, upon a second motion for pen and ink, which was granted me, I drew up some instructions, and, in a fortnight's time, sent forty sheets to my council; suddenly after, I drew up forty sheets more, and sent to them. My Lord, I did nothing, but by the advice of my council, by whom I was ruled in the drawing up of all my answer, and paid him twice for drawing it; and some of my council would have set their hands to it. Here is my answer, I tender it upon my oath, which your Lordships cannot deny with the justice of the Court."

Lord-Keeper. "We can give you a precedent, that this Court hath procee'ed, and undertaken a cause, *pro confesso*, for not putting in an answer in six days; you have had a great deal of favour shewed, in affording you longer time; and therefore the Court is free from all calumny, or aspersion, for rejecting your answer, not signed with the council's hands."

Mr Prynne. "But, one word or two, my Lords; I desire your Honours to hear me; I put a case in law, that is often pleaded before your Lordships: One man is bound to bring in two witnesses; if both, or one of them, fail, that he cannot bring them in, 'Doth the 'law, my Lords, make it the man's act?' You assigned me two counsellors; one of them failed, I cannot compel him; here he is now before you; let him speak, if I have not used all my endeavours to have had him signed it; which my other council would have done, if this would have set his hand to it with him; and to have put in, long since."

Council. "My Lord; There was so long time spent, ere I could do any thing, after I was assigned his council, that it was impossible his answer could be drawn up in so short a time, as was allotted; for, after long expectation, seeing he came not to me, I went to him, where I found him shut up close prisoner, so that I could not have access to him; whereupon I motioned to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to have free liberty of speech with him concerning his answer; which being granted me, I found him very willing and desirous to have it drawn up; whereupon I did move, in this court, for pen and paper; which was granted: the which he no sooner had gotten, but he set himself to draw up instructions, and, in a short time, sent me forty sheets; and, soon after, I received forty more; but I found the answer so long, and of such a nature, that I durst not set my hand to it, for fear of giving your Honours distaste."

Mr. Prynne. "My Lords, I did nothing, but according to the direction of my council; only I spoke mine own words; my answer was drawn up by his consent, it was his own act, and he did approve of it; and if he will be so base a coward, to do that in private, which he dares not acknowledge in public, I will not such a sin lie on my conscience, let it rest with him. Here is my answer; which, though it be not signed with their hands, yet here I tender it upon my oath, which you cannot in justice deny."

Lord-Keeper. "But, Mr. Prynne, the Court desires no such long answer: Are you guilty, or not guilty?"

Mr. Prynne. "My good Lords, I am to answer in a defensive way: is here any one, that can witness any thing against me? Let him come in. The law of God standeth thus: 'That a man is nott o be condemned, but under the mouth of two or three witnesses.' Here is no witness come in against me, my Lord; neither is there, in all the information, one clause that doth particularly fall on me; but only, in general, there is no book laid to my charge. And, shall I be condemned for a particular act, when no accusation of any particular act can be brought against me? This were most unjust and wicked. Here I tender my answer to the information, upon my oath. My Lord, you did impose impossibilities upon me; I could do no more than I was able."

Lord-Keeper. "Well, hold your peace; your answer comes too late. Speak you, Dr. Bastwicke."

Dr. Bastwicke. "My honourable Lords, methinks you look like an assembly of gods, and sit in the place of God; ye are called the 'Sons of God.' And, since I have compared you to gods, give me leave a little to parallel the one with the other, to see whether the comparison between God and you doth hold in this noble and righteous cause. This was the carriage of Almighty God, in the cause of Sodom: Before he would pronounce

sentence, or execute judgment, he would first come down, and see whether the crime was altogether according to the cry that was come up. And with whom doth the Lord consult, when he came down? With his servant Abraham; and he gives the reason: 'For 'I know (saith he) that Abraham will command his children and household after him, 'that they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment.' My good Lords, thus stands the case between your Honours and us, this day. There is a great cry come up into your ears against us from the King's attorney; why now be you pleased to descend, and see if the crime be according to the cry; and consult, with God, not the Prelates, (being the adversary-part, and, as it is apparent to all the world, do proudly set themselves against the ways of God, and from whom none can expect justice, or judgment,) but with righteous men, that will be impartial on either side, before you proceed to censure; which censure you cannot pass on us, without great injustice, before you hear our answers read. Here is my answer, which I here tender upon my oath. My good Lords, give us leave to speak in our own defence. We are not conscious to ourselves of any thing we have done, that deserves a censure this day in this honourable Court; but that we have ever laboured to maintain the honour, dignity, and prerogative royal, of our Sovereign Lord the King. Let my Lord the King live for ever! Had I a thousand lives, I should think them all too little to spend for the maintenance of his Majesty's royal prerogative. My good Lords, can you proceed to censure, before you know my cause? I dare undertake, that scarce any one of your Lordships have read my books; and can you then censure me for what you know not, and before I have made my defence? O, my noble Lords, is this righteous judgment? This were against the law of God and man, to condemn a man, before you know his crime. The governor, before whom St. Paul was carried, (who was a very heathen,) would first hear his cause, before he would pass any censure upon him; and doth it beseem so noble and Christian an assembly to condemn me, before my answer be perused, and my cause known? Men, brethren, and fathers, into what an age are we fallen! I desire your Honours to lay aside your censure for this day, and enquire into my cause; hear my answer read; which if you refuse to do, I here profess, I will clothe it in Roman buff[4], and send it abroad unto the view of all the world, to clear my innocency, and shew your great injustice, in this cause."

Lord-Keeper. "But this is not the business of the day. Why brought you not in your answer in due time?"

Dr. Bastwicke. "My Lord, a long time since, I tendered it to your Honour; I failed not in any one particular; and if my council be so base and cowardly, that they dare not sign it, for fear of the Prelates, as I can make it appear, Therefore have I no answer? My Lord, here is my answer; which though my council, out of a base spirit, dare not set their hands unto, yet I tender it upon my oath."

Lord-Keeper. "But, Mr. Doctor, you should have been brief; you tendered in too large an answer, which, as I heard, is as libellous as your books."

Dr. Bastwicke. "No, my Lord, it is not libellous, though large; I have none to answer for me, but myself, and being left to myself, I must plead my conscience, in answer to every circumstance of the information."

Lord-Keeper. "What say you, Mr. Doctor? Are you guilty or not guilty? Answer, Yea or No; you needed not to have troubled yourself so much about so large an answer."

Dr. Bastwicke. "I know, none of your Honours have read my book: and can you, with the justice of the Court, condemn me, before you know what is written in my books?"

Lord-Keeper. "What say you to that was read to you even now?"

Dr. Bastwicke. "My Lord, he that read it, did so murder the sense of it, that had I not known what I had written, I could not tell what to have made of it."

Lord-Keeper. "What say you to the other sentence read to you?"

Dr. Bastwicke. "That was none of mine; I will not father that, which was none of my own."

[4] [i. e. in Latin, says Mr. Morant. See Biog. Brit. art. Bastwicke.]

Lord Dorset. "Did not you send that book, as now it is, to a nobleman's house, together with a letter directed to him?"

Dr. Bastwicke. "Yes, my Lord, I did so; but, withal, you may see, in my epistle set before the book, I did at first disclaim what was not mine; I sent my book over by a Dutch merchant: who it was, that wrote the addition, I do not know; but my epistle, set to my book, made manifest what was mine, and what was not; and I cannot justly suffer for what was none of mine."

Lord Arundel. "My Lord, you hear, by his own speech, the cause is taken *pro confesso*."

Lord-Keeper. "Yea, you say true, my Lord."

Dr. Bastwicke. "My noble Lord of Arundel, I know you are a noble prince in Israel, and a great peer of this realm. There are some honourable Lords in this court, that have been forced out, as combatants in a single duel. It is between the Prelates and us, at this time, as between two that have appointed the field; the one, being a coward, goes to the magistrate, and by virtue of his authority, disarms the other of his weapons, and gives him a bulrush, and then challenges him to fight. If this be not base cowardice, I know not what belongs to a soldier. This is the case between the Prelates and us: they take away our weapons (our answers) by virtue of your authority, by which we should defend ourselves, and yet they bid us fight. My Lord, doth not this savour of a base, cowardly spirit? I know, my Lord, there is a decree gone forth (for my sentence was passed long since) to cut off our ears."

Lord-Keeper. "Who shall know our censure, before the Court pass it? Do you prophesy of yourselves?"

Dr. Bastwicke. "My Lord, I am able to prove it, and that from the mouth of the Prelates' own servants, that in August last, it was decreed, 'That Dr. Bastwicke should lose his ears.' O my noble Lords, is this righteous judgment? I may say, as the apostle once said, 'What, whip a Roman?' I have been a soldier, able to lead an army into the field, to fight valiantly for the honour of their prince. Now I am a physician, able to cure nobles, kings, princes, and emperors: and to curtalise a Roman's ears, like a cur, O my honourable Lords, is it not too base an act for so noble an assembly, and for so righteous and honourable a cause? The cause, my Lords, is great; it concerns the glory of God, the honour of our King, whose prerogative we labour to maintain and to set up in a high manner, in which your Honours' liberties are engaged. And doth not such a cause deserve your Lordships' consideration, before you proceed to censure? Your Honours may be pleased to consider, that in the last cause, heard and censured in this court, between Sir James Bagge and the Lord Moone, wherein your Lordships took a great deal of pains, with a great deal of patience, to hear the bills on both sides, with all the answers and depositions largely laid open before you: which cause when you had fully heard, some of your Honours, now sitting in the court, said, 'You could not, in conscience, proceed to censure, till you had taken some time to recollect yourselves.' If, in a cause of that nature, you could spend so much time, and afterwards recollect yourselves, before you would pass censure; how much more should it move your Honours to take some time in a cause, wherein the glory of God, the prerogative of his Majesty, your Honours' dignity, and the subjects' liberty, is so largely engaged? My good Lords, it may fall out to be any of your Lordships' cases, to stand as delinquents at this bar, as we now do. It is not unknown to your Honours, the next cause, that is to succeed ours, is touching a person that sometimes hath been in greatest power in this court: and, if the mutations and revolutions of persons and times be such, then I do most humbly beseech your Honours to look on us, as it may befall yourselves. But, if all this will not prevail with your Honours to peruse my books, and hear my answer read, which here I tender, upon the word and oath of a soldier, a gentleman, a scholar, and a physician: I will clothe them, as I said before, in Roman buff, and disperse them throughout the Christian world, that future generations may see the innocency of this cause, and your Honours' unjust proceedings in it; all which I will do, though it cost me my life."

Lord-Keeper. "Mr. Doctor, I thought you would be angry."

Dr. Bastwicke. " No, my Lord, you are mistaken, I am not angry nor passionate; all that I do press is, that you would be pleased to peruse my answer."

Lord-Keeper. " Well, hold your peace. Mr. Burton, what say you?"

Mr. Burton. " My good Lords, your Honours (it should seem) do determine to censure us, and take our cause *pro confesso*, although, we have laboured to give your Honours satisfaction in all things. My Lords, what have you to say against my book? I confess I did write it, yet did I not any thing out of intent of commotion or sedition: I delivered nothing, but what my text led me to, being chosen to suit with the day, namely the fifth of November; the words were these, &c."

Lord-Keeper. " Mr. Burton, I pray stand not naming texts of Scripture now; we do not send for you to preach, but to answer to those things which are objected against you."

Mr. Burton. " My Lord, I have drawn up my answer to my great pains and charges, which answer was signed with my council's hands, and received into the court, according to the rule and order thereof. And I did not think to have been called this day to a censure, but have had a legal proceeding by way of bill and answer."

Lord-Keeper. " Your answer was impertinent.

Mr. Burton. " My answer (after it was entered into the court) was referred to the judges, but by what means I do not know, whether it be impertinent, and what cause your Lordships had to cast it out, I know not. But, after it was approved of, and received, it was cast out as an impertinent answer."

Lord Finch. " The judges did you a good turn to make it impertinent, for it was as libellous as your book; so that your answer deserved a censure alone."

Lord-Keeper. " What say you, Mr. Burton; Are you guilty, or not?"

Mr. Burton. " My Lord, I desire you not only to peruse my book, here and there, but every passage of it."

Lord-Keeper. " Mr. Burton, time is short; Are you guilty, or not guilty? What say you to that which was read? Doth it become a minister to deliver himself in such a railing and scandalous way?"

Mr. Burton. " In my judgment, and as I can prove it, it was neither railing nor scandalous; I conceive that a minister hath a larger liberty than always to go in a mild strain: I being the pastor of my people, whom I had in charge, and was to instruct, I supposed it was my duty to inform them of those innovations, that are crept into the church, as likewise of the danger and ill consequence of them. As for my answer, ye blotted out what ye would, and then the rest, which made best for your own ends, you would have to stand; and now for me to tender only what will serve for your own turns, and renounce the rest, were to desert my cause, which before I will do, or desert my conscience, I will rather desert my body, and deliver it up to your Lordships to do with it, what you will."

Lord-Keeper. " This is a place where you should crave mercy and favour, Mr. Burton, and not stand upon such terms as you do."

Mr. Burton. " There wherein I have offended through human failty, I crave of God and man pardon: and I pray God, that in your sentence, you may so censure us, that you may not sin against the Lord."

Thus the prisoners, desiring to speak a little more for themselves, were commanded to silence. And so the Lords proceeded to censure.

The Lord Cottington's Censure.

' I CONDEMN these three men to lose their ears in the Palace-yard at Westminster; ' to be fined five-thousand pounds a man to his Majesty; and to perpetual imprisonment ' in three remote places of the kingdom, namely, the castles of Caernarvon, Cornwall, and ' Lancaster.'

The Lord Finch added to this censure.

' Mr. Prynne to be stigmatized in the cheeks with two letters (S and L) for a *seditious*

'*libeller.*' To which all the Lords agreed. And so the Lord-Keeper concluded the censure[5].

THE execution of the Lords' censure in the Star-Chamber upon Dr. Bastwicke, Mr. Prynne, and Mr. Burton, in the Palace-yard at Westminster, the thirtieth day of June last, 1637; at the spectation whereof the number of people was so great (the place being very large) that it caused admiration in all that beheld them, who came with tender affections, to behold those three renowned soldiers and servants of Jesus Christ, who came with most undaunted and magnanimous courage thereunto; having their way strewed with sweet herbs from the house out of which they came to the pillory, with all the honour that could be done unto them.

Dr. Bastwicke and Mr. Burton first meeting, they did close one in the other's arms three times, with as much expressions of love as might be, rejoicing that they met at such a place, upon such an occasion, and that God had so highly honoured them, as to call them forth to suffer for his glorious truth.

Then immediately after, Mr. Prynne came, the Doctor and he saluting each other, as Mr. Burton and he did before. The Doctor, then, went up first on the scaffold, and his wife immediately following came up to him, and like a loving spouse saluted each ear with a kiss, and then his mouth; whose tender love, boldness, and cheerfulness, so wrought upon the people's affections, that they gave a marvellous great shout, for joy to behold it. Her husband desired her not to be, in the least manner, dismayed at his sufferings: and so for a while they parted, she using these words: "Farewell, my dearest, be of good comfort, I am nothing dismayed." And then the Doctor began to speak these words.

Dr. Bastwicke. "There are many that are, this day, spectators of our standing here, as delinquents, though not delinquents; we bless God for it. I am not conscious to myself, wherein I have committed the least trespass (to take this outward shame) either against my God, or my King. And I do the rather speak it, that you that are now beholders, may take notice how far innocency will preserve you in such a day as this: for we come here in the strength of our God, who hath mightily supported us, and filled our hearts with greater comfort than our shame or contempt can be. The first occasion of my trouble was by the Prelates, for writing a book against the Pope; and the Pope of Canterbury said I wrote against him; and therefore questioned me: but if the presses were as open to us, as formerly they have been, we should shatter his kingdom about his ears. But be ye not deterred by their power, neither be affrighted at our sufferings; let none determine to turn from the ways of the Lord, but go on, fight courageously against Gog and Magog. I know there be many here who have set many days apart for our behalf; (let the Prelates take notice of it;) and they have sent up strong prayers to heaven for us: we feel the strength and benefit of them at this time, (I would have you to take notice of it;) we have felt the strength and benefit of your prayers all along this cause. In a word, so far I am from base fear, or caring for any thing that they can do, or cast upon me, that had I as much blood as would swell the Thames, I would shed it every drop in this cause; therefore, be not any of you discouraged; be not daunted at their power, ever labouring to preserve innocency, and keep peace within; go on in the strength of your God, and he will never fail you in such a day as this: as I said before, so I say again, Had I as many lives as I have hairs on my head, or drops of blood in my veins, I would give them all up for this cause: this plot of sending us to those remote places, was first consulted and agitated by the Jesuits, as I can make it plainly appear. O, see what times we are fallen into, that the Lords must sit to act the Jesuits' plots! For our own parts we owe no malice to the persons of any of the prelates, but would lay our necks under their feet to do them good as they are men; but against the usurpation of their power, as they are bishops, we do profess enemies till doom's-day."

[5] [At the time this sentence was passed, Archbishop Laud made an elaborate speech in vindication of himself and the bench of bishops from any design of introducing popery. This was afterwards published by the King's order, and will be found in the supplement to this Work.]

Mr. Prynne, shaking the Doctor by the hand, desired him that he might speak a word or two. "With all my heart;" said the Doctor.

"The cause (said Mr. Prynne) of my standing here, is for not bringing in my answer, for which my cause is taken *pro confesso* against me. What endeavours I used for the bringing in thereof, that, God and my own conscience, and my council knows, whose cowardice stands upon record to all ages. For, rather than I will have my cause a leading cause, to deprive the subjects of that liberty which I seek to maintain, I rather expose my person to be a leading example, to bear this punishment: and I beseech you all to take notice of their proceedings in this cause. When I was served with a subpœna into this court, I was shut up close prisoner, that I could have no access to council, nor be admitted pen, ink, or paper, to draw up my answer by my instructions, for which I fee'd them twice, though to no purpose: yet, when all was done, my answer would not be accepted into the court, though I tendered it upon my oath. I appeal to all the world, if this was a legal or just proceeding. Our accusation is in point of libel, but supposedly, against the Prelates: to clear this now, I will give you a little light what the law is in point of libel, of which profession I have sometimes been [6], and still profess myself to have some knowledge in. You shall find, in case of libel, two statutes: the one in the second of Queen Mary, the other in the seventh of Queen Elizabeth; that in the second of Queen Mary, the extremity and height of it runs thus: that, if a libeller doth go so far and so high as to libel against king or queen, by denomination, the height and extremity of the law is, that they lay no greater fine on him than an hundred pounds, with a month's imprisonment, and no corporal punishment, except he does refuse to pay his fine; and then to inflict some punishment instead of that fine, at the month's end. Neither was this censure to be passed on him, except it was fully proved by two witnesses, who were to produce a certificate of their good demeanour for the credit of their report, or else confessed by the libeller. You shall find in that statute 7 Eliz. some further addition to the former of 2 Mariæ, and that only in point of fine and punishment, and it must still reach as high as the person of king or queen. Here this statute doth set a fine of two-hundred pounds; the other but one: this sets three months imprisonment; the former but one: so that therein only they differ. But in this they both agree, namely, at the end of his imprisonment to pay his fine, and so to go free without any further question: but, if he refuse to pay his fine, then the court is to inflict some punishment on him correspondent to his fine. Now see the disparity between those times of theirs, and ours. A libeller in Queen Mary's time was fined but an hundred pounds; in Queen Elizabeth's time two-hundred: in Queen Mary's days but a month's imprisonment; in Queen Elizabeth's, three months: and not so great a fine, if they libelled not against king or queen. Formerly the greatest fine was but two-hundred pounds, though against king or queen; now five-thousand pounds, though but against the prelates, and that but supposedly, which cannot be proved. Formerly, but three months imprisonment; now perpetual imprisonment. Then, upon paying the fine, no corporal punishment was to be inflicted; but now, infamous punishment with the loss of blood, and all other circumstances that may aggravate it. See now what times we are fallen into, when that libelling (if it were so) against prelates only, shall fall higher, than if it touched kings and princes.

"That, which I have to speak of next, is this: The Prelates find themselves exceedingly aggrieved and vexed against what we have written concerning the usurpation of their calling, where indeed we declare their calling not to be *jure divino*. I make no doubt, but there are some intelligencers or abettors within the hearing, whom I would have well to know and take notice of what I now say. I here in this place make this offer to them, that if I may be admitted a fair dispute, on fair terms, for my cause, that I will maintain; and do here make the challenge against all the Prelates in the King's dominions, and

[6] [Prynne had been successively made barrister, bencher, and reader of Lincoln's-inn, where he is said (by Anthony Wood) to have first imbibed his violent puritanical sentiments, from attending the lectures of Dr. John Preston.]

against all the prelates in Christendom, (let them take in the Pope and all to help them,) that their calling is not *jure divino.* I will speak it again, I make the challenge against all the Prelates in the King's dominions, and all Christendom, to maintain, that their calling is not *jure divino.* If I make it not good, let me be hanged up at the hall-gate." Whereupon the people gave a great shout.

" The next thing, that I am to speak of, is this: The Prelates find themselves exceedingly grieved and vexed against what I have written in point of law, concerning their writs and process; that the sending forth of writs and process in their own name, is against all law and justice, and doth intrench on his Majesty's prerogative royal, and the subjects' liberties. And here now I make a second challenge against all the lawyers in the kingdom, in way of fair dispute, that I will maintain the Prelates' sending forth of writs and process, in their own names, to be against all law and justice, and intrencheth on his Majesty's prerogative royal, and subjects' liberty. Lest it should be forgotten, I speak it again; I here challenge all the whole society of the law upon a fair dispute to maintain, that the sending forth of writs and process, in the Prelates' own names, is against all law and justice, and intrencheth on the King's prerogative royal, and the subjects' liberty. If I be not able to make it good, let me be put to the tormentingest death they can devise.

" We praise the Lord, we fear none but God and the King. Had we respected our liberties, we had not stood here at this time. It was for the general good and liberties of you all, that we have now thus far engaged our own liberties in this cause. For, did you know how deeply they have intrenched on your liberties in point of popery; if you knew but into what times you are cast, it would make you look about you: and, if you did but see what changes and revolutions of persons, causes, and actions, have been made by one man, you would more narrowly look into your privileges, and see how far your liberty did lawfully extend, and so maintain it.

" This is the second time that I have been brought to this place: who hath been the author of it, I think you all well know. For the first time, if I could have had leave given me, I could easily have cleared myself of that which was then laid to my charge: as also I could have done now, if I might have been permitted to speak. That book for which I suffered formerly, especially for some particular words therein written, which I quoted out of God's word and ancient fathers, for which notwithstanding they passed censure on me; that same book was twice licensed by public authority, and the same words I then suffered for, they are again made use of, and applied in the same sense by Heylin in his book lately printed, and dedicated to the King, and no exceptions taken against them, but are very well taken."

" Aye, (said Dr. Bastwicke) and there is another book of his licensed, wherein he rails against us three at his pleasure, and against the martyrs that suffered in Queen Mary's days, calling them schismatical hereticks; and there is another book of Pocklington's licensed: they be as full of lies, as dogs be full of fleas; but, were the presses as open to us, as they are to them, we would pay them, and their great master that upholds them, and charge them with notorious blasphemy."

Said Mr. Prynne, " You all, at this present, see, there be no degrees of men exempted from suffering. Here is a reverend divine for the soul, a physician for the body, and a lawyer for the estate; (I had thought they would have let alone their own society, and not have meddled with any of them;) and the next, for aught I know, may be a bishop. You see they spare none, of what society or calling soever; none are exempted that cross their own ends. Gentlemen, look to yourselves; if all the martyrs, that suffered in Queen Mary's days, are accounted and called schismatical hereticks, and factious fellows: what shall we look for? Yet so they are called, in a book lately come forth under authority; and such factious fellows are we, for discovering a plot of popery. Alas! poor England, what will become of thee, if thou look not the sooner into thy own privileges, and maintainest not thy own lawful liberty? Christian people, I beseech you all, stand firm, and be zealous for the cause of God, and his true religion, to the shedding of your dearest

blood; otherwise, you will bring yourselves, and all your posterities, into perpetual bondage and slavery."

Now the executioner being come, to sear him and cut off his ears, Mr. Prynne said these words to him, "Come, friend, come burn me, cut me, I fear not; I have learned to fear the fire of hell, and not what man can do unto me. Come sear me, sear me, I shall bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." Which the bloody executioner performed with extraordinary cruelty, heating his iron twice to burn one cheek; and cut one of his ears so close, that he cut off a piece of his cheek. At which exquisite torture, he never moved with his body, or so much as changed his countenance, but still looked up, as well as he could, towards heaven, with a smiling countenance, even to the astonishment of all the beholders, and uttering, as soon as the executioner had done, this heavenly sentence; "The more I am beaten down, the more am I lift up:" and returning from the execution in a boat, made (as I hear) these two verses by the way, on the two characters branded on his cheeks:

S. L. STIGMATA LAUDIS.
STIGMATA maxillis bajulans insignia LAUDIS
Exultans remeo, victima grata Deo.

Which one since thus englished:

'S. L. LAUD's SCARS.
'Triumphant I return, my face descries
'Laud's scorching scars, God's grateful sacrifice.'

Mr. Burton's heavenly and most comfortable Speech, which he made at the Time of his Suffering, both before, and while he stood in the Pillory; which was something distant from the other double Pillory, wherein Dr. Bastwicke and Mr. Prynne stood.

THE night before his suffering, about eight o'clock, when he first had certain notice thereof, upon occasion of his wife's going to ask the warden, 'whether her husband should suffer the next day;' immediately he felt his spirits to be raised to a far higher pitch of resolution and courage to undergo his sufferings, than formerly he did; so as he entreated the Lord to hold up his spirits at that height all the next day, in his sufferings, that he might not flag nor faint, lest any dishonour might come to his majesty, or the cause; and the Lord heard him. For all the next day, in his suffering, both before and after, his spirits were carried aloft as it were upon eagle's wings, (as himself said) far above all apprehension of shame or pain.

The next morning, being the day of his sufferings, he was brought to Westminster, and, with much cheerfulness, being brought into the Palace-yard, unto a chamber that looked into the yard, where he viewed three pillories there set up. "Methinks, (said he,) I see mount Calvary, where the three crosses, one for Christ, and the other two for the two thieves, were pitched; and, if Christ were numbered among thieves, shall a Christian, for Christ's cause, think much to be numbered among rogues, such as we are condemned to be? Surely, if I be a rogue, I am Christ's rogue, and no man's." And, a little after, looking out at the casement towards the pillory, he said, "I see no difference between looking out of this square window and yonder round hole," pointing towards the pillory; he said, "It is no matter of difference to an honest man." And, a little after that, looking somewhat wishfully upon his wife, to see how she did take it, she seemed to him to be something sad, to whom he thus spake, "Wife, why art thou so sad?" To whom she made answer, "Sweetheart, I am not sad." "No, (said he,) see thou be not; for I

would not have thee to dishonour the day, by shedding one tear, or fetching one sigh: for behold, therefore, thy comfort, my triumphant chariot, on the which I must ride for the honour of my Lord and Master. And never was wedding-day so welcome and joyful a day, as this day is; and so much the more, because I have such a noble Captain and Leader, who hath gone before me with such undauntedness of spirit, that he saith of himself, 'I gave my back to the smiters, my cheeks to the nippers, they plucked off the hair; I hid not my face from shame and spitting;' for the Lord God will help me, therefore shall I not be confounded; therefore have I set my face like a flint, and I know I shall not be ashamed." At length, being carried towards the pillory, he met Dr. Bastwicke at the foot of the pillory, where they lovingly saluted and embraced each other; and, parting a little from him, he returned, (such was the ardency of his affection) and most affectionately embraced him the second time, being heartily sorry he missed Mr. Prynne, who was not yet come, before he was gone up to his pillory, which stood alone next the Star-chamber, and about half a stone's cast from the other double pillory, wherein the other two stood, so as all their faces looked southward, the bright sun all the while, for the space of two hours, shining upon them. Being ready to be put into the pillory, standing upon the scaffold, he espied Mr. Prynne, new come to the pillory, and Dr. Bastwicke in the pillory, who then hasted off his band, and called for a handkerchief, saying, "What, shall I be last; or shall I be ashamed of a pillory for Christ, who was not ashamed of a cross for me?" Then being put into the pillory, he said: "Good people, I am brought hither to be a spectacle to the world, to angels, and men; and, howsoever I stand here to undergo the punishment of a rogue; yet, except to be a faithful servant to Christ, and a loyal subject to the King, be the property of a rogue, I am no rogue; but yet, if to be Christ's faithful servant, and the King's loyal subject, deserve the punishment of a rogue, I glory in it; and, I bless my God, my conscience is clear, and is not stained with the guilt of any such crime, as I have been charged with, though, otherwise, I confess myself to be a man subject to many frailties and human infirmities. Indeed, that book intitled, 'An apology of an appeal,' with sundry epistles, and two sermons, for God and the King, charged against me in the information, I have and do acknowledge (the misprinting excepted) to be mine; and will, by God's grace, never disclaim it, whilst I have breath within me." After a while, he having a nosegay in his hand, a bee came and pitched on the nosegay, and began to suck the flowers very savourly; which he beholding, and well observing, said, "Do ye not see this poor bee? She hath found out this very place, to suck sweetness from these flowers: and cannot I suck sweetness in this very place from Christ?" The bee sucking all this while, and so took her flight. By-and-by he took occasion, from the shining of the sun, to say, "You see how the sun shines upon us; but that shines as well upon the evil as the good, upon the just and unjust; but that the Sun of Righteousness, Jesus Christ, who hath healing under his wings, shines upon the souls and consciences of every true believer only, and no cloud can hide him from us, to make him ashamed of us; no, not of our most shameful sufferings for his sake: and why should we be ashamed to suffer for his sake, who hath suffered for us? All our sufferings be but flea-bitings to that he endured; he endured the cross, and despised the shame, and is set on the right hand of God. He is a most excellent pattern for us to look upon, that treading in his steps, and suffering with him, we may be glorified with him: and what can we suffer, wherein he hath not gone before us even in the same kind? Was he not degraded, when they scornfully put on him a purple robe, a reed in his hand, a thorny crown upon his head, saluting him with 'Hail, King of the Jews,' and so disrobed him again? Was not he deprived, when 'they smote the Shepherd, and the sheep were scattered?' Was not violence offered to his sacred person, when he was buffeted and scourged, his hands and his feet pierced, his head pricked with thorns, his side gored with a spear, &c.? Was not the cross more shameful, yea, and more painful than a pillory? Was not he stripped of all he had, when he was left stark-naked upon the cross, the soldiers dividing his garments, and casting lots upon his vesture? And was not he confined to perpetual close imprisonment, in man's imagination, when his body was laid in a tomb, and the

tomb sealed, lest he should break prison, or his disciples steal him away? And yet did he not rise again, and thereby bring deliverance and victory to us all, so as we are more than conquerors though Him that loved us? Here then we have an excellent pattern indeed." And all this he uttered, and whatsoever else he spoke, with marvellous alacrity.

One said unto Mr. Burton, "Christ will not be ashamed of you at the last day."eH replied, "He knew whom he had believed, and that Christ was able to keep that he had committed to him against that day." One asked him how he did; he said, "Never better, I bless God, who hath accounted me worthy thus to suffer." The keeper keeping off the people from pressing near the pillory, he said, "Let them come, and spare not, that they may learn to suffer." This same keeper, being weary, and sitting him down, asked Mr. Burton if he were well, and bade him be of good comfort: to whom he replied, "Are you well? If you be well, I am much more, and full of comfort, I bless God." Some asked him, "If the pillory were not uneasy for his neck and shoulders?" He answered, "How can Christ's yoke be uneasy? This is Christ's yoke, and he bears the heavier end of it, and I the lighter; and, if mine were too heavy, he would bear that too. O good people, Christ is a good and sweet master, and worth the suffering for! and, if the world did but know his goodness, and had tasted of his sweetness, all would come and be his servants; and, did they but know what a blessed thing it were to bear his yoke, O, who would not bear it!" The keeper going about to ease the pillory, by putting a stone or a brick-bat between, Mr. Burton said, "Trouble not yourself, I am at very good ease, and feel no weariness at all;" and espying a young man at the foot of the pillory, and perceiving him to look pale on him, he said, "Son, son, what is the matter you look so pale? I have as much comfort as my heart can hold, and if I had need of more, I should have it." One asked him, a while after, if he could drink some *aqua vitæ;* to whom he replied, "That he needed it not; for I have (said he, laying his hand upon his breast,) the true water of life, which, like a well, doth spring up to eternal life." Pausing a while, he said, with a most cheerful and grave countenance, "I was never in such a pulpit before, but little do ye know, (speaking to them that stood about him,) what fruits God is able to produce from this dry tree." They looking stedfastly upon him, he said, "Mark my words, and remember them well; I say, little do you know what fruits God is able to produce from this dry tree; I say, remember it well, for this day will never be forgotten; and through these holes, (pointing to the pillory,) God can bring light to his church." The keeper going about again to mend the pillory, he said, "Do not trouble yourself so much; but indeed, we are the troublers of the world." By-and-by, some of them offering him a cup of wine, he thanked them, telling them, "He had the wine of consolation within him, and the joys of Christ in possession, which the world could not take away from him, neither could it give them unto him." Then he looked towards the other pillory, and, making a sign with his hand, cheerfully called to Dr. Bastwicke and Mr. Prynne, asking them how they did; who answered, "Very well." A woman said unto him, "Sir, every Christian is not worthy this honour which the Lord hath cast upon you this day." Alas! (said he,) who is worthy of the least mercy? But it is his gracious favour and free gift, to account us worthy, in the behalf of Christ, to suffer any thing for his sake." Another woman said, "There are many hundreds, which, by God's assistance, would willingly suffer, for the cause you suffer for this day:" to whom he said, "Christ exalts all of us, that are ready to suffer afflictions for his name, with meekness and patience. But Christ's military discipline, in the use of his spiritual warfare in point of suffering, is quite forgotten; and we have, in a manner, lost the power of religion, in not denying ourselves, and following Christ, as well in suffering as in doing." After a while, Mr. Burton, calling to one of his friends for a handkerchief, returned it again, saying, "It is hot, but Christ bore the burthen in the heat of the day: let us always labour to approve ourselves to God in all things, and unto Christ; for therein stands our happiness, come of it what it will in this world."

A Christian friend said to Mr. Burton, "The Lord strengthen you!" To whom he replied, "I thank you, and I bless his name, he strengthens me. For though I am a poor

sinful wretch, yet I bless God for my innocent conscience, in any such crime as is laid against me; and were not my cause good, and my conscience sound, I could not enjoy so much unspeakable comfort in this my suffering, as I do, I bless my God." Mrs. Burton sends commendation to him by a friend: he returned the like to her, saying, "Commend my love to my wife, and tell her I am heartily cheerful; and bid her remember what I said to her in the morning, namely, that she should not blemish the glory of this day with one tear, or so much as one sigh." She returned answer, "that she was glad to hear him so cheerful; and that she was more cheerful of this day, than of her wedding-day." This answer exceedingly rejoiced his heart, who thereupon blessed God for her, and said of her, "She is but a young soldier of Christ's, but she hath already endured many a sharp brunt, but the Lord will strengthen her unto the end." And he, having on a pair of new gloves, shewed them to his friends there about him, saying, "My wife yesterday, of her own accord, bought me these wedding-gloves, for this is my wedding-day."

Many friends spoke comfortably to Mr. Burton, and he again spoke as comfortably to them, saying, "I bless my God, that called me forth to suffer this day." One said to him, "Sir, by this sermon, your suffering, God may convert many unto him." He answered, "God is able to do it indeed." And then he called again to Dr. Bastwicke and Mr. Prynne, asking them how they did? Who answered as before. Some speaking to him concerning that suffering of shedding his blood; he answered, "What is my blood to Christ's blood? Christ's blood is a purging blood, but mine is corrupted and polluted with sin." One friend asked another standing near Mr. Burton, "If there should be any thing more done unto him?" Mr. Burton, overhearing him, answered, "Why should there not be more done? For what God will have done, must be accomplished." One desiring Mr. Burton to be of good cheer: to him he thus replied, "If you knew my cheer, you would be glad to be partaker with me; for I am not alone, neither hath God left me alone in all my sufferings and close imprisonment, since first I was apprehended." The halbertmen standing round about, one of them had an old rusty halbert, the iron whereof was tacked to the staff with an old crooked nail; which one observing, and saying, "What an old rusty halbert is that?" Mr. Burton said, "This seems to me to be one of those halberts, which accompanied Judas when he went to betray and apprehend his Master." The people, observing Mr. Burton's cheerfulness and courage in suffering, rejoiced, and blessed God for the same. Mr. Burton said again, "I am persuaded that Christ, my advocate, is now pleading my cause at the Father's right-hand, and will judge my cause, though none be found here to plead it; and will bring forth my righteousness as the light at noon-day, and clear my innocency in due time." A friend asking Mr. Burton, If he would have been without this particular suffering? To whom he said, "No, not for a world." Moreover, he said, that his conscience, the discharge of his ministerial duty and function, in admonishing his people to beware of the creeping in of popery and superstition, exhorting them to stick close unto God and the King in duties of obedience, was that which first occasioned his sufferings; and said, "As for this truth I have preached, I am ready to seal it with my blood, for this is my crown both here and hereafter. I am jealous of God's honour, and the Lord keep us that we may do nothing that may dishonour him, either in doing or suffering; God can bring light out of darkness, and glory out of shame: and what shall I say more? I am like a bottle which is so full of liquor, that it cannot run out freely; so I am so full of joy, that I am not able to express it."

In conclusion, some told him of the approach of the executioner, and prayed God to strengthen him. He said, "I trust he will. Why should I fear to follow my master Christ? who said, 'I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheek to the nippers, that 'plucked off my hair; I hid not my face from shame and spitting;' for the Lord God will help me, therefore shall I not be confounded; therefore have I set my face like a flint, and I know that I shall not be ashamed."

When the executioner had cut off one ear, which he had cut deep and close to the head, in an extraordinary cruel manner: yet this champion of Christ never once moved or stirred for it, though he had cut the vein, so as the blood ran streaming down upon the scaffold,

which divers persons standing about the pillory seeing, dipped their handkerchiefs in, as a thing most precious, the people giving a mournful shout, and crying for the surgeon, whom the crowd and other impediments for a time kept off, so that he could not come to stop the blood; this patient all the while held up his hands, and said, "Be content, it is well, blessed be God!" The other ear being cut no less deep, he then was freed from the pillory, and came down, where the surgeon, waiting for him, presently applied a remedy for stopping the blood, after a large effusion thereof: yet for all this he fainted not, in the least manner, though through expence of much blood he waxed pale. And one offering him a little wormwood water; he said, "it needs not;" yet, through importunity, he only tasted of it, and no more, saying, "His master Christ was not so well used, for they gave him gall and vinegar, but you give me strong water to refresh me, blessed be God!" His head being bound up, two friends led him away to an house provided for him in King's-street, where being set down, and bid to speak little, yet he said after a pause, "This is too hot to hold long." Now, lest they in the room, or his wife, should mistake, and think he spoke of himself concerning his pain, he said, "I speak not this of myself; for that which I have suffered is nothing to that my Saviour suffered for me, who had his hands and feet nailed to the cross. And, lying still awhile, he took Mr. Prynne's sufferings much to heart, and asked the people how he did; for, said he, "his sufferings have been great." He asked also how Dr. Bastwicke did, with much compassion and grief, that he, being the first that was executed, could not stay to see how they two fared after him. His wife being brought to him, behaved herself very graciously towards him, saying, "Welcome, sweetheart, welcome home." He was often heard to repeat these words: "The Lord keep us, that we do not dishonour him in any thing. Amen."

Thus, Christian reader, you have heard the relation of such a censure, and the execution thereof, as I dare say, all circumstances laid together, cannot be paralleled in any age of man, throughout the Christian world; (and I think I may take in even the world of Pagans and Heathens to it:) which though it be not drawn up in so elegant a strain as it was delivered and deserved; nor all the heavenly words and eloquent speeches recorded, which were uttered by these three worthies of the Lord, both in the presence of the Lords themselves at their censure, and also at the place of execution; yet I earnestly beseech you, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that you do not in the least manner undervalue the glory and dignity, either of the persons, or the cause; but rather lay the blame upon the rudeness and mean capacity of the composer, who is an unfeigned well-wisher to them both.

The Countesse of Lincoln's Nurserie.

At Oxford; printed by John Lichfield and James Short, Printers to the famous University, 1622.[1]

[Quarto, containing Twenty-one Pages.]

To the right honourable, and approved virtuous Lady, Bridget, Countesse of Lincoln[2].

FOR the better expressing and keeping in memory my love, and your worthiness, I do offer unto your Ladiship the first work of mine that ever came in print; because your rare example hath given an excellent approbation to the matter contained in this book: for you have passed by all excuses, and have ventured upon and do go on with that loving act of a loving mother, in giving the sweet milk of your own breasts, to your own child; wherein you have gone before the greatest number of honourable ladies of your place, in these latter times. But I wish many may follow you, in this good work, which I desire to further, by my kind persuasion. And such women, as will vouchsafe to read this little short treatise, may be put in mind of a duty, which all mothers are bound to perform; and I shall be glad if any will consider, and put in practice, that which is both natural and comfortable. I hope they will at least commend, with me, such as do this good deed, and no more speak scornfully of that which is worthy of great praise; and, for my part, I think it an honour unto you, to do that which hath proved you to be full of care to please God, and of natural affection, and to be well stored with humility and patience, all which are highly to be praised. To give praise to any person or thing deserving praise, I dare do it; and for this lovely action of yours, I can with much thankfulness praise God, for all his gracious gifts of grace and nature, whereby he hath enabled you to do the same; desiring also with my heart, that you may ever, and every way, honour God, who hath honoured you many ways, above many women; and I rejoice, that I can bear witness, that God hath adorned you with fair tokens of his love and mercy to your soul: as the practice of true Christian religion; dedicating yourself to God's service; answerableness to all holy commands of the holy God, which are testimonies of God's love, and do challenge a very great esteem from me, amongst the rest, that can truly judge and rightly discern what is best. I am full of thoughts in this kind, or of this matter; yet I say no more but this, Go on and prosper, hold fast all that is good, trust in God for strength to grow and continue in faithful obedience to his glorious Majesty; and I will not cease to entreat the Lord of Heaven, to pour abundantly all blessings of heaven and earth upon you, and your children, as they increase in number.

Your Ladiship's, in the best and safest love,

ELIZABETH LINCOLN[3].

To the courteous, chiefly most Christian, Reader.

THE general consent of too many mothers in an unnatural practice (most Christian reader) hath caused one of the noblest and fairest hands in this land to set pen to paper:

[1] [See Oldys's Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 50.]

[2] [Daughter-in-law to the noble authoress, and daughter to William, Viscount Say and Sele. She had issue by Theophilus, fourth Earl of Lincoln, two sons and seven daughters. See Collins.]

[3] [One of the daughters and coheirs to Sir Henry Knevet of Charlton, county of Wilts, knight. Dugdale makes her the mother of sixteen children; Collins, of seventeen; and herself, of eighteen.]

as ashamed to see her sex farther degenerate; desirous for the glory thereof, to have all both rightly know, and answer their kind, hath made honour itself stoop to these pains, which now she sends thee to peruse. Three things easily invite to read what to view is offered: eminency or interest in the author; rarity in the handled matter; brevity in the quick dispatch. These three meet in this one. The author, so eminent in honour, thou canst hardly be anciently honourable, and not be interested in her honour's acquaintance, scarcely not alliance. Next for the rareness, a peculiar tract of this subject, I believe, is not in thine hands. Lastly, it is so brief, as I am persuaded, it smoothly gliding thee along in the reading, thy sorrow will be, it lands thee so soon. What may give satisfaction to a reader, let me acquaint thee next, is here to be found. These are two things, usefulness of the subject, fulness of the prosecution. If method and soundness can make full, this is full. What, not alone confirmation ushering in the assertion, but refutation, for ushering out objections, can do, to making sound and thorough, this is such. The accommodation to these particulars (gentle reader) I leave to thyself; lest I become tedious, whilst I am honouring brevity. The pay, assure thyself, will be larger than the promise; the wine much better than the bush. This one word, and I will stand out of the gate, thou mayest go in. If noble who readest, (likeness is mother and nurse of liking,) this comes from nobility; approve the rather and practise. If meaner, blush to deny, what honour becomes speaker to persuade to, precedent to lead the way to. And so I either humbly take my leave, or bid farewell.

Bless'd is the land where sons of nobles reign;
Bless'd is the land where nobles teach their train:
To church for bliss, kings, queens, should nurses be;
To state its bliss, great dames babes nurse to see.
Go then, great book of nursing, plead the cause;
Teach highest, lowest, all, its God's and nature's laws.

THOMAS LODGE[4].

BECAUSE it hath pleased God to bless me with many children, and so caused me to observe many things falling out to mothers, and to their children; I thought good to open my mind concerning a special matter belonging to all child-bearing women, seriously to consider of; and to manifest my mind the better, even to write of this matter, so far as God will please to direct me; in sum, the matter I mean, 'is the duty of nursing, due by 'mothers to their own children.'

In setting down whereof, I will, first, shew, that every woman ought to nurse her own child; and, secondly, I will endeavour to answer such objections, as are used to be cast out against this duty, to disgrace the same.

The first point is easily performed, for it is the express ordinance of God, that mothers should nurse their own children, and being his ordinance, they are bound to it in conscience. This should stop the mouths of all repliers; for God is most wise, and therefore must needs know what is fittest and best for us to do: and, to prevent all foolish fears, or shifts, we are given to understand, that he is also all-sufficient, and therefore infinitely able to bless his own ordinance, and to afford us means in ourselves (as continual experience confirmeth) toward the observance thereof.

If this (as it ought) be granted, then how venturous are those women that dare venture to do otherwise, and so to refuse, and, by refusing, to despise that order, which the most wise and all-mighty God hath appointed, and instead thereof to choose their own pleasures? O, what peace can there be to these women's consciences, unless, through the darkness of their understanding, they judge it no disobedience?

[4] [In consequence of this quaint recommendatory address, Wood has erroneously entered the book among the works of Lodge; who being a physician as well as a poet, had a professional title to precede the Countess of Lincoln's Nursery, as her Ladyship's gentleman-usher.]

And then they will drive me to prove that this nursing and nourishing of their own children in their own bosoms is God's ordinance. They are very wilful, or very ignorant, if they make a question of it. For it is proved sufficiently to be their duty, both by God's word, and also by his works.

By his word it is proved, first, by examples, namely, the example of Eve. For who suckled her sons Cain, Abel, Seth, &c. but herself? Which she did not only of mere necessity, because yet no other woman was created; but especially, because she was their mother, and so saw it was her duty; and because she had a true natural affection, which moved her to do it gladly. Next, the example of Sarah the wife of Abraham; for she both gave her son Isaac suck, as doing the duty commanded of God; and also took great comfort and delight therein, as in a duty well pleasing to herself; whence she spoke of it, as of an action worthy to be named in her holy rejoicing. Now if Sarah, so great a princess, did nurse her own child, why should any of us neglect to do the like, except (which God forbid!) we think scorn to follow her, whose daughters it is our glory to be, and which we be only upon this condition, that we imitate her well-doing. Let us look therefore to our worthy pattern, noting withal, that she put herself to this work, when she was very old, and so might the better have excused herself, than we younger women can; being also more able to hire, and keep a nurse, than any of us. But why is she not followed by most in the practice of this duty?—Even because they want her virtue and piety. This want is the common hinderance to this point of the woman's obedience; for this want makes them want love to God's precepts, want love to his doctrine, and, like step-mothers, want due love to their own children.

But now to another worthy example, namely, that excellent woman Hannah, who having, after much affliction of mind, obtained a son of God, whom she vowed unto God, she did not put him to another to nurse, but nursed him her ownself, until she had weaned him, and carried him to be consecrated unto the Lord; as well knowing that this duty, of giving her child suck, was so acceptable to God: as, for the cause thereof, she did not sin, in staying with it at home from the yearly sacrifice. But now women, especially of any place, and of little grace, do not hold this duty acceptable to God, because it is unacceptable to themselves; as if they would have the Lord to like and dislike, according to their vain lusts.

To proceed; take notice of one example more, that is, of the blessed Virgin; as her womb bare our blessed Saviour, so her paps gave him suck. Now who shall deny the own mother's suckling of their own children to be their duty, since every godly matron hath walked in these steps before them: Eve the mother of all the living; Sarah the mother of all the faithful; Hannah so graciously heard of God; Mary blessed among women, and called blessed of all ages? And who can say, but that the rest of holy women, mentioned in the holy Scriptures, did the like; since no doubt, that speech of that noble dame, saying, 'Who would have said to Abraham, that Sarah should have given children suck?' was taken from the ordinary custom of mothers in those less corrupted times?

And so much for proof of this office and duty to be God's ordinance, by his own word, according to the argument of examples. I hope I shall likewise prove it by the same word from plain precepts. First, from that precept, which willeth the younger women to marry, and to bear children, that is, not only to bear them in the womb, and to bring them forth, but also to bear them on the knee, in their arms, and at their breasts; for this bearing a little before is called nourishing, and bringing up; and to enforce it the better into women's consciences, it is numbered as the first of the good works, for which godly women should be well reported of. And well it may be the first, because if holy ministers, or other Christians, do hear of a good woman to be brought to bed, and her child to be living; their first question usually is, Whether she herself give it suck, yea, or no? If the answer be, "she doth," then they commend her; if she doth not, then they are sorry for her.

And thus I come to a second precept. I pray you, who that judges aright, doth not hold the suckling of her own child the part of a true mother, of an honest mother, of a just

mother, of a sincere mother, of a mother worthy of love, of a mother deserving good report, of a virtuous mother, of a mother winning praise for it? All this is assented to by any of good understanding. Therefore this is also a precept, as for other duties, so for this of mothers to their children; which saith, 'Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, 'whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are worthy of 'love, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, if there be any praise, 'think on these things; these things do, and the God of peace shall be with you.'

So far for my promise, to prove by the word of God, that it is his ordinance that women should nurse their own children; now I will endeavour to prove it by his works. First, by his works of judgment; if it were not his ordinance for mothers to give their children suck, it were no judgment to bereave them of their milk; but it is specified to be a great judgment to bereave them hereof, and to give them dry breasts: therefore it is to be gathered, even from hence, that it is his ordinance, since to deprive them of means to do it is a punishment of them.

I add to this, 'The work that God worketh in the very nature of mothers,' which proveth also that he hath ordained that they should nurse their own children; for, by his secret operation, the mother's affection is so knit by nature's law to her tender babe, as she finds no power to deny to suckle it, no not when she is in hazard to lose her own life, by attending on it; for in such a case it is not said, 'Let the mother fly, and leave her infant 'to the peril, as if she were dispensed with;' but only it is said, 'Woe to her;' as if she were to be pitied, that for nature to her child, she must be unnatural to herself: now if any then being even at liberty, and in peace, with all plenty, shall deny to give suck to their own children, they go against nature; and shew that God hath not done so much for them, as to work any good, no not in their nature, but left them more savage than the dragons, and as cruel to their little ones as the ostridges.

Now another work of God, proving this point, is the work of his provision, for every kind to be apt and able to nourish their own fruit; there is no beast that feeds their young with milk, but the Lord, even from the first ground of the order of nature, 'Grow and multiply,' hath provided it with milk to suckle their own young, which every beast takes so naturally unto, as, if another beast come towards their young to offer the office of a dam unto it, they shew, according to their fashion, a plain dislike of it; as if nature did speak in them, and say it is contrary to God's order in nature, commanding each kind to increase and multiply in their own bodies, and by their own breasts; not to bring forth by one dam, and to bring up by another; but it is his ordinance, that every kind should both bring forth, and also nurse its own fruit.

Much more should this work of God prevail to persuade women, made as man in the image of God, and therefore should be ashamed to be put to school to learn good-nature of the unreasonable creature. In us also, as we know by experience, God provideth milk in our breasts, against the time of our children's birth, and this he hath done ever since it was said to us also, 'Increase and multiply;' so that this work of his provision sheweth that he tieth us likewise to nourish the children of our own womb, with our own breasts, even by the order of nature; yea, it sheweth that he so careth for, and regardeth little children, even from the womb, that he would have them nursed by those that in all reason will look to them with the kindest affection, namely their mothers; and in giving them milk for it, he doth plainly tell them that he requires it.

Oh, consider, how comes our milk; is it not by the direct providence of God? Why provides he it, but for the child? The mothers then, that refuse to nurse their own children, do they not despise God's Providence? Do they not deny God's will? Do they not as it were say, 'I see, O God, by the means thou hast put into me, that thou wouldst have me 'nurse the child thou hast given me; but I will not do so much for thee.' Oh impious and impudent unthankfulness; yea monstrous unnaturalness, both to their own natural fruit born so near their breasts, and fed in their own wombs, and yet may not be suffered to suck their own milk!

And this unthankfulness and unnaturalness is oftener the sin of the higher and the richer

sort, than of the meaner and poorer; except some nice and proud idle dames, who will imitate their betters, till they make their poor husbands beggars. And this is one hurt which the better rank do by their ill example; egg and embolden the lower ones to follow them to their loss. Were it not better for us greater persons to keep God's ordinance, and to shew the meaner their duty in our good example? I am sure we have more helps to perform it, and have fewer probable reasons to allege against it, than women that live by hard labour, and painful toil. If such mothers as refuse this office of love, and of nature to their children, should hereafter be refused, despised, and neglected of those their children; were they not justly requited according to their own unkind dealing? I might say more in handling this first point of my promise; but I leave the larger and learneder discourse hereof unto men of art, and learning; only I speak of so much as I read, and know in my own experience; which if any of my sex and condition do receive good by, I am glad; if they scorn it, they shall have the reward of scorners. I write in modesty, and can reap no disgrace by their immodest folly.

And so I come to my last part of my promise; which is to answer objections made by divers against this duty of mothers to their children.

First, it is objected, that Rebecca had a nurse, and that therefore her mother did not give her suck of her own breasts, and so good women, in the first ages, did not hold them to this office of nursing their own children. To this I answer, that if her mother had milk, and health, and yet did put this duty from her to another, it was her fault, and so proved nothing against me. But it is manifest, that she that Rebecca called her nurse, was called so, either for that she most tended her while her mother suckled her; or for that she weaned her; or for that, during her nonage and childhood, she did minister to her continually such good things as delighted and nourished her up. For to any one of these the name of a nurse is fitly given; whence a good wife is called her husband's nurse; and that Rebecca's nurse was only such a one, appeareth, because afterwards she is not named a nurse, but a maid, saying: 'Then Rebecca rose, and her maids;' now maids give not suck out of their breasts, never any virgin or honest maid gave suck, but that blessed one from an extraordinary and blessed power.

Secondly, it is objected that it is troublesome; that it is noisome to one's clothes; that it makes one look old, &c. All such reasons are uncomely and unchristian to be objected, and therefore unworthy to be answered; they argue unmotherly affection, idleness, desire to have liberty to gad from home, pride, foolish fineness, lust, wantonness, and the like evils. Ask Sarah, Hannah, the blessed Virgin, and any modest loving mother, what trouble they accounted it to give their little ones suck? Behold most nursing mothers, and they be as clean and sweet in their clothes, and carry their age, and hold their beauty, as well as those that suckle not, and most likely are they so to do; because, keeping God's ordinance, they are sure of God's blessing; and it hath been observed in some women, that they grew more beautiful, and better favoured, by very nursing their own children.

But there are some women that object fear, saying that they are so weak, and so tender, that they are afraid to venture to give their children suck, lest they endanger their health thereby. Of these, I demand, 'Why then they did venture to marry, and so to bear children?' And if they say they could not choose, and that they thought not that marriage would impair their health: I answer, that for the same reasons they should set themselves to nurse their own children, because they should not choose, but to do what God would have them to do; and they should believe that this work will be for their health also, seeing it is ordinary with the Lord to give good stomach, health, and strength to almost all mothers that take this pains with their children.

One answer more to all the objections, that use to be made against giving children suck, is this, that now the hardness, to effect this matter, is much removed by a late example of a tender young lady; and you may all be encouraged to follow after, in that wherein she hath gone before you, and so made the way more easy, and more hopeful, by that which she findeth possible and comfortable by God's blessing, and no offence to her lord and herself; she might have had as many doubts, and lets, as any of you, but she was

willing to try how God would enable her, and he hath given her good success, as I hope he will do to others that are willing to trust in God for his help.

Now if any reading these few lines return against me, "that it may be I myself have given my own children suck, and therefore am bolder and more busy to meddle in urging this point, to the end to insult over, and to make them to be blamed that have not done it." I answer, that whether I have, or have not, performed this my bounden duty; I will not deny to tell my own practice. I know and acknowledge that I should have done it, and having not done it, it was not for want of will in myself, but partly I was over-ruled by another's authority, and partly deceived by some ill counsel, and partly I had not so well considered of my duty in this motherly office, as since I did, when it was too late for me to put it in execution. Whereof being pricked in heart for my undutifulness, this way, I study to redeem my peace, first, by repentance towards God, humbly and often craving his pardon for this my offence; secondly, by studying how to shew double love to my children, to make them amends for neglect of this part of love to them, when they should have hung on my breasts, and have been nourished in my own bosom; thirdly, by doing my endeavour to prevent many Christian mothers from sinning, in the same kind, against our most loving and gracious God.

And for this cause I add unto my performed promise this short exhortation; namely, I beseech all godly women to remember, how we elder ones are commanded to instruct the younger, to love their children; now therefore love them so as to do this office to them when they are born, more gladly for love-sake, than a stranger, who bore them not, shall do for lucre-sake. Also I pray you to set no more so light by God's blessing in your own breasts, which the Holy Spirit ranketh with other excellent blessings; if it be unlawful to trample under feet a cluster of grapes, in which a little wine is found; then how unlawful is it to destroy and dry up those breasts, in which your own child, and perhaps one of God's very elect, to whom to be a nursing-father is a king's honour, and to whom to be a nursing-mother is a queen's honour, might find food of sincere milk, even from God's immediate providence, until it were fitter for stronger meat. I do know that the Lord may deny some women, either to have any milk in their breasts at all, or to have any passage for their milk, or to have any health, or to have a right mind; and so they may be letted from this duty, by want, by sickness, by lunacy, &c. But I speak not to these: I speak to you, whose consciences witness against you, that you cannot justly allege any of those impediments.

Do you submit yourselves to the pain and trouble of this ordinance of God? Trust not other women, whom wages hires to do it, better than yourselves, whom God and nature tie to do it. I have found, by grievous experience, such dissembling in nurses, pretending sufficiency of milk, when indeed they had too much scarcity; pretending willingness, towardness, wakefulness, when indeed they have been most wilful, most froward, and most slothful; as I fear the death of one or two of my little babes came by the default of their nurses. Of all those which I had for eighteen children, I had but two which were thoroughly willing and careful: divers have had their children miscarry in the nurses' hands, and are such mothers (if it were by the nurses' carelessness) guiltless? I know not how they should, since they will shut them out of the arms of nature, and leave them to the will of a stranger; yea, to one that will seem to estrange herself from her own child, to give suck to the nurse-child. This she may feign to do upon a covetous composition, but she frets at it in her mind, if she has any natural affection.

Therefore be no longer at the trouble, and at the care, to hire others to do your own work; be not so unnatural as to thrust away your own children; be not so hardy as to venture a tender babe to a less tender heart; be not accessary to that disorder of causing a poorer woman to banish her own infant, for the entertaining of a richer woman's child, as it were, bidding her unlove her own to love yours. We have followed Eve in transgression, let us follow her in obedience. When God laid the sorrows of conception, of breeding, of bringing forth, and of bringing up her children upon her, and so upon us in her loins; did she reply any word against it? Not a word: so I pray you all my own daughters,

and others that are still child-bearing, reply not against the duty of suckling them, when God hath sent you them.

Indeed, I see some, if the weather be wet, or cold; if the weather be foul, if the church be far off, I see they are so coy, so nice, so luke-warm, they will not take pains for their own souls. Alas! No marvel if these will not be at trouble and pain to nourish their children's bodies; but fear God, be diligent to serve him; approve all his ordinances, seek to please him; account it no trouble or pain to do any thing that hath the promise of his blessing; and then you will, no doubt, do this good, laudable, natural, loving duty, to your children. If yet you be not satisfied, enquire not of such as refuse to do this, consult not with your own conceit, advise not with flatterers; but ask counsel of sincere and faithful preachers. If you be satisfied, then take this with you, to make you do it cheerfully. Think always, that having the child at your breast, and having it in your arms, you have God's blessing there: for children are God's blessings. Think again how your babe crying for your breast, sucking heartily the milk out of it, and growing by it, is the Lord's own instruction, every hour, and every day, that you are suckling it, instructing you to shew that you are his new-born babes, by your earnest desire after his word, and the sincere doctrine thereof, and by your daily growing in grace and goodness thereby; so shall you reap pleasure and profit. Again, you may consider, that, when your child is at your breast, it is a fit occasion to move your heart to pray for a blessing upon that work, and to give thanks for your child, and for ability and freedom unto that, which many a mother would have done and could not; who have tried and ventured their health, and taken much pains, and yet have not obtained their desire. But they, that are fitted every way for this commendable act, have certainly great cause to be thankful; and I much desire that God may have glory and praise for every good work, and you much comfort, that do seek to honour God in all things. Amen.

The Strangling and Death of the Great Turk, and his two Sons; with the strange Preservation and Deliverance of his Uncle Mustapha from Perishing in Prison, with Hunger and Thirst; the young Emperor, not three Days before, having so commanded. A wonderful Story, and the like never heard of in our modern Times; and yet, all to manifest the Glory and Providence of God, in the Preservation of Christendom in these troublesome Times. Printed this Fifteenth of July.

Printed at London, by J. D. for Nicholas Bourne and Thomas Archer, and are to be sold at their Shops at the Exchange, and in Pope's-head Palace. 1642.

[Octavo; containing Seventeen Pages.]

HAUD sic magni conditor orbis,
Huic ex alto cuncta tuenti,
Nulla terræ mole respectant,
Non nox atris nubibus obstat,
Quæ sint, Quæ fuerint, Veniantque,
Uno mentis cernit in ictu,
Quem, quia respicit omnia solus,
Verum possis dicere solem.

Boetius Metro. 3 Lib. 5.

The Printer to the Reader.

I AM very loth to trouble you with a preface, yet at this time you must pardon me; for it is for God's cause, to exemplify his glory and providence, that hath put an hook in the nostrils of Leviathan, and kept him from devouring poor Christians, who yet are in arms to devour one another; that hath thrown a stone from heaven, to strike the golden image to powder, which was stretching itself to overlook and overtop the provinces of Europe; that hath put an axe to the great tree, and felled it at a blow, which was beginning to overspread the earth, and be a shadow for the beasts of the field. What, all Christendom almost in arms, and yet the Turk not to take the advantage, but to be pulled short by the hand of God, and thrown backward into a grave? Where are your dreaming gazettes and corantos now, that talked of such formidable preparation, and so many hundred-thousand in an army? Where is the threatening of Poland, and terrifying the Cossacks with so many thousand Tartarians? Where is their coming into Hungary, to begin a new war there? What, all hushed, and quiet? Why, then, thine be the honour, O God! and all power, and majesty, and goodness, be attributed unto thee; for thou hast taken pity upon our afflictions, and wilt set upright thine own cause, when the children of Edom and inhabitants of Babylon cry, 'Down with the walls of Jerusalem,' and insult with clapping their hands, to see the enemies of the Gospel thrive in their outrageousness.

This then is all I would say unto you, by the way of introduction; to give God the praise, that the Great Turk is dead so opportunely, whereby there is hope, that Europe shall be preserved from their invasion, and those affrightings. And the same God, that hath compassionated the general distress of Christendom, take pity likewise on the particular passions of princes, that they rage not in their revenges, nor run too violently forward in their race of blood and destruction, but admit of peace and pacification to the eternal memory of their virtues and worthiness.

THOUGH I need not speak a word of former Emperors of Turkey, or their actions, or their lives, or their Alcoran: from whence the special impositions on their government are, first, to erect some famous monument toward the exaltation of their religion; and, secondly, to perform some memorable enterprise for the enlarging their empire: yet must I name Mahomet the Third, to keep myself closer to the story, that you may know the several passages in the same. This Mahomet left two sons behind him, Achmet and Mustapha: Achmet, at fifteen years old, was chosen emperor, and lived some fifteen years longer, or thereabouts; and although, by reason of the peace between the Emperor Rodolphus of Germany and himself, as also the contract between the Polonians and himself, wherein those *antiqua fœdera* were renewed, he did little worthy of memory, concerning heroic enterprises, and military exploits; yet he had the fortune to keep correspondency with his bashaws and janisaries, and took a course, by enlarging their entertainment, and other several donatives, to enlarge their hearts and good liking towards him; so that he had very seldom mutinies or innovation, because the vizier of the army drew them still into the field in the summer; and the vizier of the city afforded them their ancient liberty in the winter; but at last, there was a rebellion by the Scrivano of Asia, (whom some confound with the name of Bashaw of Aleppo,) which was fortunately and wisely prevented; and, in the end of his reign, the controversies of the princes of Moldavia over-wrought the Polacks to commiserate the cause, and wrought a mischief, which was not ended without unspeakable trouble. For the distastings, beginning in Achmet's time, could never admit of reconciliation, until Achmet's son came in person, with terror and threatenings, into the fields of Bogdonia.

Well, Achmet dies, leaving two young sons behind him, Osman and another; yet some will presume to say, that, being not above thirty-four years old, he had many children,

and three-hundred wives, or concubines; but before he died, to make all sure, he resolves to strangle his brother Mustapha, and, according to custom, will leave no competitors in such an empire. For which purpose, a guard of capagies attend at the iron gates of the seraglio, and the mutes are placed in a room accordingly. Now you must consider, that though they have many ways to enlarge their cruelties, and dispatch offenders, yet none is so affrighting, as the presenting of these officers; for they never come along, without death in their company, and ghastliness in their looks. Sometimes an offender is carried from the seraglio, by the officers of their tapinaco, (such as we say, master of the ordnance,) over the sea, and, in the midway, a great stone is tied about his neck, and he is cast into the bottom; and then, according to his greatness, a greater cannon is shot off, unless the emperor send a countermand, before he be from the water. Sometimes an offender is beheaded; sometimes thrown off a rock; sometimes set upon by the janisaries, and cut in pieces, as the aga or captain is limited; yet, in these cases, as the emperor's fury is leniated, they many times escape; but, when the mutes come in place, all are displaced, against whom their commission is enlarged. Thus is Mustapha to be dispatched; but see how the stronger arm puts out the strong men: the same night, Achmet had a dream, or fearful vision, which some of the dervises would needs presume to rumour abroad in this manner: that he thought, as he was entering into the Seven Towers (the princely prison of his predecessors), his brother kneeled down before him, and cried out, "Oh, when shall we leave this horrible custom of shedding innocent blood? Look among all the heathens, and see how quickly they loathed and cast away that crying sin of sacrificing of human flesh." But, instead of replying, he drew his scimetar to strike off his head, had not one (as he conceited) held it fast, that he could not strike; whereupon he demanded angrily, "What art thou?" "I am the good genius of Mustapha, and will not suffer him to perish; therefore leave, and very shortly shall strange things happen in the empire." Little thought the Great Turk to have found a greater greatness in his sleep; but such was the power of God, (or, as the Turks conceited, the fortune of Mustapha,) that his brother Achmet, contrary to all expectation, the next morning after his dream, sent for him into the room of state, where he lay on a stately pallet, with all his viceroys and bashaws groveling on the ground, and the principal mufti kneeling before him, reading on a book. It should seem that glad tidings came first to the city, for he was taken out of the prison with great respect and observation; he was admitted to his galley with high ceremonies, and yet solemn countenances; he was accompanied on the sea with thousands of boats, and ten-thousands of weeping eyes; he landed at the Emperor's own caska, with great respect and modest stillness; he walked through the garden of cypress-trees, and, at last, came to an iron gate, where his own company left him, except two bashaws, who led him by the arms. The gate opens, and he must go through a guard of capagies; they bend to the ground, and yet look cheerfully, until, at last, the Prince spoke as cheerfully to the bashaws, saying, "What need all this quoil and ceremonies to a dying man, or tormenting of my soul, when I go to the execution of my body? In all extremities, there is a courtesy in dispatch, and when a man must die, O, let him die at once, and not be more tortured with the fear and circumstances, than with the thing itself." They durst not reply, but brought him into the room, where the mutes stood, whose presence did no more appal him than the rest, but that he saw the cruelty confirmed, and their very sight was worse than an irreversible judgment; but, when he perceived no violent hands laid upon him, and that he must yet go further, he was the more astonished, and the more vexed, to endure such a procrastination.

At last, he came where the Emperor lay sick on his pallet, before whom his prostitution was as the ordinary slaves; but, contrary to all expectation, he bade him rise, and commanded certain Persian carpets to be spread, and rich cushions to be laid; on which, according to their manner, he sat cross-legged by him, and, when the mufti had raised the Emperor up a little, with a faint voice he thus discovered an unlooked-for loving heart:

"Brother, (said he,) I am taught by story, and the story of Galba among the Romans, to choose a successor for the commonwealth, and not an heir in my family. This made

him look upon Piso, as worthy to be an emperor, because he had experience of his virtues, and not upon his kindred, because he was unacquainted with their strength to bear so great a burthen. I cannot compare our greatness with the Romans, but I am sure, we are too great for children or fools. I have fair issue of my own, but so weak arms cannot sway the sceptre of the Ottoman family; and to leave them under tutelage, who is there worthy to advise such princes, or what account can slaves make of the government, when their own vices shall overflow their banks without restraint, and the envy of others look upon them rather with disobedience than observation? Therefore, to avoid all tumultuous occasions, and to make thee believe, thou art the charge of our Prophet Mahomet, instead of a death-like present itself, instead of a prison, this is thy palace: and, whereas thou camest in groveling, thou shalt go out triumphing; the decree of Heaven will have it so, and a voice from heaven commands it so: only this I must conclude, that, as I have remembered thee, thou wilt not forget me and mine. Let not custom over-master virtue, nor the jealousy in sovereignty be an enemy to thy pity; but let young Osman live, as I have determined, thou shalt not die; yea, the wonder is the greater, that of a captive I have made thee an emperor, and, instead of the terrors of affliction, brought thee out to the ravishings of majesty."

He had no sooner done, but he began to faint, and so read them all a lesson of mortality, by opening a book, wherein they saw Death written in capital letters, and himself sinking past recovery; which made them recover new spirits, and presently bring his brother out into the Sophia, where the principal mufti proclaimed Mustapha emperor, intimating to the janisaries the charge of Achmet, to the discharging their duties; and the pleasure of Mustapha to give them a largess, which equalling the bounty of other princes, overswayed nicer exceptions, and so, with great acclamations, they ratified the election, and cried out, "Live and reign, great Mustapha!" The next work, was the solemnity of Achmet's funeral, for whom a sumptuous monument and chapel were erected, not inferior to any of his ancestors. Then were commissioners appointed, to overlook the seraglio, and sequester such women as had been carnally known of Achmet, to their accustomed palaces, and accustomed manner of magnificence and expences. Presently followed the settling of the bashaws in their authority, in their several provinces, and overlooking the city-officers, with confirmation of such as were worthy. Last of all, his armies and navies were mustered; not that he pretended any war, but because he would commit no solecism in government, or give the soldiers occasion to suspect, that he knew not how to maintain his greatness. Thus is Mustapha emperor; and they had two years' trial of his disposition, whereby they found him harmless, and rather subject to the epithets of quiet princes, than transcending encomiums of great and stirring spirits.

But, O the condition of man, and instability of terrestrial blessings! Prince Mustapha was scarce warm in this throne of sovereignty, and setting forward in the race of imperiousness, before Scander and Mahomet Bashaw takes the young Osman out of the seraglio, and presents him to the janisaries; a comely, sweet, young youth, of nine or ten years old; demanding, withal, if such an heir of the Ottoman family were to be rejected without cause; or why they should bring an harmless prince, as they reputed Mustapha, into the danger of usurpation, and differing no further from a traitor, but that it was not imputed to him? As for Achmet's will, empires are not so translated; and what could they tell, but private men, for their own ends, had wrought upon his weakness; making a diseased tongue speak that, which a healthful heart, and perfect sense, would not consent to? For it was not probable, that a father would disinherit his children for any brother in the world; besides, there was no trial or cause, either of insufficiency or disability, and, therefore, they could not believe it. Last of all, for any thing they saw, Mustapha himself was not stirring or strong enough, to play the steersman in such an high-built ship, considering the seas were tempestuous, and many dangerous shores and rocks were to be passed by.

These speeches to the turbulent janisaries, were like fuel to fire, and the presence of the lovely youth made them amazed at their inconstancy; so that, by way of penitence and satisfaction, they quickly altered the acclamation of, 'Live Mustapha!' into the cries

of, 'God save young Osman!' and so, without further disputing, he was advanced into the throne, and brought into the seraglio, when Mustapha least thought of the alteration. But now there is no remedy, he must needs be deposed, and sent prisoner once again into the Seven Towers; his friends more confounded to be so affronted, than amazed at the alteration; yet, suspecting the worst, they abandoned the palace, and thinking it policy to shift for themselves, had the less honesty to neglect their Emperor; but the truth is, they saw manifest signs of a rebellion, and the conspiracy was too great and too strong for them to resist, which made them give way to the violence, lest they should have been carried headlong to destruction.

Now doth Osman begin his Phaeton's flourish, and runneth the course of pleasures with his youth, spending four or five years in wantonness and jollity, while his bashaws spent the time in covetousness, and ambitious over-ruling others; yet, not without careful overlooking the janisaries, and provident preventing their discontents, and turbulent disposition; but all doth help, for they, over-accustomed to active employment, and living upon the spoil of foreign nations, as much as the Emperor's entertainment, cried out to the war; and when answer was made, that the Persians had contracted a new league, and the Emperor of Germany's old covenants were not yet determined or ended, they presently replied, The indignities which the Russians had offered to their neighbours, the Tartarians, were not to be endured; and they need go no further, than the piracies of the Black Sea, and the injuries of the Cossacks and Polonians: nay, why should they not march to the expugnation of Leopolis, and the foraging of the countries of Moldavia and Bogdonia; and so forward, to teach Poland a better lesson, than to displease the Ottoman family and mightiness?

The bashaws knew there was no replying, nor, now the fire was kindled, no other quenching it, than letting it consume to cinders; whereupon, they presently answered, they were glad that the soldiers were so memorable of the glory of the empire, and so ready to employ themselves for the dignity of the nation, and, therefore, they would not, by any means, hinder them or the cause; but they should find the Emperor as careful to satisfy their demands, as they were willing to augment his greatness; so that, if they would give way unto time for the preparing of all things fit for the army, and the sending for the Tartarians to accompany them in the journey, the Emperor should go in person into the field, and Poland soon find what it was to exasperate such a majesty.

Whereupon, some will have it, that there were letters of defiance presently sent against Sigismond, and the war proclaimed, by sound of trumpet, to affright all Europe. In what manner the Turk proceeded, I will not now dispute; sure I am, that the King of Poland made all Christian princes acquainted with the threatenings, and implored their assistance for the opposition. He sent unto the Emperor to hearken to a peace, if it were possible, and correspondent with his honour, that he might spare his forces, rather against the general enemy of Christendom, than the particular revenges of one another. Oh! blessed be the feet of those that bring the glad tidings of peace, and happy is that princely disposition, that would avoid the effusion of Christian blood! He sent unto his Holiness, to remember the cause of the Church, and the affrightings of Religion, so that now was the time to assist him with men and money; and, if ever Poland were reputed the bulwark of Christianity, and to be maintained accordingly, it was at this instant to be looked upon with the eyes of pity and commiseration: for two-hundred thousand Turks and Tartars were in readiness to over-run the country, and devour the inhabitants. He sent into France, by way of intercession, to spare his hand from taking such fearful revenges on his own people, and to spare him but those men, which the wars must consume, and the wrath of a prince bring to destruction. He sent into England, with intimation of the terror which so many babarous nations and people, united, must needs afflict one country withal; and his well-delivered discourse made such impression upon his Majesty's princely heart, that he had a present supply both of men and money. In a word, whither did he not send to set forward the enterprise? and what did he not do, befitting the goodness of a king, and the greatness of a general, and heroic captain? His army was soon

ready, and his Cossacks prepared. By the end of July, he was encamped in the fields of Bogdonia, and within eight days, entrenched with twenty pieces of ordnance mounted; but the Cossacks quartered by themselves, and after their accustomed manner, lying between two rivers, were the more emboldened to make their daily excursions upon the Tartars; for, having a bridge in the rear of their camp, with which the Turks were unacquainted, they quickly transported their men, and as quickly damnified their enemies.

When the Grand Seignior was acquainted with the forwardness of these Polonians, and understood they were already encamped, and expected his coming, he was too young to apprehend any fear, and not old enough to lay the blame of his retardance where it was; therefore they made the more haste, when he understood the occasion, and so, according to former preparation, the establishment of divers governments, the ordering the provinces, the settling the great city, the mustering his galleys, the guarding of his castles, and the watching of the Black Sea: the Tartars united themselves to his army, and both together, made a body of two-hundred thousand; which, with all magnificent preparation, he presented in the same fields, and within sight of the Polonians, where he pitched his imperial tent, and settled himself with unparalleled majesty; the high-priest, and doctors of law, attended him; the two great bashaws accompanied him, the throng of janisaries waited upon him, and the fry of Tartars brought the carriages up a-pace.

When all things were settled, the Tartars, after their accustomed manner, with great clamours and outcries, and with as great multitudes, gave upon the Polonians, and thought to have made but one battle and day of trial of the business; but when they came to pass over rivers, and assail trenches; when they heard the thunders of twenty pieces of ordnance, and felt the mischief and damage; when they were encountered with ten-thousand well-armed horse, and driven back with the fury of courageous hearts; they knew not what to say, and less to do: nay, though the janisaries came as a second unto them, and brought many field-pieces, to answer the discourtesy of their camp's ordnance; yet, by reason they had not the discipline of gabions, they were subject to the greater destruction; and the soldiers, wanting armour, found themselves too weak for the Cossacks; whereupon they retreated, and were altogether appalled to be so disappointed, which when Scander Bashaw perceived, he took an opportunity of exprobrating their audaciousness, and chiding their ostentation, whereas now they could perform nothing; which he did, as some report, to this or the like purpose:

"Now, you that are so powerful in insolency and tumults, and were so forward to the war, that we must either take the field to spend your humours, and satisfy your impatience, or be taken by you, and suffer the indignity of your outrages: what say you now to the war? What can you do to these men? Nay, what will you do for the Emperor's honour, and your own reputation? Well, seeing you see, by experience, that the times are changed, and the discipline of war must take you out other lessons of fury; leave your foolish finding fault with your friends, and spend your courages upon your enemies; there is now no retiring by mutinies, but, setting forward upon advantages, you must either force these trenches, or be forced to endure a slaughter. But I will now answer for you, What is past is remediless; we come to fight, and, I know, you are resolute to play the men; therefore follow me, and I will lead you the way to death or glory." Whereupon, without any reply, they came forward with fifty-thousand, and under the security of a rolling trench, gave a brave camizado on the Polonian camp, with many pieces of ordnance, which they mounted upon pretty good banks, as the pioneers cast up earth before them.

But, as they were in this forwardness, the Cossacks came so violently upon the unarmed Tartars, that they were subject to a great slaughter; so that both they, and the janisaries, were glad to retire with loss, and the young Emperor, unacquainted with the war, was yet acquainted with oaths and curses, to chide both himself and fortune. At last, the bashaws, seeing no remedy, and finding so great obstacles of their attempts, projected the preservation of the Emperor's person; but it may be to secure their own lives: and so entrenched themselves, being (as they said) the first time that ever so great

an army of Turks was inclosed within walls: by which occasion, necessity compelled them to confess, they had new work in hand; and that there was nothing so easy, as to cry to the war, but nothing so difficult, as to return with victory.

In this manner they lay all the summer, looking upon one another with revengeful eyes, and taking the advantage of so many sallies, that the Turks lost at least, in several skirmishes, fifty-thousand men: for many times they met about the seeking of victuals, and there fought it out: many times they encountered in foraging, and getting provision for their horses: many times their courages were so exasperated, that with equal encounters, and appointed sallies, they returned home again, finding the issue nothing but slaughter and blood: and many times they determined to deceive one another, by taking the rivers, and passing the fords, which ended not without destruction, and perishing of whole companies. As for set battles, or one day's trial, by equal agreement of both parties, it never came to so formidable a business, or remarkable adventure; and therefore I cannot but wonder at the shameless reports of strange men, and weak certificates by courants from foreign parts, especially to have them printed; to talk of so many thousands slain, the Prince killed, Sigismond defeated, and the whole army put to flight, when yet (as I said) there was never any such matter, nor any set battle fought.

Yet, although the Polonians had rather the better than the Turks, they did not run away so fast with prosperity, but they were subject to many inconveniences, and they saw plainly the wars were no May-games; for they endured both hunger and cold, slackness of payment, and their entertainment came many times short.

The noble general died in the camp, the Prince lay sick of a fever, their horse miscarried, and other lamentable effects taught them extraordinary patience, which made them attend good conditions of peace; and, when they found they might be entertained, they were not scrupulous, or thought it any disparagement to propose the same.

When the bashaws were thus disappointed, especially Mahomet Bashaw, who was ever an enemy to the Moldavian business, and that he saw the young Emperor every way discontented, but especially with himself; as blaming his own unhappiness, that he should, in the first trial of his manhood, be so unfortunate, as to open the door of Christian apprehension; that the Ottoman fame was now at the highest, and the Turkish empire subject to diminution: he went another way to work, and persuaded the young Prince to make trial of another time, and peace for the present; nay, he did talk of another country, to which when the Turk angerly replied, "he would die first;" he enforced the argument, that it should be to his honour, and the Polack should seek it with great mediation.

It is said, the young Emperor shed tears, and was more afraid of his disreputation among his soldiers, than glad of any pacification of the present troubles; yet necessity had no law, and he was, in the end, compelled to the proposed composition. But how? By a politic contriving the business, and secret workings of more nimble spirits; for presently a priest of Moldavia was set on work to go among the Polonians, and by way of general complaint against the outrageous effects of war, to enlarge the happiness of peace, and infer, what a blessing it were to procure the same. Whereupon he was brought to the young Prince of Poland, and commanders of the army, with whom he at last prevailed so well, and so far, that they sent a solemn ambassy to the Great Turk, as he lay entrenched in the fields, to entreat a peace, and desire the renovation of the *antiqua pacta*, which had been ever between the two nations. The Turk had learned his lesson so well, that he seemed to make the matter strange, and of great humiliation, if he should consent thereunto, and rather a courtesy granted, than a necessity imposed, and so deferred them awhile; till at last (as if he had been overwrought by the intercession and mediation of his bashaws) he was contented to capitulate the matter, and after many meetings, and a great deal of conference, articles were drawn and confirmed with a kind of solemnity, and proclaimed by sound of trumpet in both the camps.

But see the condition of men and the inconveniences that great emperors are subject unto; for all the janisaries themselves neither durst, nor could maintain the war any

longer, and were indeed affronted with an over-mastering power, and an over-ruling discipline of war. Yet they rather complained of the Emperor, as being unfortunate, than their own cowardice, as being overmatched; and so broke up the camp with a kind of murmuring and repining. The Great Turk took easy journeys towards Adrianople, where he discharged the Tartars, and sent most of his janisaries before-hand to Constantinople. Sigismond, King of Poland, raised his army, and, rewarding the Cossacks, dismissed them home again into their own country; he went in person to Leopolis (from whence by this time Osman was come to the great city), and sent a solemn ambassador to be there a lieger, as it had been in former times.

By Christmas Osman comes home, and had the accustomed acclamations of the people, with all the ceremonies of his return; whereupon he goes in great pomp to the Sophia, and had the usual guard of his court, janisaries, to attend him. But, within short space, many fearful accidents appalled them all, and such a mischief followed, as they could not example by any precedent. First, they were astonished at a blazing comet, about which many men did rave in the interpretation. Secondly, they were affrighted at a great fire happening among the Jews, which they presaged ominous to the government. Thirdly, a sore earthquake made their hearts quake for fear. But this is so usual in those parts, by reason of the ascending up the hills, and many caverns under ground, that they needed not have made it, or taken it, for any sign of displeasure. Fourthly, the sea swelling extraordinarily, and the wind from the south-west driving the billows into the corner of the harbour, made such a noise and formidable sound, as catching the tackle of the ships and galleys in its whistling, that they were afraid even of common accidents.

Last of all, and worst of all, by reason of the great concourse of people and resort of strangers, such a famine happened in the city, and dearth in the country, that every one complained; and, though it was remediless by the policy of man, yet was the fault laid upon superiors, and the Emperor himself did not escape scandal and calumniation.

For, while the viziers and principal officers endeavoured the common good, and studied the weal public, (which could not be done, but by discharging the city of multitudes of inhabitants,) all was interpreted to be done for their private wealth, and ambitious overruling of others; but when it came to the discharging of many janisaries and soldiers out of the city, to live as it were in garrison in the country, and that the Emperor was slack in their donatives, and former allowances out of his treasury; they stormed beyond measure, and threatened the viziers and bashaws to have a better account of the business; crying out, "They would not be quiet, till they were employed in one service or other." To this the vizier replied, "That he wondered at their baseness and audaciousness, that having failed in all their enterprises, they durst yet complain of any accident, more than their own cowardice. As for the satisfying of wilful men, they would not violate the laws of nations, or infringe the contracted peace with other kingdoms, to appease the mutinies of turbulent spirits, who, if they might have their own demands, knew not what to demand. As for yourselves, what would you have? You know the treasury is exhausted, and the dearth is so great, that we have not sufficient to buy us bread; and, for your murmurings and repinings against the majesty of the Prince, as if he alone were branded with misfortune, or born under some disastrous constellation; how can this be, that, with the same hands, wherewith you boast you uphold the empire, you will presumptuously pull it in pieces? But I see the reason; this is for lack of discipline to make you know yourselves: and so I cannot resemble you better than unto stinking weeds and nettles, which, crushed hard, lose their force, and cannot hurt at all; but, gently handled, will sting and endamage one."

Till this they were not much enraged, but now no flames could exestuate more than their fury and ravings; for they dared to condemn the viziers, and cried out on their childish and unfortunate Emperor, that having neither sufficient wit nor courage to govern the state, must be over-ruled by such, as made policy, covetousness, and ambition, the supportation of their greatness, and the commanding voice to do what they list, without controul; yea, such was the refractory disobedience of them at this time, that many

offered to lay violent hands both on himself and his servants; and had not the aga, or their captain, come in to their pacification, they had questionless begun a war of mischief and insolent trouble.

Well, they are quieted all this time: the suspicion of further uproars and mischiefs made the whole city stand upon their guard, and every bashaw strengthened himself with as many friends as he could; and the viziers, for security of the Emperor, assembled the causes, cappagies, spaheis, and janisaries of the court, to guard the seraglio, and watch the passages. Now you must consider, that there hath been ever enmity and emulation between these janisaries of the palace, and janisaries at large; whereupon, when these understood that they were appointed for opposition, and saw plainly that there was a device to single them out, that so they might be brought in question for their mutinies; they resolved, with Herostratus, that burnt the temple of Diana, to perform some nefarious and notorious outrage, to be remembered to posterity, or be registered for an exorbitant action; and so, in multitudes past belief, they set upon the Emperor's seraglio, broke open the iron gates, dissipated the guards, seized on the women, and took as many bashaws as they could. But the chiefest reason, why they offered this outrage, is as followeth.

Sultan Osman having taken out of the treasury of Seven Towers a good quantity of gold, and being therewith passed over into Asia, with resolution to go unto Mecca: the great mufti, his father-in-law, having laboured with all the greatest of the court, whom it pleased not at all, that their Emperor, being so young, should make so far and long a voyage; not being able to remove him from his resolution, as he desired, did, in policy, spread a rumour abroad, that the Emperor had taken so many millions of gold away with him, purposing therewith to make new wars against his enemies, notwithstanding the small satisfaction he had given in the late wars against Poland. Which coming to the understanding of the spahies and janisaries, they rise; and in a fury ran unto the tower wherein Sultan Mustapha was imprisoned, and taking him thereout, saluted him Emperor, who was lawfully elected by the father of Osman. This coming to the knowledge of the young Emperor, he sent his grand vizier, and the aga of his janisaries, to appease the same; who were presently slain by the soldiers in their fury. By which accident the young Emperor, to remedy this disorder, being forced to come himself in person, was instantly made prisoner, and brought to the presence of his uncle Mustapha; who having framed judgment against him, caused him to be carried prisoner to the same tower where he himself had been prisoner, and the night following to be strangled, with two of his sons but lately born; which was most inhumanly commanded by Mustapha, his own uncle; who, for the more security, to keep the empire from another usurpation, caused it to be effected.

It is also written, that although he condescended to deliver into their hands all the chief men they required, which were the principallest of the Ottoman court, who afterwards were all slain with the sword; though he proffered them great gifts, yea to increase their stipends, and other preferments; all could not avail, to assuage the anger of the soldiers.

It is further reported, that the Emperor had given in charge to the keeper of the tower, that he should suffer Mustapha to die of hunger, to avoid those disgraces and accidents which since had befallen him; and it seems he had already sustained some want of food; for so soon as he came to be set at liberty by the people, he presently cried our for water, saying, "He was ready to die of thirst, and that if he had not come out of prison when he did, he presently had yielded up his life; being (as he said) wonderfully preserved by his god Mahomet."

When the young Emperor Osman was brought to his presence, he kneeled on his knees, and craved pardon of him for his life, as heretofore Ottoman had done the like to him. But Mustapha answered, saying; "That favour I have received, cometh from Heaven, and not from your hand."

He afterwards caused the grand mufti, the Great Turk's uncle, to be put to death, who had formerly bereaved him of so great an empire, and made him a Masul; which is as

much as to say, as a man deposed from his office. He placed, in the room of the dead vizier, Daut Pascias, a man of great wisdom, and one that had demeaned himself well in matters of great importance.

It is also said, that the death of the young Emperor is very ill taken by the soldiers: for they desired the death of none of them, but that they might be reconciled, and govern them as their natural lords and princes, as they best could agree; and the rather, for that, by reason of the death of the aforesaid Osman, the whole race of the Ottomans is extinguished, if the two children are put to death, as is reported; for that Sultan Mustapha, now Emperor, is held unable for generation.

Others report, that Sultan Osman was not as yet gone over into Asia, but was upon going, and that the mufti, and other his adherents, not being able to remove him from his resolution, did use this but as a device to divert him, casting this rumour among the people, viz. the spahies and the janisaries, as is aforesaid; which happened to his ruin, and a declination and ending of the Ottoman empire.

To come to a conclusion: Never was so violent an act so suddenly performed, nor so quickly repented: for the janisaries stood amazed at their own villainy, and by night, there was not a man seen, that durst justify their treasons; for they fled for the present, no man knew whither; and those, which remained, were afraid to stand for the glory of the house of Osman, but they would live and die in the obedience of a worthy emperor.

But how this uproar ceased, or tumult was appeased; what offenders be taken, or how punished; what bashaws be slain, or from whence others are admitted; by what means the doctors of the law came together again, or whether they escaped; if you long to know, I long as much to inform you; which if I may do, I will do, according to the next certificate that comes.

A Discourse upon prodigious Abstinence; occasioned by the twelve Months Fasting of Martha Taylor, the famed Derbyshire Damsel: Proving that, without any Miracle, the Texture of human Bodies may be so altered, that Life may be long continued without the Supplies of Meat and Drink. With an Account of the Heart, and how far it is interested in the Business of Fermentation. By John Reynolds. Humbly offered to the Royal Society.

London, printed by R. W. for Nevil Simmons, at the Sign of the Three Crowns near Holbourn Conduit; and for Dorman Newman, at the Surgeons-Arms in Little-Britain, 1669.[1]

[Quarto, containing Thirty-seven Pages, besides the Title and Dedication.]

To the deservedly famous and my honoured Friend, Walter Needham, Doctor of Physick; as also a Member of, and Curator-Elect to, the Royal Society.

SIR,

IT were a solecism of the first magnitude to entertain you with any thing like a narrative of the superennial fast, under all the havocks and depredations whereof the Derbyshire damsel hath hitherto been sustained, though emaciated thereby into the ghastliness of a skeleton, to the great astonishment of the *vulgus*. Your correspondencies are so faithful, and your circumstances so advantageous, as wholly to supersede the necessity of my engaging in, and the possibility of my gratifying you, by such a province. However, indulge me, while bemoaning myself, the liberty to tell you, that concerning the phænomenas attending this prodigious abstinence, my own thoughts have been so miserably ravelled, and my scanty intellectuals so much overmatched thereby, that I could not with any complacency look into those, nor with any delight consult these. A just reverence to reformed theologues, asserting a total cessation of miracles, forbade me to immure myself in any such supernatural asylum; and a prejudicate opinion of human bodies, in this animal state, allowed me not to enrefuge my fluctuating mind in physical causes clubbing together, by an anomalous copulation, to engender so great an heteroclite. While thus lost in the chaos of confused apprehensions, and smarting under the hurricane of my own tumultuary thoughts, I hurry away to a very worthy and compassionate friend, who with a little deliberation runs through the diagnosticks of my malady, pitieth my case, and, after some sharp conflicts with his own modesty, affords the relief of a philosophical elixir (for so I call the ensuing discourse), wholly transferring the right, which he had in the happy results of his own contemplations, upon me. Now, Sir, what by much importunity I extorted from him, for my own private satisfaction, I make bold to tender the world a view of, under the countenance and protection of your great name, which is not only able to secure it from the critical paraphrases of an envious age, but also to command it the

[1] [See Oldys' Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 59.]

justice of an unprejudicate perusal, with such as know your worth. To my own grief, I have found it much an anodyne; or as a pleasant lullaby to my whimpering fancy; the issue of all hath been rest. Not knowing, but it may minister the like seasonable relief to others, who have not wit and philosophy enough to start any greater objections than myself; I judged it worthy to travel the world. The confidence, wherein I seek to entitle you to the patrociny of it, is no less than an assurance of your benign nature, singular ingenuity, and obliging goodness; which have begotten and pupilled in me that pursuasion, ever since I had the happiness and honour to know you. Besides, your clearer intellectuals, and your vast acquaintance with nature's recondite mysteries, made it wholly incongruous to adopt any other the object of this dedication. I do still remember, with the deepest resentments of a grateful heart, the happy distinction betwixt parts spermatic and parts hematic, wherewith in pity you relieved me, when anxiously enquiring, upon a religious account, after the *principium individuationis* in human bodies; a notion (as to me it seems) more able to rescue the grand article of our creed concerning the resurrection of the same individual body from under suspicion, and the many gross absurdities, that some philosophasters, and half-witted atheists, would fain clog it with, than any offerture of human reason, that I ever yet had the happiness to meet with! Here (methinks I could break forth into an εὕρηκα, and congratulate my great, though late felicity, that the εἶδος χαρακτηριζον τὸ σῶμα, as Origen, in one sense or other, calls it) the principle maintaining a numerical identity in human bodies, through the whole series of vicissitudes, changes, and Sanctorian transmutations, betwixt the uterine formation, and the ultimate reunition of soul and body; should, after many a tedious search, and frustraneous disquisition, at last, be suggested by an hand able, in the maintenance of it, to grapple with any contradictor. In this you have satisfied not only my reason, but my curiosity too; and therefore, Sir, so great is my opinion of your skill *(absit omnis adulationis suspicio!)* that whatever dogma steps abroad with your name written upon it, I could almost surrender up myself as a perfect captive to it (were I not a man, and which is more, a Protestant) upon an implicit faith! But I have (I know not well how) digressed, and stepped aside, into things heterogeneous to the purport of this dedicatory address. I therefore return to my ingenious friend's discourse, upon which, were my judgment in these matters worth any thing, I could afford to be liberal in the bestowance of my encomiums. But, as it is shrouded under your patronage, so it is submitted to your censure; (this I am bold to do, knowing the author so much an admirer of you, that he cannot reluctate;) whether more worthy of your pity or your approbation, none can better judge, than your discerning and deserving self. Therefore, such as it is, I leave it to your mercy; and beg leave to tell you, that I should presently fall out with myself, did I not, upon a faithful scrutiny, find myself in the number of those that really love and honour you.

Farewell.

Worthy SIR,

YOUR requests to take into consideration the so-much famed prodigious twelve-months abstinence of the Derbyshire maid, having the force of commands, have produced these lean results of the imposed meditations. It cannot be unknown to a person of your large endowments, and hot pursuit after substantial science, that both divines, medicks, historians; yea, poets and legenders; have presented the learned world with a great variety of wonderful abstinents, some whereof I shall briefly recite, as well to reserve your sliding time for more noble employments, as to manifest that our contemporary Derbense is not so singular as some may imagine.

Most certain it is, that the [2] learned Moses [3] fasted forty days, and as many nights, whilst he abode on the burning Mount; the great [4] Elijah went as long in the strength of

[2] Καὶ ἐπαιδεύθη Μωσῆς πάσῃ σοφίᾳ Αἰγυπτίων. Acts vii. 22. [3] Exod. xxxiv. 28. [4] 1 Kings xix. 8.

a meal; and no less was the fast of the [5] holy Jesus. St. Austin [6] reports, that in his time, one survived forty days fasting. But most strange is the story fathered on [7] Nicephorus, of three brethren affrighted by persecution into a cave, where they slept three-hundred and seventy-three years, as was known by the coin they produced, when they awaked. The learned [8] Fernelius saith, he saw a pregnant woman that lived two months without meat or drink. Zacutus Lusitanus [9] reports, that at Venice there lived a man that fasted forty days; another there forty-six days; and from Langius and Forstius (two considerable writers) another, full three years; and that with just stature, good habit, free countenance, and youthful wit. The famous [10] Sennertus is copious in such stories; he relates from Sigismundus and Citesius, a person, he saith, worthy of credit, that the people of Lucomoria, inhabiting some mountains in Muscovy, do every year die, in a sort, (or rather sleep or freeze) like frogs or swallows, on November 27, and so continue in that rigid state till April 24; in which time they use no evacuation, save only that a tenuious humour, distilling from their nostrils, is presently condensed by the ambient cold, much like to icicles, by the which those patent pores are precluded, and the most endangered brain fortified against the fatal assaults of brumal extremities. The same Sennertus rehearses a story of a virgin at Padua, from Viguntia, professor there, who, anno 1598, was afflicted with a fever, then a tumour, then arthritic pains, and pains in the ventricle, and whole abdomen; then with vomiting and nauseating of food, till, at last, she could take no food for two months; then, after another fit of vomiting, purging, and bleeding, she fasted eight months; and, after a little use of food, she fasted two months more. And, to be short, he stories it of three persons that fasted each two years, one three years, another four, one seven, another fifteen, another eighteen, and one twenty; yea, one twenty-nine, another thirty, another thirty-six, and one forty years. Famous is the story, perhaps fiction, being poetical, of [11] Epimenides (whose words St. Paul is thought to cite in his epistle to Titus, Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται) whom some report to have slept seventeen years, some seventy-seven years together. But enough of story; those that are desirous to read more, are referred to Marcellus Donat. lib. iv. de Med. Hist. Mirab. c. 12; Schenk, lib. iv. Observ.; Guaguinus, lib. iii. Hist. Franc.; Petrarch. lib. iii. de Mirabil. c. 22; Portius de Hist. Puellæ German. Uspergensis in Chron.; Lentulus in Hist. Admir.; Apol. Baccius lib. de Vini Nutritione; Bozius, lib. xi. c. 4. de Signis Eccl.; Fulgosius, lib. i. c. 6; Lessæus, lib. ix. Hist. Scot.; Favorinus apud Gellium, lib. xvi. c. 3; and especially Licetus, that wrote a particular tract to solve the phænomena of this prodigy.

Now, Sir, it would be our ambition to advance towards the same noble work, were it not our duty to serve those a while that blot all these stories with one dash of unbelief. That pen certainly drops blasphemy, that dares to raze the sacred records; and that uncharitableness which presumes to write falsehood upon all human testimonies: they that assent to nothing, not confirmed by Autopsia, are unfit to converse in human societies; for how can I expect that any body should believe me, whilst I myself will believe nobody? It is an argument of an empty brain, to presume to comprehend all things, and thereupon to reject those things, from an existence in the world, that have not their science in its intellectuals. Many things foreign and strange may well be admitted on good testimonies, since the most obvious objects are scarce pervious to the most eagle-eyed philosopher; witness the mistakes discovered by Descartes, Gassendus, &c. in Aristotle himself, one of the most sublimated wits in all the republick of natural philosophy; and likewise the spots in Hippocrates and Galen, those mirrors in medicine, modestly pointed at by our famous Harvey, Glisson, Willis, &c. But, further to satisfy these incredulous persons, it is affirmed, that some of these abstinents have been [12] watched by the most wakeful eyes and jealous ears, to detect their fraud, if guilty of any; as was that maid that refused all

[5] Matt. iv. 2. [6] August. in Epist. 86. ad Casulanum. [7] Nicephor. lib. xiv. cap. 45.
[8] Fernel. lib. vi. Patholog. cap. 1. [9] Zac. Lusit. de Medic. Princ. Hist. p. 914.
[10] Sennert. Pract. lib. iii. par. 1. sect. ii. cap. 3. de longâ Abstin. p. 383.
[11] Vid. Sennert. ubi supra. Zac. Lusit. ubi supra. Plutarch. in Sympos. et Lib. de Facie in Orb. Lunæ.
[12] Sennert. ubi supra.

food, except only water, for three years, by Bucoldianus, with whom she abode for twelve days, at the command of Ferdinand the emperor; so that Apollonia Schrejerana was taken by the senate of Bern, and put into the hospital of that town, and there watched till they were satisfied in the truth of her total abstinence.

But enough to these that cut the knot, to save the trouble of untying it: yet I may not step aside to those in the contrary extreme, that believe a century of such reports, with a faith almost as miraculous as these miracles themselves, for so they seem to them. But, Sir, as it is human infidelity to disbelieve all such reports, because some are false; so it is superstitious charity to believe all, because some are true. Some persons as scant in their reading, as they are in their travels, are ready to deem every thing strange to be a monster, and every monster a miracle: true it is, the fast of Moses, Elijah, and the Incarnate Word, was miraculous, and possibly of some others; yet why we should make all miracles, I understand not; for what need have we now of miracles? Since such supernatural operations [13] are for them that believe not, not for them that believe; as witnesseth that [14] celestial philosopher St. Paul: and thence we infer, beings are not to be multiplied without necessity. Moreover, to what end are such miracles wrought? Certainly, the infinitely wise Operator labours not for nought; therefore these abstinents, if miraculous, should confirm some doctrine rejected, or refute some error received; infranchise some saints oppressed, subvert some wickedness exalted, foretel some extraordinary events and issues of Providence to be performed, or for some other end, at which miracles have been usually levelled; but not a cry of these from most of our abstinents: moreover, the fast of our blessed Saviour and his *prodromi* procured not the least detriment to their health, but it is otherwise with most of these.

Near of kin to these miracle-mongers are those that suppose these pretended fasters to be invisibly fed by angels; but it is incredible that such a favour should be shewn to persons of no known sanctity, as some of these (reported to be ethnicks) were: moreover, either this food was visible, or invisible; if visible, it is strange that vigilant observers, and jealous suspectors, could neither discover the ingress at the fore-door, nor the excrementitious egress at the back-door; but, if it were invisible, then altogether incongruous to our bodies, and therefore miraculous; of which before. Neither is it of easy credibility, that food should be supplied by dæmons possessing them; for we read of no footsteps of such a possession in the story, and it would be strange if the devil should grow so modest as to content himself with a single trophy of a captivated rational; and as strange, that a cloven foot should make such inroads, and not leave a doubled, yea, redoubled impression. Cousin-germans to these are the presumers that the fasters are dead, and acted by dæmons: but this notion is also incongruous, not only to their transmigration from feeding to fasting, without any show of a dissolution; but also to their regress from fasting to feeding (as it happened to some of these) and health again.

And as for the admirers of occult philosophy, who resolve these phrases into the effects of occult qualities, we only repose, that though an antipathy to this or that food, and possibly to all food, may cause abstinence; yet, without food, I cannot understand how it gives sustenance; but others attribute all this to the influence of celestial bodies, whose operations I deny not to be great on sublunary wights; yet it is not imaginable, that this universal cause, diffusing its energy so promiscuously, should now and then in a century, here and there in a country, produce such stupendous effects, without some universal preparation and predisposition of bodies to determine its general efficacy to the production of such a prodigy; but as the former affect darkness, and these an invisible light, we leave them to their retirements, whilst we hunt the more perceptible prints of nature's progress in these anomalous productions.

By this time, Sir, I hope you will grant that the old inconvenient and tottering building is, in a measure, demolished, the rubbish removed, and the ground cleared; let us now propound the necessities and conveniences, the ends and uses by our new building to be

[13] 1 Cor. xiv. 22. [14] 2 Cor. xii. 3.

supplied and attained; and then we will fall to the architecture itself: I mean, let us consider, what the defect of aliment doth require for the support of human life. 1st, The natural evacuations, by urine, stool, salivation, terms, and transpiration, are so lavish, that, without reparation by feeding, it seems impossible to avoid a sudden dissolution. 2dly, How shall natural heat be preserved from extinction without a constant feeding on the radical moisture? And how shall this oleaginous humour be secured from a nimble consumption, if it receive not additions from feeding? 3dly, How shall fermentation be continued in the blood without new additions of chyle? And how shall chyle be added, if no food is received? 4thly, How shall there be a supply of vital spirits, and consequently of animal, without food and fermentation? 5thly, How can life consist without sleep? And how shall we attain sleep, without ascending fumes to the brain from ingested food?

For a foundation, I shall premise a few severals: 1. The long finger of powerful Providence is undoubtedly to be observed in the production of these wonderful effects; though these be not advanced to the zenith of divine miracles, wrought by the immediate hand of Omnipotency; yet the first cause must be acknowledged in the proportioning, marshalling, dividing, uniting, and actuating of concurrent subordinate second causes for such heteroclite productions: Plato himself could say, γεομετρεῖ ὁ Θεὸς, and the admirable Dr. Willis acknowledges, that nature's Parent orders natural [15] principles as to their quantity and mixture, and consequently as to their operations.

2. It is very evident, that when higher causes shall disjoin what nature usually conjoineth, and *vice versâ*, and exalt one principle and depress another, then very astonishing results appear upon the stage of human bodies; such is the stupendous voracity of some *helluos*, the monstrous digestion of your *lithophagi*, the strange metamorphosis of your sanguineans into midnight melancholy, and of lucid intellectuals into piceous mopishness, &c.

1. Now to supply the defect of food in its most useful restoration of what by daily evacuations the body is deprived of; as I need not compute the vast expence of the microcosm, by stool, urine, spitting, and terms, these being vulgarly known; so neither of the transcendent loss by transpiration, reckoned by [16] Sanctorius to preponderate all the rest; all which exact constant additions to be made by aliment, without which the body would quickly be depopulated. But, 1. Let it be considered, that this person (as it is most credibly reported) empties nothing by urine or stool; and, it is probable, next to nothing by salivation or transpiration; not by salivation through a considerable defect of drinks; nor by transpiration, because, wanting food, there is a partial defect of fermentation in the blood, and thence of natural heat, and so, by the coldness of the parts, the pores are precluded, and the diaphoresis impeded; whence it will follow, that where the parts are duly warm, and the pores patent, there the more active principles are apt to take flight; yet, where the parts are cold, and the pores corked up, there it is otherwise; as generous wines and subtile spirits, left in open vessels, will quickly bid adieu to their more volatile and brisk principles; yet, if shut up in safe vessels, these fugitives are imprisoned and kept to their daily offices. The same is verified in aqueous humours, which (our kitchens as well as laboratories experiment) quickly evaporate through intense subjacent heats, but not without, and so it is here. Thus, these plentiful evacuations being suppressed, restoration by food is rendered less necessary. Yet, lest you should dread from this hypothesis a suffocating mass of excrementitious humours to assault the heart, &c., I therefore subjoin, that a defect of nutritious assumptions must needs precede a defect of humours: moreover, the blood commands much of these remaining humours for its own chariot use; neither may it seem dissonant to reason, that the ventricle and some of the intestines are used as a receptacle of the more tartarous and terrestrial feculencies; as embryos, though they receive large quantities of liquid nutriment, yet there is seldom observed the least

[15] "Si hujusmodi limitationis causa inquiratur, dicimus, quòd naturæ Parens posuit in primogenito cujusque rei semine talem spiritûs salis et sulphuris copiam quæ producendis ultimis corporum staminibus, seu lineamenti, sufficeret." Willis de Ferment. p. 48, 49.

[16] Sanctorius de Staticâ Medicinâ.

excretion by the fundament, but a retention of a quantity of excrementitious terrestreities in the intestines, during their whole abode in their maternal cells; likewise, in fermenting liquors, the more active principles do precipitate the more sluggish to the bottoms, chinks, and walls of their continents: further, it cannot be denied, that by expiration, there is a considerable evacuation, as appears both by the heat of our breath, and its moisture, which is discovered by the reception of it into any concavous body. But, 2. Admit that there is some waste either by salivation or transpiration, yet these, being small, produce only a lingering consumption, which doth often consist for many years with a declining life: such as our virgin's is.

2. How shall natural heat be preserved, if not fed by oil, continually supplied and renewed by aliment? There are, Sir, divers opinions touching human ignicles, and therefore it highly concerns us to proceed cautiously. It cannot be denied, that there is a potential heat, more or less, in all human bodies, which is the *calor mixti*, remaining, when we are dead and key-cold; such as is the heat of sulphur, arsenick, &c. though in a great allay. This appears from chymical operations on man's blood, by which it is forced to acknowledge its endowments with spirits and volatile salts in great quantities, and some sulphur also. Likewise, it must be granted, that there is an actual heat abiding in us, whilst we live, and some while after death. This is obvious to the sense of feeling itself; this is the heat, as I conceive, joined with the primogenite humour, to which Aristotle ascribes life itself. But yet, Sir, I am somewhat doubtful, whether this heat be properly called *calor vivens*, through the great[17] Riverius term it so; or an immediate cause of life, though an Aristotle pronounce it so: for, certainly, Holy Scripture ascribes life to the blood, 'The blood is the life thereof;' and death to a dissolution of the *compositum*, 'The body returns to the dust, and the spirit to God that gave it.' But of this dissolution, I suppose, the soul is not ordinarily the cause, but the body; and what part of the body may more justly be challenged to be the parent (if I may so phrase it) of death, than the blood, which is, in a famous sense, the parent of life. So, then, [18] most killing distempers must arise from the excessive multiplication, consumption, or depravation of the blood, and the pernicious effects thereof: yet, mistake me not, this hinders not other parts of the body, bowels, and humours to be often peccant, as undoubtedly they are, by infecting the blood, and receiving infections morbific from it. Moreover, this heat continues some hours without life, even after the dissolution; and, as it is without life, so is life often found without it, as, not only in some vegetables, as, lettuce, hemlock, cucumbers, &c. but in animals, as frogs and fish, which are said to be actually cold, and the salamander, reputed cold in a high degree. This heat may, possibly, be but the effect of matter and motion, i. e. of the blood, or before it, of the seed impregnated with active principles, which, through their activity and heterogeneity, suffer mutual collisions, or fermentations, whence ebullition; and thence this heat, which is, by circulation, not only promoted, but also conveyed to all parts of the body, and by the same causes preserved; which, possibly, may prove the sum of [19] Riverius's implanted and influent heat. These things presupposed, it will not be impossible to guess, that this heat is no such celestial fire, as the most famous Fernelius would have it, but only the igneous result of the combinations and commotions of the most active elementary principles; and, if there be any other heat, it may prove to be, according to the conjecture of the great Riverius, the product of the immaterial soul. But of that I understand little; only this is unquestionable, that the celestial soul chooseth, for its more immediate organs, the most subtiliated, spirituous, and active parts of matter, such as the vital and animal spirits, and the heat beforementioned, (which seems to be of the same genius,) and all but the mechanic productions of various fermentations, percolations, and distillations in the human engine: wherefore I shall crave leave to dismiss this fire, till we come to discourse of fermentations.

[17] Riverii Instit. Med. lib. i. sect. 4. c. 3. de Calido innato. Ἐστὶ μονὴ τῆς θρεπτικῆς σὺν τῷ θερμῷ. Arist. de Respirat.

[18] Willis de Morb. Convuls. p. 175. Needham de formato Fœtu, p. 138. Loweri Diatribæ, p. 115. Fernel. de Abdit. lib. ii. c. 7.

[19] Riverius, ubi supra.

And so I pass on to the next flame; which is the *biolychnium*, or the actual flame of the blood kindled in the heart, asserted both by ancients and moderns of astonishing titles and tremendous veneration; which devouring flame, if once kindled, will quickly depredate all the oleaginous aliment, if not renewed by frequent and plentiful assumptions. But, therefore, it is greatly suspected to have no existence in our bodies, because, in these jejunants, it must needs extinguish, for want of sulphureous supplies, and produce death to those that have lived long enough to help to entomb it. It is strange to me, that provident nature should require such vast supplies, both of meat and drink, out of which to extract a small quantity of nutritious juice; which, with divers ferments, colatures, emunctories, and rapid motions, it endeavours to exalt and defæcate: and yet, after all, should expose what she hath attained of purity and activity, and consequently of noblest use, by her unparalleled artifices, cost, and toil, to the improvident disposal of wasteful flames; for, indeed, flames are great wasters, as appears in the preparation of the balsam of sugar, &c. No less wonderful is it, that a flame should continually burn in the heart, and yet the fleshly walls thereof not boiled, roasted, nor so much as a fuliginous, or cineritious colour imparted. But, lest, Sir, you should be confident, that this perennial flame scorns an extinction by these few drops, I therefore commend to your observation those numerous and plentiful buckets, that are poured thereupon by the dextrous hand of the very learned and candid Dr. Needham [20]. But yet, lest you should be so far prepossessed, by the determinations of venerable antiquity, as to reject this new doctrine, and avowedly maintain this unseen fire, I shall therefore add, 1. That this flame can be but small, through the defect of bodily exercise, and freer ventilations, (these fasters being mostly close prisoners,) as also of strong fermentations; therefore, the less the lamp, the less oil will sustain it. 2. Through the defect of heat, the pores are bolted, and transpiration restrained; whence a scarce credible quantity of moisture is retained, which, returning both by veins and lymphaticks, gives no contemptible quantity of food to this fire. 3. Through the restraint of transpiration, the igneous particles are secured from their excursions, to the great increase of intestine heat; for, in feeders, the loss of transpiration often kindles in the blood a feverish fire. 4. The air (as impregnated sometimes especially) entering by the mouth, the nose, and pores, in parts passing the various concoctions, may be converted into a humour not altogether unapt to preserve the lingering life of this dying flame. 5. In pituitous bodies, the abundance of phlegm, through the various concoctions which it undergoes in the body, may become useful, in the room of more proper aliment, to this analogous lamp in its table-supplies: which phlegm though some reject as excrementitious, yet, I suppose, they do it only, when consideration is from home of its usefulness in the mastication of our food, wherein, as some say, lies the first concoction; at least, therein lies the main preparation for the grand concoction in the ventricle. The constant mixture of our food with our spittle, in the jaw-mill, may force some considering men to think, that it is nearer of kin to our natural moisture, than hath been formerly acknowledged. 6. The colliquation of the parts of these emaciated bodies may yield oil to these lamps, as it is usually affirmed in hectic fevers. Besides, if fire be nothing but an innumerable host of sulphureous atoms, breaking the prisons of their former compositions with other heterogeneities; [21] then, certainly, all fire is αὐτοφαγὸς, for nothing of that sulphur remains; it leaves only the heterogeneous principles, with which it was combined. 7. It is probable, that the moisture of these jejune bodies is much not only condensed by their cold, but also loaded with terrestreities, through the non-reception of aliment impregnated with active principles; whereby it is rendered more durable in this flame; as oils, the more impure, thick, and clammy they are, the less fiercely they burn; but, the more tenuious and spirituous, the more nimbly do they flame, and expeditiously consume: as my face and hair did sadly experiment, upon the unexpected and sudden conflagration of a quantity of the oil of turpentine, as I, not long since, drew it from the fire. I dare say, the turpentine itself would not, or rather could not, have served

[20] Needham de formato Fœtu, p. 129, &c. [21] Willis de Ferment. p. 66.

me so. 8. This moisture, being drawn from more jejune principles (as air, phlegm, and lympha),[22] is the less impregnated with nitro-sulphureous particles, and therefore less inflammable; as, in oligophorous wines, where the spirit and sulphur are greatly exhaled, and with a quality abundantly dilated, there fire slowly burns. 9. It is probable, that the crasis of these bodies is so altered, by the predominancy of fixed salts not duly actuated by powerful fermentations, that they much retard the consumption of oil by this vital fire; as, if quick-lime, soap, or other saline concretes be added to wax, or tallow, they will (say chymists) make a candle of far greater duration than ordinary. Strange is that story of[23] St. Augustine, who reports a lamp to be found in the temple of Venus, that no storms could extinguish: yet much more strange was that torch, reported[24] to have burnt fifteen-hundred and fifty years, in the tomb of Tullia, Cicero's daughter, which being exposed to the air, by the opening of the tomb, was quickly extinguished. Now, if our humours should chance to attain the disposition of these ancient oils, they might supply the *biolychnium* long enough. 10. Or if these fixed salts should attain fluidity, as it is probable they have done, because some of these abstinents were of melancholic complexions[25], then the sulphureous parts of the humours would be so fettered and oppressed thereby, that they could not so quickly burst from under the yoke into violent flames, but by degrees, and leisurably, as they could disentangle themselves; from whence will arise a more durable, though less forceable fire. Lastly, It seems probable, that extraneous particles of fire may be conveyed into a body, and therein lodged, which shall afterwards cause heats to kindle therein. That igneous particles pass from one body to another, seems a matter of daily experience; for it is not easy to demonstrate, how our bodies are warmed by their approach to the fire, if there be not fiery effluviums from the burning matter, that enters our bodies; and, that these fiery atoms, thus lodged in a foreign body, may afterwards, by water, air, or the like, break forth into a considerable heat, is very imaginable; as in quick-lime, which, before it is burnt, is not at all subject to combustions by air, or water; but when it hath endured the kiln-fire, then it is readily kindled by the addition of almost any humidity. Which humidities may not be supposed directly to contribute to the kindling of the atoms, but to the dissolving of the concrete, and, thereby, the disentangling of the atoms; whereupon they fly out into a considerable heat; like whereunto is that powder[26], boasted by chymists, to take flame in your hands, by the only addition of spittle. Thus, Sir, having tendered a slender repast for your antique lamp, I crave leave to attend the more modern hypothesis of famed fermentation.

Thirdly, How shall fermentation be continued in the blood, without the addition of chyle? And how can chyle be added, without food assumed? It is the opinion of ingenious[27] Henshavius, that fermentation is caused by the addition of chyle to the blood in the heart, like that of wine by the adding of must; from whence doth arise (he saith) a necessity of frequent feeding; which the excellent[28] Dr. Needham seems much to approve: and both the incomparable[29] Willis and ingenious[30] Castle cite Hogeland for ascribing heat to a fermentation in the heart, like to that which happens upon the pouring of spirit of nitre on butter of antimony. *Resp.* Now, Sir, to help us out at this dead lift also, I shall take notice of the several opinions of the learned, touching the causes of fermentation. First, There is a ferment placed in the heart itself by the great[31] Willis and his Hypaspistes, the dextrous anatomist Dr. Lower[32], with Dr. Castle[33], and other renowned assertors of fermentation. This, Sir, would serve us eximiously to supply the defect of new chyle, if it were but sufficiently evinced; but, I must confess ingenuously, though (as it is not unknown to you) I have laboured to advance the antique glory of the heart, yet I

[22] Willis de Febr. p. 103. Idem, de Ferment. p. 866. French's Art of Distillation, p. 148. Joh. Baptist. Porta. Card. de Subtilitate. [23] Ludovic. Vives, in lib. xxi. c. 6. de Civitate Dei Augustini.
[24] Guido Pancirollus. [25] Sennert. Pract. lib. iii. part. 2. sect. 2. de longâ Abstinentiâ.
[26] French's Art of Distillation, p. 130. [27] Henshav. in ἀρχαλίνῳ. [28] Needh. de form. Fœtu, p. 132.
[29] Willis de Febr. p. 113. [30] Castle's Chym. Gal. p. 81, 82.
[31] Willis de Ferment. p. 24, 25. De Febr. p. 101, 102, 103. [32] Loweri Diatrib. p. 121, 124.
[33] Castle's Chym. Gal. p. 81, 82.

cannot satisfy myself, though I would, that there is any such implanted ferment therein; for I find not this ferment confirmed by any experiment, or other sufficient evidence, but *(absit invidia verbo!)* too precariously asserted; nor any necessity assigned for such a ferment, the doctrine of fermentation being sufficiently demonstrated without it: and, though the honour ascribed to the heart may seem to require it, yet I cannot approve of conferring honours, which infer a necessity of multiplying beings above what the *opus* and *usus* of nature createth. Neither can I conceive where this ferment should be nested: it must be either in the walls of the heart, or in the chambers thereof. In the walls (saith Dr. Castle[34], from Severinus, Danus, Des Cartes, and Hogeland) are mechanic spirits, seminal salts, or ferments; but yet, *pace tanti viri*, the heart, by its carnous fibres, membranes, colour, and consistence, seems to be but a muscle, as our worthy Dr. Needham[35] and acute Steno[36] affirm; and if so, how a ferment should be there generated, any otherwise than in other muscles, I do not understand. It hath not the parenchyma of the liver, spleen, or other parts which are colatures to the blood, whereby they easily separate, and, having separated, retain what may conduce to constitute ferments; but the walls of the heart seem only, like other muscles, to receive blood for their own private use, but none for a public stock. Moreover, if there were such a salt ferment, it is a wonder it doth not discolour the rutilous fibres, as the salt in the spleen manifestly doth, but leave it of the same hue with other non-fermenting muscles; neither are there any cavities, within these walls, capacious enough to contain these mechanic spirits for public offices; nay, it is observable, that the heart is more firm, fast, hard, and less stored with porosities, than other muscles. Neither in the auricles, or ventricles, can these spirits keep quiet possession, by reason of that impetuous torrent, which many times in every minute washeth both floors and walls; and though these cavities have their cellars, yet, by the so frequent constrictions of the omnimodous fibres causing the systole, there is not only a mixture of the blood at the bottom with that on the top, but also a violent extrusion of both, made in the same pulsation. Neither, in dissections, is there any considerable difference found betwixt that in the heart, and that in the veins, as famous Harvey observeth. Yet, with a *non-obstante* to these premises, I must tell you, I opine that fermentation may, not abusively, be ascribed to the mechanic structure and operations of the heart, though not enriched with an innate ferment; of which hereafter more seasonably.

Secondly, It is not unknown, that several liquors are self-sufficient to command a fermentation, and that perfective, as wines, cyder, with other like spirito-sulphuro-saline fluids; as also fruits of a more crass consistence, as apples, pears, plums, &c. whereof many are advanced, by lying, to a greater perfection, after pulling from their mother's breast. And it is, at least, a violent presumption, that the blood, confected by such self-fermenting bodies, and they exalted greatly by the various additional concoctions, percolations, and (as it were) distillations in the transcendently exquisite and proto-laboratories of human bodies, is crowned with the same diadem of self-fermenting principles. And, indeed, an ordinary analysis of blood, according to the rules of pyrotechny, will discover all those principles of spirit, sulphur, salt, water, and earth, lodged in its embraces, which are sufficient to elaborate fermentations: which is further confirmed, in that, when some of the innate fermenting principles (as, suppose, salts,) begin to languish, several artificial ferments prove highly useful. Under this notion, saith the sagacious Willis[37], are the fixed salts of vegetables, chalybeates, &c. of such sovereign efficacy.

Thirdly, After various disquisitions touching the use of the spleen, (some exalting it to the honour of sanguifying for the lower belly, others depressing it to the vile use of a sink,) it is now, by many, upon consideration of its colour, site, and vessels, resolved to be a colature; wherein the more black and feculent juice is severed from the blood; and being there reserved, it becomes a ferment to the scarlet liquor, even as a small parcel of dough, reserved in a saline condiment, grows acid, and so arrives to the dignity of a leaven or ferment, to the new farinaceous mass. The principles, which in this bowel, are supposed to be regent, are salino-terrestrial; which, by over-long abode, attain fluidity, and so be-

[34] Ubi supra. [35] De formato Fœtu, p. 132. [36] Steno de Musc. & Gland. [37] De Ferm.

come acetous, like spirit of vitriol, nitre, and of other saline concretes. And that, which renders this the more probable, is the sour belchings of hypochondriac persons, the whiteness of their tongues, the soreness of their throats, the excess of their appetite, and the emaciating of their bodies; all which seem to proceed from a preternatural acidity: and, *vice versâ*, when the spleen hath lost its ferment, then the blood grows too insipid, as appears in cachexies, ascites, tympanites, &c. These things premised; it will be no difficulty to prove, that the blood is fermented by the spleen. It is but very lately that I added spirit of vitriol to a small quantity of the recent blood of a patient, which caused a visible fermentation, and such a coagulation, that it became almost of the colour and consistence of our table-mustard; only there remained some perfect black parts, but no red ones: from whence I conjecture, that it is an acid humour, which causes such a black sediment in the urine of many hypochondriac persons; and that the same humour it is, that coagulates the blood often, if not always, and renders it so unapt for circulation. Wherefore, by the way, I would offer it to your consideration, whether that sort of scorbute and melancholy, which is rooted in blood more than sufficiently hot, florid, and fluid, (as oft-times they are,) can ascribe its origination to a mere acidity, or to fluid salts? And, consequently, whether it be not a misapplication of the nitro-sulphureous plants, which renders them, of late, suspected of impertinency? For, to what end should these plants be given to those persons, whose blood exceeds with salt and sulphur already? Yet, in the colder, more cachectical sorts of scurvy and melancholy, nothing possibly may be found more proper; for it is well known, that fixed salts and fluid salts, or (which is the same thing) acid spirits, do highly ferment, and cause a considerable heat; as lately discovered itself to me, in the preparation of *tartarus vitriolatus*. Whence I further conjecture, that these preparations of chalybs, coral, and other saline concretes, which rob them of their salts, or (which is the same thing) that glut them with acidities so plentifully, as to leave no capacity to receive more acids; do spoil them, *eo nomine*, of their fermenting virtue. But, lest I should seem to transgress, whilst I intend scarcely to digress; I return to remind you, that you have a third ferment, which, in these abstinents, is presumable to be highly useful; for several of them (not to say all) were spleneticks, before they were abstinents.

Fourthly, It is probable, that the seminal humours, in these virgins, may by a long abode in their vessels, grow acid, and thereby supply the blood with a more than ordinary ferment. Here are two things supposed: the first is, That the seed is impregnated with salt; and that is proved by the many arguments of the philosophical Dr. Ente[38]. The other is, That the seed, by its principles, may elaborate the blood. This is evident in females, whose seed being grown fecundate and vegete, it so leavens the blood, that except it purge itself by menstrual terms, it exposes to innumerable diseases; but much more manifest in men, by the eruption of their beards, the greatening of their voice, the heating of their blood, effeminate desires, &c. These things being evidently so, it will much strengthen our hypothesis to observe, that most of these damsels fall to this abstinence between the age of fourteen and twenty years, when the seed hath so fermented the blood, that various distempers will probably ensue, without due evacuations; except in our case, wherein, through the defect of fermenting food, we are enabled to bear the excess of these so much the better.

Fifthly, There are several other innate ferments, placed by nature in human bodies, as the learned testify; as, that ascribed by Dr. Willis[39] to the brain, for the freeing the spirits from the entanglements of other principles, to which they were married, whilst they abode in the blood; that so the brain's distillation might proceed the more prosperously. Likewise that in the reins, which is, like rennet to milk, to precipitate the serosities, that the ureters may exterminate them, as useless burthensome excrements. There are many more assigned, yet more than can be numbered, if Dr. Willis's[40] doctrine be true of a fermentation through the habit of the body, caused by the concurrence of arterial blood and nervous juice. But these I lightly pass over, because, I conceive, they are not imme-

[38] Apologia pro Circulo. [39] De Ferment. p. 27, 28. [40] Anat. Cerebri, c. 20. p. 139.

diately intended for the elaborating of the bloody mass; yet I may not forget them, because, working upon the blood, it is not to be doubted, but the veins derive somewhat of their virtue with the retrieved blood.

Sixthly, But to approach yet nearer to our mark. I affirm, that though there be no edibles received, yet it follows not, that there is no sort of new chyle to renew the blood's fermentation: for, first, in these cold bodies, there must of necessity be a far greater quantity, *consideratis considerandis*, of pituitous humours, than ordinary; for, if transpiration be denied to our bodies but a very small time, what a redundance of phlegm doth presently oppress us! Which phlegm, being led into the mouth by a great variety of salivating ducts, and thence conveyed into the ventricle, may take off the acidity, the edge of the appetite; by which they tolerate their abstinence with greater patience, and also suffer a sorry concoction, which is much advanced by the attendance of all the concoctive forces, to subact this sluggish matter, which in other bodies, are variously diverted by the great variety of food frequently admitted. Secondly, It is probable, that some of these fasters were more than ordinarily addicted to phlegm before their abstinence; which is usual with those whose concoctions are low; and with these, it is more than an even lay they were not very high, which must needs be augmented by the defect of urine and stool; which, if granted, adds somewhat to our purpose. Thirdly, The air received continually into the stomach by the mouth and nose, and also into the blood more directly, though sparingly by the pores, and virtually, if not formally, by the lungs; may contribute much to this humour, but more to the fermentation of the blood. That the air is impregnated with salts, the learned Dr. Ente[41] affirms, and ascribes vegetation, as also the production of various animals thereunto, as the worthy Willis doth frost and ice. And it is asserted by chymists, that *caput-mortuums* lixiviated, if exposed to the open air for a good space, they shall re-attain their saline principle; and that salts cause fermentation in the blood, hath been already noted. Yet one step further I may advance upon good ground, and that is, these salts may much renew the ferment of the stomach also, in lieu of other condiments. Moreover, the liver being an ample bowel[42], instructed with a great variety of vessels, enriched with constant traffick from most of the corporations in the microcosm, so curious in its elections, and collections of the sulphuro-saline commodities, so diligent in reconding them in a peculiar cell, and thence transmitting them to the intestines, upon all occasions: these severals, I say, considered; it may be rationally inferred, that it is not only helpful to the guts in their excretions, but also in their fermentations; whereby the chyle is rendered not only fermentiscible in the blood, but also more fermentescent thereunto. Yet, Sir, lest this lean meat should not satisfy your more delicate palate, I must advertise you, that the blood in these persons must needs be sparing, and therefore the lesser chyle may ferment it; especially considering, that their fermentations are but small, as appears by the smallness of their heat; and, therefore, pray do yourself the right not to expect an account of robust ones.

Seventhly, The heart itself contributes much to the fermentation. It is acknowledged by all, that the circulation of the blood, being a rapid motion through the indefatigable pulsation of the heart, adds much to the fermentation; we see that motion given to wine, ale, cyder, or cream of milk, though sufficiently fermented, will yet, without a new ferment, give a new fermentation. But, Sir, lest you should mistake me, when I stumbled at an innate ferment in the heart, and yet stood upon it, that fermentation may be ascribed thereto, let me unbosom myself, that you may see what the heart contributes thereunto. First, The heart is as it were a cistern, into which the blood-veins, milky-veins, and water-veins, or lymphæducts, by mutual consent, deposit their multiform juices. Seeondly, It hath the force of a mill, by its quaquaverse fibres, continually busied in their constrictions and dilatations to grind and make small the more crassy particles of the juices. Thirdly, Of a mortar, wherein the more exact mixture of these different juices is highly promoted. Fourthly, Of a gin, expelling the blood sufficiently subacted, and then, to the further execution of its offices, but too too troublesome: and, by the way, the bur-

[41] Apolog. de Ferment. p. 93. [42] Glisson. Anatom. Hepatis.

then of the blood may be one cause of its pulsation; for it is said, if a live heart be taken out of the body, the prick of a pin will renew its pulsation. Fifthly, Of a pump to give motion, and, according to the sanguiterious ducts, to the several parts, distribution of this juice adapted to nutrition[43]. Sixthly, Of a loom, wherein the blood is fermented. Seventhly, Of a kind of philosophical furnace, wherein a spiritual *biolychnium* is kindled; I intend only a heat perchance, caused only by the motion and fermentation aforesaid. Eighthly, Of a pelican, to rarify and exalt the vital spirits. Ninthly, Of an alembick, not vulgar, whereby the spirits receive a kind of separation, though yet they run with the blood, which being condensed in the refrigeratory of the habit of the body (as the learned Walæus expresseth it) are the more easily subject to the brain's philtration, and the nerves' preservation. Tenthly, Of a potential philtre, whereby there is made such a segregation of homogeneous particles into their proper classes, as renders the blood much more obedient to the colatures and emunctories of the body; as rennet in the milk potentially separates the whey, and prepares it for an actual separation by the sieve; and, in chymical preparations, the acid liquor, or diluting a large quantity of weakening water, provoke a kind of fermentation, whereby the suspended atoms, in the strong menstruums, are precipitated, and so prepared for a more facile separation; so that, indeed, all the engines, in nature's shop, depend mainly upon the right tone, texture, and operation of the heart. From which it seems apparent to me, which yet I submit to clearer minds, that the heart is further serviceable to fermentation, and other offices of nature, than, merely pump-like, to conciliate motion; which may be further confirmed, by the site of the heart in the centre of the body; as also, by its firmest muniments, by which it is garrisoned on its back by the spine, on its face by the sternum, on its sides by the ribs, under its feet by the diaphragm, and over its head by the canopy of the pyramidal thorax, and, lastly, by its buff-coat, the pericardium; and (which is not nothing) the curious fabrick, with various camerations, the retiform fibres, and various passages, the uniform procedure of nature, in the formation of the hearts of animals, whilst often it sports itself in the building of other parts, and its primogeniture; as appears by the *vesicula palpitans* first formed in eggs, according to the renowned Harvey, the rudiment of the heart, and the blood's constant flux and reflux to and from the heart; even then when the liver and lungs, though famous bowels, are passed by unsaluted in the circulation of embryos; as also nature's great care to supply the defective passages of those *viscera* by a *foramen ovale* in the *septum* of the heart, lest the intercourse of the blood with the heart should be impeded; which hole is yet afterwards precluded, when the infant is midwived into a new world. Much of this curiosity of nature, about the heart, seems utterly unnecessary, if it served only for motion; but we are sure that God and nature does nothing frustraneously. Neither am I yet satisfied, that the whole of the blood's motion is to be ascribed to the heart's pulsation; for Conringius affirms, that in live dissections, the blood strongly circulates a long time after the left ventricle hath lost its pulse; yea, though the heart be taken out, yet presently is not the motion of the blood destroyed; which seems to be confirmed by the experiment upon frogs, which leap so nimbly, and swim so freely, after their hearts are exempted, that they cannot be known from unwounded frogs, that exercise in their company[44]; the story whereof, that most dextrous anatomist, Dr. Needham, hath published. Moreover, if a ligature be applied to a vein or artery, whereby the pulse is intercepted with the undulation of the blood also; yet, the blood, beyond the bond, runs its course toward the heart; and which is so much the more strange, because it is the motion of a heavy body, contrary to its natural tendency, upward. Moreover, if the pulse of the heart were the only cause of the motion of the blood, Why then is not the menstrual blood thrust into other parts, as well as into the uterine? Since the other parts, equally with these, receive the constant force of the heart's even pulsations and impartial distributions: likewise we see, that the animal spirits in the nerves, with their juice, the lympha in its ducts, the chyle in its thoracicks, the seed in its seminals, the urine in the ureters, and the phlegm in its pituitary vessels are all in motion, without the force of any such engine to give the

[43] Walæus in Meth. Medend. [44] De format. Fœtu.

origin thereto. Whereupon, I am apt to conjecture, that nature hath furnished everal parts with an attractive power, the blood with fermentation, and several vessels with a kind of vermicular motion of their own, no doubt excited by the nerves, the porta with asinus in the liver, which serves for a pump, and the cava, or one part of it, with a pulsific energy (by which blood is thrust into the right ventricle, as the learned Walæus asserts) by which the motion of humours is promoted; and consequently, that the rareness of the structure, unweariedness of the pulsations of the heart, &c. are designed to some higher ends, than merely, and as such, to give motion, though that it doth with an emphasis.

Fourthly, How can spirits, both vital and animal, be prepared and separated without food, and frequent fermentations? *Resp.* 1. Whether there be a flux of animal spirits through the *genus nervosum* seems yet not fully resolved; and, if no flux, then the waste is small, and a small reparation may supply a small waste; but, I confess, I understand not how narcotic fumes, nor redundant humours, restagnating in the brain, can cause an apoplexy, epilepsy, palsy, &c. in the whole body, if there be no flux of spirits from the brain; nor how the hurt from a coach in the seventh vertebre of the back, mentioned by great Galen, could cause a palsy in three fingers; nor why we anoint the vertebres of the back for palsies in the extreme parts, if there be no flux of spirits. 2. Supposing a flux of animal spirits through the nervous system, yet (according to the doctrine of famous Dr. Wharton[45]) much of the nervous juice, separated by the glandules, is returned by the veins and lymphaticks, and so not lost, though enfeebled by its peregrination; and more yet deposited (according to Dr. Willis, the great reformer of physick,) by the extremity of the nerves in the habit of the body, is again retrieved by the lymphaticks, which, serving in our abstinents little or nothing to assimulation, only somewhat to the cherishing of the implanted spirits, is the more plentifully returned, and so the loss, thus far forth, less considerable than ordinary. 3. It is apparent, that there is a decay of these spirits, as well as an obstruction, in most of these abstinents, as witnesseth their great inability to motion. 4. The fermentations, mentioned before, though small, may contribute something to the increase of these spirits; for chymists know that there are few juices so insipid, so sterile, but by the help of fermentation, may yield a not contemptible spirit. 5. Those spirits that pass from the brain to the extremity of the body, and thence returned, as before, by the lymphaticks, and that more forcibly and plentifully, being reflected by the impervious cold and constipated skin, seem rather tired than exhausted; which may, by the small ferments aforementioned, the contritions, mixtions, and exaltations of the heart, and the perpetual motions of the scarlet liquor, be rarified and volatilized, to do, at a dead lift, further good service. 6. It is notorious, that scents do hugely affect the brain; as to instance in apoplexies, hysterical passions, and in some sort of syncopes and cephalalgies, common practice doth demonstrate; so then, if feeding animals perceive such strange alterations, by odoriferous exhalations, as of *assa-fœtida*, *galbanum*, *verrucæ equinæ*, &c. which, according to the prodigious invention of the most philosophical Dr. Willis, are able to restrain the most violent explosions (like those of gunpowder, than which none more violent) of the nitro-sulphureous atoms, with which, in spasmodic distempers, the nervous juice is impregnated, and by which it is reduced to the greatest disorders, Why may not these abstinents be relieved by such enriched fumes also?

Fifthly, Without sleep no long life, and, without food, no sleep; for, say the ancients[46], sleep is the binding up of the first sensorium, or common-sense, caused by the food digesting in the stomach, elevating its fumes to the brain, which, there condensing, stop the passages of the animal spirits, whereby they are detained from their just visitations, whence the senses are disabled for the execution of their offices. *Resp.* 1. It is not certain, that sleep is absolutely necessary to life; for we read of many that lived waking. It is said that Ramus studied philosophy so incessantly, that he became blind, or deaf, or both, through

[45] De Glandulis.

[46] Aristot. de Somn. & Vigil. c. 3. Ἡ τῆ πρώτῃ αἰσθητηρίῳ καλάληψις πρὸς τὸ μὴ δυνᾶσθαι ἐνεργεῖν. Galen. de Sympt. Caus. c. 8. & de Motu Muscul. c. 4. Zacut. Lusitan. de Med. Princ. Hist. p. 23, 24, 25. lib. v. Patholog. Lib. de Morb. Cap. c. 16. Lib. de Providentiâ.

defect of sleep. Rhasis watched so long at his study of physick, until, at last, he could not sleep at all; likewise a doctor of the law studied so indefatigably, that he never laid his eye-lids together for four months; yet all recovered by the use of hypnoticks. The most inquisitive Galenist, Fernelius, reports a certain man to have survived fourteen months waking. The grave Heurnius relateth a story from (he saith) a truly learned man, Jerom Montuus, of a noble matron that lived thirty-five years without sleep, nor hurt thereby; and of another that lived ten years waking. Seneca reports, that Mæcenas lived three years without sleep, and at last was recovered by musick. 2. But I affirm not that our jejunants are vigilants, and therefore add, that though these persons receive no external food, yet airy condensations and concretions, the phlegmatic humours, colliquations of the parts, &c. afford matter for such vapours; and so much the more plentifully, because they are environed with a thick wall, wh se very crevices, and much more gates and public outlets, are so close shut up and barricadoed, that these troops of exhalations, that were wont to be dispersed, are now crouded together, which, assaulting the brain, may do much to bind up her common-sense. 3. It seems probable, by apoplectical dormitators, that a cold humour, lodged in the brain, is a great causer of sleep; and why such a humour may not lodge in a sufficient proportion, in these constipated brains, to procure intermitting sleeps, I see not. 4. It is apparent that narcoticks, as opium, and in their measure, wines, tobacco, &c. provoke sleep; not by any cold quality, (for they are all proved to be hot,) but it is probable, by adding such a ferment to the blood, as renders the spirits, separated in the brain, more torpid, ignave, and, consequently, unapt to motion, and the execution of their offices; or, which is almost the same thing, as renders the blood unapt for separation of spirits in the brain's alembick, whence the wearied spirits, for want of fresh supplies, are becalmed and quiescent. So then, if the humours, in the bodies of these abstinents, should happily partake of these narcotic sulphurs, they may prove somniferous without the elevation of fumes from digesting food. But, Sir, lest you should be startled at this unphilosophical discourse, in representing sleep rather as a non-emission of spirits from the brains, than a non-immission of them to the brain from the external senses; and consequently, as a negation of action, rather than of passion: I crave leave to mind you, that I am not only deficient in the beard, but much more in the brain, of some very great philosophers, who rank not only the external senses, but the first internal, or common-sense, in the predicament of passions; which, I confess, I cannot understand; because I know, that when devout persons are taken up in divine services, though their eyes be wide open, and presented with various objects, yet they see them not, because they mind them not; likewise, when diligent students are intent upon their books, they hear not the clock that strikes at their ears; and sound sleepers, with lethargical persons, feel not the pulling and hauling of their friends that would awake them, &c. From whence I conjecture, that though objects act *ad ultimum virium* upon the external senses in imprinting their species, yet that causeth not sensation, except there be an actual attendance of the sensitive spirits upon the sensible objects, a framing of their effigies or species, and a conveyance thereof to the understanding. Can you imagine that Columbus's journey to the Indies, his surveying that unknown world, and returning a map thereof to his own countrymen, was a mere passion of his, and only the action of a novel jig of American atoms? Or Camden's perambulation through all the coasts of this Island (with his observations thereon, which he digested into a valuable volume,) was merely his suffering, but wholly the doing of subtile spirits, and æthereal globules magically charmed into a once happy combination? But to return: 5. Cold juices, as of houseleek, lettuce, violets, &c. will conduce to our sleep, and, it is not to be doubted, but the juices in these bodies may be cold enough to effect the same. 6. The animal spirits, in these persons, being but languid, are the less active; and, consequently, can give the fewer repulses to the insinuating courtships of somniferous causes. 7. The spirits of these languishers, it is probable, are scant and defective, and, therefore, easily tired by their constant operations, and consequently easily persuaded, either by a command of the heaven-born soul, or an exhalation from the earthy body, to yield to this temporary death. 8. Great security of mind, pleasing

fancies, either from imagination, such as some of these are said to be swelled withal, or from the senses affected by musick, dropping waters, gliding rivers, whistling winds, &c. are usual promoters of insensation. By all which you may perceive, that there are more doors to our bed-chamber than one.

Thus, Sir, to satisfy your curiosity, I have travelled somewhat an unbeaten, yet not altogether unpleasant path; and that I might not return these fruits of my travels as jejune and sterile as the country visited, I have, therefore, taken a slight view of some of the monuments of antiquity, as also of the stately superstructures of the new model, that occurred in our journey; yet there is one thing remaining, that should have been premised, and that is, an exact history of our damsel; but that you cannot expect, because you did not demand; and, I suppose, you did not demand, because you knew I was unable to perform; yet, that I might not seem to build on the sands, I shall present you with a short narrative, received since I began this discourse, from a person of known ingenuity and honesty, and therefore most worthy of credit.

'This abstinent, is one Martha Taylor, a young damsel born of mean parentage, inhabiting not far from Bakewell in Derbyshire; who, receiving a blow on the back from a miller, became a prisoner to her bed for several days; which being expired, she obtained some enlargement for a time, but by increasing distempers, was quickly remanded to her bed-prison again; where continuing some time, she found, at last, a defect in her gula, and quickly after, a dejection of appetite, so that, about the twenty-second of December, anno 1667, she began to abstain from all solid food, and so hath continued (except something so small, at the seldom ebbings of her distemper, as is altogether inconsiderable) till within a fortnight before the date hereof, which amounts to thirteen months and upwards; as also from all other sorts, both of meats and drinks, except now and then a few drops of the syrup of stewed prunes, water and sugar, or the juice of a roasted raisin, &c. but these repasts are used so seldom, and in such very small quantities, as are prodigiously insufficient for sustentation: she evacuates nothing by urine, or stool; she spits not, that I can hear of, but her lips are often dry, for which cause she takes water and sugar with a feather, or some other liquids; but the palms of her hands are often moist, her countenance fresh and lively, her voice clear and audible, in discourse she is free, her belly flapped to her back-bone, so that it may be felt through her intestines, whence a great cavity is admitted from the *cartilago ensiformis* to the navel; and, though her upper parts be less emaciated (though much too), yet her lower parts are very languid, and unapt for motion, and the skin thereof defiled with a dry pruriginous scurf, for which, of late, they have washed them with milk: she sleeps so sparingly, that once she continued five weeks waking. I hear nothing of any extraordinary previous sanctity, though, since her affliction, being confined to her bed, which lieth in a lower room by the fire-side, she hath learned to read; and being visited so plentifully by the curious from many parts, as also by the religious of all persuasions, she hath attained some knowledge in sacred mysteries, but nothing of enthusiasm, that she pretends unto. And, lest she should prove a cheat, she hath been diligently watched by physicians, surgeons, and other persons, (for, at least, a fortnight together,) by the appointment of the noble Earl of Devonshire, as is already published by Mr. Robins B. of D. that is, ballad-maker of Derby; whose ballad, they say, doth much excel his book. Likewise several other persons, at other times, have been pleased to watch for their own satisfaction, who, detecting no fraud, have given the account abovementioned; which was, for the main, confirmed to me by a sophy, the renown of whose wisdom hath often made England to ring, who assured me, that he had an exact account of her.'

This story being born thus out of due time, it may seem necessary to make some reflections therefrom on the precedent discourse. And, 1. Her age confirms the probability of a ferment in the seminals. 2. An antipathy to meat was not the promoter of the tragedy, but an inability to swallow. 3. Her assumptions of liquors, though seldom and slender,

contributed not only to a petite concoction in the ventricle, but also to a fermentation in the heart. 4. Her restrained evacuations, by urine and stool, add much to her moisture, as well as to our trouble to render the assumption and non-evacuation consistent; to the performance whereof, let it be remembered, that in this respect, she was formerly compared to embryos, who use no excretion by the fundament, but retain, in their intestines, the more crass feculencies, till the time of their exclusion, the uterine embraces; which is the rather to be admitted, because she, as well as they, receives nothing but liquids: only in this she differs, they evacuate, by the urachus, into the allantoides their urinal excrement, but she hath no excretion of urine at all; the defect whereof may yet be supplied by these three advantages, which she hath above them, as are her expiration, extraordinary transpiration in the palms of her hands, and the far smaller quantity of liquors that she receives. 5. Her non-excretion, and the dryness of her mouth, argue the remanding of the humours to the further services of nature. 6. The atrophy of the parts, and inability to motion, seem to argue a defect of nervous juice and animal spirits; which weakens the necessity of our giving a perfect account, how nature may be completely sustained in the absence of food. 7. Her impetiginous eruptions argue the saltness of her blood, which adds the greater probability to the several saline ferments mentioned before. 8. Her sparing sleep shews not only the no-necessity of the ordinary measures of healthful dormitators, but also that sleep may be conciliated otherwise, than by the powerful mediation of fuming food. 9. There is no cause, from any antecedent sanctity, to ascribe this mirandous production to miraculous causes. 10. Her abode, in a lower room, doth accommodate her with a moister air, which is more generative of humours. 11. Her propinquity to the fire conduceth to the extraneous reception of igneous atoms. 12. Her non-pretensions to revelations, and the constant visits she receives from persons of all forms, may serve to occlude, not only the mouths, that are so unevangelical, as to cry her up for a miracle, but those also, that are so unphilosophical, as to cry her down for the cheat of a faction.

Now, Sir, should I take my hand from the table, did I not suspect, that some one may possibly reply upon me and say, " If I take it to be possible to live without food, it is a wonder I fall not myself to this piece of frugality:" I therefore add, though with this jejune table one may possibly live, yet it follows not that I can; for, according to the old saying, 'That which is one man's meat, is another man's poison;' and, even in physick, it is affirmed by that noble philosopher, Esquire Boyle[47] (a worthy fellow of the royal society, of whose admirable designs I would you should know that I am a great admirer) that some medicines, as particularly salt of amber, is effectual for epileptical children, not so for adult epilepticks; and the deserving Dr. Castle affirms[48] that *mercur. dulc.* is more safe for children, than grown persons, especially if irrigated with acidities. But, Sir, I find myself launching into a wide sea; I shall therefore tack about to do my devoir, and crave your acceptance of this slender offering, and your *quietus est* for the present, giving you assurance, that, in so doing, you may hereafter command,

SIR,

King's-Norton, Feb. 22, 1668. Your observant servant,

JO. REYNOLDS.

[47] Scept. Chym. p. 251. [48] Chym. Gal. p. 26.

The Lord Churchill's Letter to the King[1]. [1688.]

SIR,

SINCE men are seldom suspected of sincerity, when they act contrary to their interests; and though my dutiful behaviour to your Majesty, in the worst of times, (for which I acknowledge my poor services much over-paid,) may not be sufficient to incline you to a charitable interpretation of my actions; yet I hope, the great advantage I enjoy under your Majesty, which I can never expect in any other change of government, may reasonably convince your Majesty and the world, that I am acted by a higher principle, when I offer that violence to my inclination and interest, as to desert your Majesty at a time when your affairs seem to challenge the strictest obedience from all your subjects; much more from one who lies under the greatest personal obligations imaginable to your Majesty. This, Sir, could proceed from nothing but the inviolable dictates of my conscience, and necessary concern of my religion, which no good man can oppose, and with which I am instructed, nothing ought to come in competition. Heaven knows with what partiality my dutiful opinion of your Majesty hath hitherto represented those unhappy designs, which inconsiderate and self-interested men have framed against your Majesty's true interest and the Protestant religion. But as I can no longer join with such, to give a pretence by conquest to bring them to effect; so will I always, with the hazard of my life and fortune (so much your Majesty's due) endeavour to preserve your royal person and lawful rights, with all the tender concern and dutiful respect that becomes, Sir,

Your Majesty's most dutiful and
Most obliged Subject and Servant.

[1] [This letter has been printed in Rapin, and in the Biog. Brit. under the article of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, as an attestation of the sincere concern and regret he felt, on withdrawing from King James II. and joining the Prince of Orange.]

A brief Relation of Sir Walter Raleigh's Troubles: With the Taking away the Lands and Castle of Sherburn in Dorset, from him and his Heirs, being his indubitable Inheritance[1].

London, printed for W. T. 1669.[2]

[Quarto, containing Eleven Pages.]

To the Right Honourable, the Commons of England, assembled in Parliament. The humble Petition of Carew Raleigh, Esq. only Son of Sir Walter Raleigh, late deceased,

'Humbly sheweth,

'THAT whereas your Petitioner conceiveth, that his late father, Sir Walter Raleigh, was 'most unjustly and illegally condemned and executed; and his lands and castle of Sher-'burn wrongfully taken from him and his, as may more at large appear by this brief Nar-'rative hereunto annexed; the particulars whereof your Petitioner is, upon due proofs, 'ready to make good: Your Petitioner therefore, humbly submitting to the great justice 'and integrity of this House (which is no way more manifested, than by relieving the op-'pressed) humbly craveth, that he may receive such satisfaction, for these his great op-'pressions and losses, as to the wisdom and clemency of this honourable House shall seem 'fit.

'And your Petitioner shall humbly pray,' &c.

WHEN King James came into England, he found Sir Walter Raleigh (by the favour of his late mistress Queen Elizabeth) lord-warden of the Stannaries, lord-lieutenant of Devonshire and Cornwall, captain of the guard, and governor of the isle of Jersey; with a large possession of lands both in England and Ireland. The King for some weeks used him with great kindness, and was pleased to acknowledge divers presents, which he had received from him being in Scotland, for which he gave him thanks. But finding him (as he said himself) a martial man, addicted to foreign affairs, and great actions; he feared, lest he should engage him in a war, a thing most hated, and contrary to the King's nature; wherefore he began to look upon him with a jealous eye, especially after he had presented him with a book, wherein, with great animosity, he opposed the peace with Spain, then in treaty; persuading the King rather vigorously to prosecute the war with that Prince, then in hand, promising (and that with great probability) within few years to reduce the West-Indies to his obedience. But Sir Walter Raleigh's enemies, soon discovering the King's humour, resolved at once to rid the King of this doubt and trouble, and to enrich themselves with the lands and offices of Sir Walter Raleigh. Wherefore they plotted to accuse him, and the Lord Cobham (a simple passionate man, but of very noble birth and great possessions), of high-treason. The particulars of their accusation I am ut-

[1] [In Harington's State of the Church, this possession is said to have been obtained by Sir Walter Raleigh with much labour and cost and envy and obloquy, for him and his heirs *habendum et tenendum*; but ere it came fully to *gaudendum*, see what became of it, says the jestful writer. A heavy complaint against the conduct of Raleigh in this affair was preferred by Bishop Coldwell, and may be seen in the Burleigh State-papers, published by Murdin.]

[2] [See Oldys' Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 100.]

terly ignorant of, and I think all men, both then and now living; only I find in general terms, they were accused for plotting with the Spaniard, to bring in a foreign army, and proclaim the Infanta of Spain, queen of England; but without any proofs, and the thing itself as ridiculous as impossible. However, Sir Walter Raleigh was condemned without any witness brought in against him, and the Lord Cobham, who was pretended to have accused him barely in a letter, in another letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, upon his salvation, cleared him of all treason, or treasonable actions either against king or state to his knowledge; which original letter is now in the hands of Mr. Carew Raleigh, son of Sir Walter, to be produced at any time. Upon this condemnation, all his lands and offices were seized, and himself committed close prisoner to the Tower; but they found his castle of Sherburn, and the lands thereunto belonging, to be long before entailed on his children, so that he could not forfeit it, but during his own life[3]. And the King, finding in himself the iniquity of Sir Walter's condemnation, gave him all what he had forfeited, again, but still kept him close prisoner; seven years after his imprisonment, he enjoyed Sherburn; at which time it fell out, that one Mr. Robert Car, a young Scotch gentleman, grew in great favour with the King; and having no fortune, they contrived to lay the foundation of his future greatness upon the ruins of Sir Walter Raleigh. Whereupon, they called the conveyance of Sherburn in question, in the Exchequer-chamber, and for want of one single word (which word was found notwithstanding in the paper-book, and was only the oversight of a clerk) they pronounced the conveyance invalid, and Sherburn forfeited to the crown: a judgment easily to be foreseen without witchcraft; since his chiefest judge was his greatest enemy, and the case argued between a poor friendless prisoner, and a king of England.

Thus was Sherburn given to Sir Robert Car (after Earl of Somerset); the Lady Raleigh[4] with her children, humbly and earnestly petitioning the King for compassion on her, and her's, could obtain no other answer from him, but that "He mun have the land, he mun have it for Car." She being a woman of a very high spirit, and noble birth and breeding, fell down upon her knees, with her hands heaved up to heaven, and in the bitterness of spirit, beseeched God Almighty to look upon the justice of her cause, and punish those who had so wrongfully exposed her, and her poor children, to ruin and beggary. What hath happened since to that royal family, is too sad and disastrous for me to repeat, and yet too visible not to be discerned. But to proceed: Prince Henry, hearing the King had given Sherburn to Sir Robert Car, came with some anger to his father, desiring he would be pleased to bestow Sherburn upon him; alleging that it was a place of great strength and beauty, which he much liked; but indeed, with an intention to give it back to Sir Walter Raleigh, whom he much esteemed.

The King, who was unwilling to refuse any of that Prince's desires, (for indeed, they were most commonly delivered in such language, as sounded rather like a demand than an entreaty,) granted his request; and to satisfy his favourite, gave him five-and-twenty thousand pounds in ready money; so far was the King or crown from gaining by this purchase. But that excellent Prince, within a few months, was taken away; how and by what means is suspected by all, and I fear was then too well known by many. After his death, the King gave Sherburn again to Sir Robert Car, who not many years after, by the name of Earl of Somerset, was arraigned and condemned for poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury, and lost all his lands. Then Sir John Digby, now Earl of Bristol, begged Sherburn of the King, and had it. Sir Walter Raleigh, being of a vigorous constitution, and perfect health, had now worn out sixteen years imprisonment, and had seen the disastrous end of all his greatest enemies; so that, new persons and new interests now springing up in

[3] [In Sir Walter's affecting letter to his wife, after condemnation, he says, 'Beg my dead body, which living 'was denied you, and either lay it in Sherburn or in Exeter church by my father and mother.' Raleigh's Remains, 1675.]

[4] The only daughter of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who was arraigned, in Queen Mary's time, and acquitted. See Fox's Acts and Monuments.

court, he found means to obtain his liberty, but upon condition, to go a voyage to Guiana[5], in discovery of a gold mine. That unhappy voyage is well known, almost, to all men, and how he was betrayed from the very beginning; his letters and designs being discovered to Gondamore, the Spanish Ambassador, whereby he found such opposition upon the place, that though he took and fired the town of St. Thoma, yet he lost his eldest son in that service, and being desperately sick himself, was made frustrate of all his hopes.

Immediately upon his return home, he was made prisoner, and by the violent pursuit of Gondamore, and some others, (who could not think their estates safe, while his head was upon his shoulders,) the King resolved to take advantage of his former condemnation sixteen years past, being not able to take away his life for any new action; and though he had given him a commission under the broad-seal to execute martial law upon his own soldiers, (which was conceived, by the best lawyers, a full pardon for any offence committed before that time,) without any further trouble of the law, cut off his head[6].

Here justice was indeed blind, blindly executing one and the same person upon one and the same condemnation, for things contradictory; for Sir Walter Raleigh was condemned for being a friend to the Spaniard, and lost his life for being their utter enemy. Thus kings, when they will do what they please, please not him they should, God; and, having made their power subservient to their will, deprive themselves of that just power whereby others are subservient to them. To proceed: Mr. Carew Raleigh, only son of Sir Walter, being at this time a youth of about thirteen, bred at Oxford, after five years, came to court; and by the favour of the right honourable William Earl of Pembroke (his noble kinsman) hoped to obtain some redress in his misfortunes: but the King, not liking his countenance, said, "He appeared to him like the ghost of his father;" whereupon the Earl advised him to travel, which he did until the death of King James, which happened about a year after. Then coming over, and a parliament sitting, he (according to the custom of this land) addressed himself to them by petition to be restored in blood, thereby to enable him to inherit such lands, as might come unto him either as heir to his father, or any other way; but, his petition having been twice read in the Lords' house, King Charles sent Sir James Fullerton (then of the bed-chamber) unto Mr. Raleigh, to command him to come unto him; and being brought into the King's chamber by the said Sir James, the King, after using him with great civility, notwithstanding told him plainly, that when he was prince, he had promised the Earl of Bristol to secure his title to Sherburn against the heirs of Sir Walter Raleigh; whereupon the Earl had given him (then prince) ten-thousand pounds; that now he was bound to make good his promise, being king; that therefore, unless he would quit all his right and title to Sherburn, he neither could nor would pass his bill of restoration. Mr. Raleigh urged the justice of his cause; that he desired only the liberty of a subject, and to be left to the law, which was never denied any free-man. Notwithstanding all which allegations, the King was resolute in his denial, and so left him. After which Sir James Fullerton used many arguments to persuade submission to the King's will; as, the impossibility of contesting with kingly power; the not being restored in blood, which brought along with it so many inconveniences, that it was not possible without it to possess or enjoy any lands or estate in this kingdom; the not being in a condition, if his cloke were taken from his back, or hat from his head, to sue for restitution. All which things being considered, together with splendid promises of great preferment in court, and particular favours from the King not improbable, wrought much in the mind

[5] [On which occasion several reports and relations concerning Guiana were printed. See one of these in Vol. VI. and another of them described in the Cat. of pamphlets, No. 192. Letters on the same subject to Secretary Winwood, to King James, and to Lady Raleigh, may be seen in Sir Walter's Literary Remains.]

[6] [Weldon observes, that Sir Walter Raleigh was executed as much against all justice as beyond all reason, or any precedent: yea, after he had been a general by the King's commission, and thence had power over the lives of many others. Court of King James. — Burnet also, in his History, denotes that this proceeding was thought both barbarous and illegal, and a cruel sacrifice to gratify the Spanish court; or as Thomson expresses it—

'To glut the vengeance of a vanquish'd foe.']

of young Mr. Raleigh, being a person not full twenty years old, left friendless and fortuneless, and prevailed so far, that he submitted to the King's will.

Whereupon there was an act passed for his restoration, and, together with it, a settlement of Sherburn to the Earl of Bristol; and, in shew of some kind of recompence, four-hundred pounds a year pension, during life, granted to Mr. Raleigh after the death of his mother, who had that sum paid unto her, during life, in lieu of jointure.

Thus have I, with as much brevity, humility, and candour (as the nature of the case will permit) related the pressures, force, and injustice, committed upon a poor oppressed, though not undeserving, family[7]; and have forborne to specify the names of those, who were instruments of this evil, lest I should be thought to have an inclination to scandalize particular, and perchance noble families.

Upon the consideration of all which, I humbly submit myself to the Commons of England, now represented in parliament; desiring, according to their great wisdom and justice, that they will right me and my posterity, according to their own best liking; having, in my own person (though bred at court) never opposed any of their just rights and privileges, and for the future, being resolved to range myself under the banner of the Commons of England; and so far forth as education and fatherly instruction can prevail, promise the same for two sons whom God hath sent me.

[7] Sir Walter Raleigh discovered Virginia at his own charge, which cost him forty-thousand pounds. He was the first, of all the English, that discovered Guiana in the West-Indies. He took the islands of Fayall from the Spaniard, and did most signal and eminent service at the taking of Cadiz. He took from the Spaniard the greatest and richest carrick, that ever came into England; and another ship laden with nothing but gold, pearls, and cochineal.

Pope Joan: A Dialogue between a Protestant and a Papist; manifestly proving, That a Woman, called Joan, was Pope of Rome; against the Surmises and Objections made to the Contrary, by Robert Bellarmine and Cæsar Baronius, Cardinals; Florimondus Ræmondus, N. D. and other Popish Writers, impudently denying the same. By Alexander Cooke.

London, printed by John Haviland, for William Garrat; and are to be sold at his Shop in Paul's Church-yard, at the Sign of the Bull's Head. 1625.[1]

[Quarto, containing One-hundred and Forty Pages.]

To the most Reverend Father in God, Tobias, my Lord Archbishop of York's Grace, Primate and Metropolitan of England.

IT is lamentable to consider how many stars are fallen of late from heaven, how many goddesses on earth have departed from the faith, and given heed unto the spirit of errors and doctrines of slanderers, to wit, the Papists; yet, methinks, it is no matter of wonder

[1] [See Oldys' Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 191.]

ment, because we read, that, 'If men receive not the love of truth, that they might be 'saved, God, in his justice, will give them strong delusions to believe lyes, that they may 'be damned [2]:' for few or none of these late apostates, for any thing I can learn, were ever in love with the truth. Among us they were, but they were not of us, as now appears by their departing from us: for, if they had been of us, they would have continued with us; doubtless, they would never have fallen to popery. For, though popery be managed after the most politic manner, yet in itself, it is a gross religion; and the perfecters thereof as shameless men in avowing manifest untruths, and denying known truths, as ever set pen to paper; all which it is as easy to prove, as to object against them. But my purpose, at this time, is to lay open their shame in denying known truths; which though it may be shewed by divers particulars, as, namely, by [3] Parsons's and [4] Bishop's denying that they call their Pope their Lord God; by [5] Bellarmine's denying that any Jesuit had any hand in the powder-treason; by their [6] general denying that Pope Honorius the First was an heretick, and by such like; yet most apparently their impudency appears in denying the report of Pope Joan, which is proved by a cloud of witnesses, in this discourse (which I make bold to present unto your Grace), for they are driven to feign, to forge, to cog, to play the fools, and, in plain English, to lye all manner of lyes for the covering of their shame in this. Onuphrius, Harding, Saunders, Cope, Genebrard, Bellarmine, Bernartius, Florimondus, Papyrius Masso, Baronius, Parsons, and divers others, who have joined hand in hand, with purpose to carry this cause away by a strong hand, are so entangled in it, that it is with them, as with birds in the lime-twigs, which stick the faster in, by how much they flutter the more to get out. Which if your Grace, upon perusing at your best leisure, shall find true; my humble desire is, That you will give me leave to publish it under your Grace's name; partly, that by it, the simpler sort (for I write not for the learned) may have a taste, by this, of the honesty, or rather dishonesty, of Papists in handling of points in controversy; and, partly, that it may be a testimony of that reverent respect, which I acknowledge due to such church-governors, as your Grace is, who 'give attendance unto reading' (which the [7] apostle willed Timothy to do), and, after the example of the ancient bishops, preach often; drawing on others, not by words only, but by example also, to performance of like exercises. Hereafter, if it please God, that health and means of books serve, I shall light on some more profitable argument. In the mean while, I pray God strengthen your Grace's hands to the finishing of the Lord's work, in the province wherein you sit, as one of the seven angels in the seven churches mentioned in the Revelation; that by your Grace's means, the epha, wherein popish wickedness sitteth, may be lifted up between the earth and the heaven, and carried out of the North into the land of Sinar, and set there upon his own place.

Your Grace's at commandment,
ALEXANDER COOKE.

To the Popish, or Catholic Reader.

PAPIST, or Catholick, choose whether name thou hast a mind to, (for, though I know, that of late years thou art proud of both, even of the name [8] Papist, as well as of the name Catholick [9], yet I envy thee neither; only I would have thee remember, that that firebrand of hell, Hildebrand, commonly called Gregory the Seventh [10], was the first man,

[2] 2 Thess. ii. 10. 11. [3] N. D. in his Warnword to Sir Francis Hastings's Watchword, Encounter I. chap. 2.
[4] In his Reproof of Dr. Abbot's Defence of Mr. Perkins's Preface to the Reader, p. 10.
[5] Apologia ad Lib. Jacob. Mag. Britan. Regis, cap. xv. p. 208.
[6] Bellarm. Baron. Pighius, &c. [7] 1 Tim. iv. 13.
[8] Baron. Annot. in Martyrol. Rom. Octob. 16. b. Lorinus in Act. Apost. cap. xx. vers. 30. Anastasius Cochelet. Palæstrita Honoris D. Hallensis pro Lipsio, cap. 1. pag. 6.
[9] Bellarm. lib. iv. de Ecclesiâ, cap. 4. Rhem. Annot. in Act. xi. 26.
[10] Baron. Annot. in Martyrol. Rom. Jan. 10. c.

who challenged it, as his sole right, to be called *Papa*, that is, *Pope*, whence thou art called *Papist;* and that divers are of opinion (as[11] Hugo de Victore noteth) that, in some sense, the devil might be called a Catholick,) I offer unto thee here a discourse touching Pope Joan, (if thou darest read it, for fear of falling into thy Pope's curse,) whose popedom I will make good unto thee, not by the testimonies of Pantaleon, and Functius, and Sleidan, and Illyricus, and Constantinus Phrygio, and John Bale, and Robert Barnes, because thou[12] hast condemned their persons, and their books too, to hell; but by the testimonies of thy brethren, the sons of thy own mother, because, as[13] one saith, *Firmum est genus probationis, quod etiam ab adversario sumitur, ut veritas etiam ab inimicis veritatis probetur:* 'That is a strong proof, which is wrung out of the adversary, when the enemies of truth are driven to bear witness unto the truth.' And, as[14] another, *Amici contra amicum, et inimici pro inimico, invincibile testimonium est:* which sounds, as I conceive it, thus: 'The testimony of a Papist against a Papist, and the testimony of a Papist for a 'Protestant, is without exception.' The reason, why I have framed it in way of dialogue, was, that I might meet more fully with all the cavils, which thy proctors use in pleading of this case; and that it might be better understood of common readers, who are sooner gulled with continued discourses. If I have spoken truly, I would have thee bear witness with me unto the truth; if otherwise, I am content thou strike me. For, though I hold thy Papism, in some respect, to be worse than Atheism, agreeably to a speech fathered upon Epiphanius, χείρων ἡ κακοπιςία τῆς ἀπιςίας, 'Heresy is worse than infidelity,' and, by consequent, thyself a dangerous neighbour to dwell by; because, as one of thy own[15] doctors writes, *Certè periculosius est cum hæreticis, quàm cum Samaritanis, quàm cum gentilibus, aut Mahumetanis agere:* 'It is, questionless, more dangerous to dwell by an here-'tick, than to dwell by a Samaritan, by an Heathen, by a Turk:' yet I am not so far out of love with thee, but I can be content to learn of thee, as[16] St. Augustine did of Tyconius the heretick, if thou canst teach me. Yea, I profess, that though it may be gathered out of[17] Campian (thy champion and Tyburn-martyr), that thou believest one heaven cannot hold thee and such as are of my opinion; though[18] Costerus wish strangely, that he may be damned both body and soul, if any of us be saved; yet that hath not estranged me so far from thee, but that I wish thee well, even eyes to see the truth, and ingenuity to acknowledge it.

Protestant. WELL met, and welcome home, Sir. What new book have you brought us down from London this mart?

Papist. Oh, I have an excellent book, which discourseth at large about Pope Joan, whose popedom you cast in the Catholicks' teeth so often.

Prot. What language is it in, I pray you? French, or Latin, or English; and who made it?

Pap. It was[19] first written in French, but I have it in Latin. The author of it is one Florimondus Ræmondus.

Prot. Florimondus Ræmondus! What is he, that I never heard of him before? Is he, and his book, of any credit?

Pap. He himself is reputed[20] a very famous man for life and learning; so that, at this

[11] Annot. in 1 ad Cor. xiii. [12] In Indice Lib. prohibit.
[13] Novatian. de Trinitate, cap. 18. num. 86. inter Opera Tertulliani.
[14] Vives de Instrumento Probabilitatis. [15] Maldonat. in Johan. iv. 9.
[16] Lib. ii. Retract. cap. 18. [17] Ratio. 10.
[18] *Fieri nequit, ut Lutheranus moriens salvetur, gehennam evadat, ex æternis ignibus eripiatur. Si mentior, damner ipse cum Lucifero;* saith Costerus. Resp. ad Refutationem Lucæ Osiandr. Proposit. 8. pag. ult.
[19] An. 1603. Possevin. in errat. et prætermiss. 1. 10. quæ habentur ad finem tom. iii. Apparat. Sac.
[20] *Vir, cum primis illustris ac pius, et doctrinâ insignis.* Baronius, Annal. tom. x. ad An. 853. num. 62.

present, he is one of the French King's council at Bourdeaux; and, as for his book, it is of wonderful esteem.

Prot. With whom, I pray you?

Pap. Even with Cardinal Baronius; for[21] he holds it the worthiest discourse that ever was made of that argument. He professeth, that he could have found in his heart to have inserted it into his Annals, but that it is somewhat too large; for by it, as the Cardinal further[22] noteth, he hath so confounded all the pack of Hereticks, who heretofore upbraided the Catholicks with it, that now they are ashamed of that which they have said.

Prot. But hath any man else the like opinion of it?

Pap. Yea marry, Possevin is of the same mind; for Possevin[23] saith, that he hath killed the Hereticks outright; that, since the publishing of that book, the Hereticks are silenced, they dare talk no more of a Pope Joan.

Prot. And who else I pray you?

Pap. Lipsius, for he writ to his friend, that *Ita plenè omnia exequutus est, ut nobis nihil reliqui sit præter credere et assentiri.* Florimondus 'had handled the matter so fully, that 'there remained nothing for any man to do, but to believe, and to say Amen to that 'which he had done.'

Prot. This is much: but have you read it?

Pap. Read it! Yea, I have read it again and again: besides, I have compared it with that which is written of the same argument, by Buchingerus in Germany, by Charanza in Spain; by Onuphrius, and Bellarmine, and Baronius, in Italy; by Turrian, and Bernartius, in Belgia; by Pontacus in Aquitania, by Genebrard, and Papyrius Massonus, in France; by Saunders, by Cope, by Harding, by Father Parsons, and others of our own country.

Prot. And what say you now, after the reading of all these, to the story of Pope Joan? Tell me in good earnest, and dissemble not.

Pap. I say, the very truth is, that the whole story of Pope Joan is[24] a fable, a[25] fond and vain fable, a[26] mere fable, an[27] heretical fable, a[28] ridiculous fiction, and so[29] known to the learneder sort of Protestants among you; but that you will not leave to delude the world with it, for lack of other matter. Yea[30], I say further, there are so many improbabilities and moral impossibilities in this tale, as no man, of any mean judgment, discretion, or common-sense, will give credit thereto, but will easily see the vanity thereof; and, in a word,[31] I say, he was a knave that devised it, and he is a fool that believeth it.

Prot. Now this is excellent in good truth; I see there is mettle in you. But what reason have you on your side, that you are so peremptory? Did it run for current, without controulment, till within these forty years, or thereabout; to wit, till the year 1566, that Onuphrius, the friar, began to boggle at it? Was not Onuphrius the first that ever, by reason, sought to discredit the report of it? And yet doth not even[32] he confess, that many men of worth, as well as of ordinary sort, believed it for a truth? Is it not to be found in Marianus Scotus, in Sigebert, in Gotefridus Viterbiensis, in Johannes de Parisiis, in Martinus Polonus, in Petrarch, in Boccace, in Ranulfus Cestrensis, in Johannes Lucidus, in Alphonsus de Carthagena, in Theodoricus de Niem, in Chalchondylas, in Wernerus Rolenink, in Platina, in Palmerius, in Nauclerus, in Sabellidus, in Trithemius, in Volaterran, in Bergomensis, in Schedel, in Laziardus, in Fulgosus, in Textor, in an epistle written by the universities of Paris, Oxford, and Prague, to all at Rome; in Mantuan, in

[21] *Præ cæteris commendandus, famâ nobilis Florimundus.* Baronius, loco citato.

[22] *Sic confecit monstrum istud, ut novatores pudeat, quæ scripserunt vel somniâsse.* Ibid.

[23] *Prorsus confodit hæreticos qui commentum illud sparserunt in vulgus, ut ampliùs eâ de fabulâ hiscere non audeant.* In Apparatu Sac. verbo *Florimondus.* See Gretser, tom. ii. Defens. Bellar. lib. iii. cap. 24. col. 987.

[24] Onuph. Annot. in Plat. in Vitâ Joh. VIII.

[25] Harding, in his Answer to Juel's Apology. [26] N. D. part. ii. c. 5. num. xxi. p. 391. of Convers. 3.

[27] Idem, num. xxvi. p. 403. [28] Ibid. [29] Idem, num. xxi. p. 391. [30] Idem, num. xxxvi. p. 403.

[31] *Impudentissimè ficta, stultissimè credita.* Bernartius de Utilitate legendæ Hist. lib. ii. p. 105. in marg.

[32] *Multos et magni nominis viros historiam hanc suscipere, eam quoque vulgò veram existimari.* Loco suprà citato.

Crantius, in Charanza, and a [33] number more of your own faction, and of your own friends? Of which some were Grecians, some Italians, some Spaniards, some French, some Germans, some Polonians, some Scots, some English, and yet never a one of them a Lutheran. Yea, do we not find it in some of your stories set down in pictures? And is not so much to be gathered by that image of her's, which is set up amongst the rest of the images of the Popes, in the renowned church of Siena in Italy, and is to be seen there at this day; which the bishop of that place would not suffer to be defaced, at the last repairing of that church, though your Jesuits did earnestly request him to deface it? Was there not made of old, for fear of such like after-claps, a stool of easement, on which they were set, at their creation, for proof of their humanity? Was there not a marble image set up, as a monument thereof, in that place where she miscarried; to wit, in one of the chiefest streets in Rome? Which monument was to be seen likewise within these few years, even in Pius the Fifth's time. And is it not written by men among yourselves, that your Popes, when they go in procession, refuse to go through that street, in detestation of that fact, and go further about? How say you, is it not even thus?

Pap. It is written, I confess, that our Popes, in detestation of that fact, when they go in procession to the Lateran church, refuse to go through that street; but they who write so, mistake the matter. For the true reason why they turn out of that street, which is the nearer way, is, for that that street is *angusta et anfractuosa*, a narrow street, and such a one as winds this way and that way, and in that respect, unfit for so great a train, as ordinarily accompanies the Pope, to pass orderly through; as [34] Onuphrius, and [35] Bellarmine, and [36] Florimondus have observed.

Prot. Say you so? Why, but if it be true, which Philippus Bergomensis hath storied, this observation is false; for, *eo omisso*, [37] saith he, (speaking of the Pope's turning out of that place of the street, wherein dame Joan was delivered,) *declinat ad diverticula, vicósque, & sic, loco detestabili postergato, reintrantes, iter perficiunt quod cæperunt;* that is, 'Leaving that way, they turn into by-lanes, and by-streets; and as soon as they are be-'yond that detestable place, they turn into their high-way again, and so go on in their 'procession.' For if, upon their leaving that street, they enter into by-lanes and by-streets, and as soon as they are past that ominous place, turn in again; the reason why they leave that street cannot be, for that it is narrow and winding in and out. For no question, but those by-lanes are as narrow; and by their turning out, and returning into the same way again, they wind as often in and out, as if they went along through the same street, though it were very crooked. But howsoever, shift it among you; for it sufficeth me, that you cannot deny, but that which I told you concerning this point, is written by men of your own religion; especially seeing [38] Platina, who knew Rome well enough, and was desirous to cover the Pope's nakedness herein, as much as he could with any honesty, confesseth, that this is probable enough. What have you to say to the rest of my speech?

Pap. Much. For whereas you say Onuphrius was the first who by reason sought to discredit the report of it; that is not so. Johannes de Columna, a good writer of Chronicles, long before Onuphrius, hath likewise utterly rejected the vanity of this fable, as [39] doctor Harding noteth.

Prot. Johannes de Columna's history is extant in Latin in the University-library at Oxford; and in French, in New-college library. But there is not one word, good or bad, for or against Pope Joan in it. If he rejected it, he rejected it by silence.

Pap. But [40] Johannes Aventinus rejected it in plain words: and he wrote a good many years before Onuphrius.

Prot. Johannes Aventinus (I grant) rejects it as a fable in one word, but he gives no

[33] Barthol. Cass. ii. part. Catal. Gloriæ Mundi, nona Consideratio. Joh. Turrecremat. in Summâ, lib. iv. part. 2. cap. 20. Carolus Molinæus, Comment. in Parisiens. Consuetud. tit. i. num. 26. Cælius Rhodigin. Antiquarum Lect. lib. vii. cap. 1.

[34] Loco suprà citato.

[35] Lib. iii. de Rom. Pont. cap. 24.

[36] Fabula Joannæ, cap. 21. p. 184.

[37] In Supplement. Chron. ad An. 858.

[38] De Vitis Pont. in Vitâ Joh. VIII.

[39] Confutat. of the Apology, part iv. fol. 166.

[40] Annalium Boiorum, lib. iv.

reason of his rejecting of it. Besides,[41] Bellarmine casts him off as a writer of small credit; and [42] Baronius brands him, not merely for a scabbed sheep, but for an heretical scabby beast, destitute both of honesty and learning; and divers of your Popes have cried down [43] his history, as unworthy of reading; wherefore I see no reason, that his reasonless rejecting of it doth any way prejudice the truth of it. What have you else to say?

Pap. First I would know, who told you there was such a marble image in one of the streets at Rome?

Prot. Theodoricus de Niem [44], who was secretary to one of your Popes, told me that; for, *adhuc vetus statua marmorea illic posita figurativè monstrat hoc factum*, saith Theodoricus de Niem; that is, 'Unto this day an old marble image erected in that place 'sheweth the matter under a figure.'

Pap. Indeed [45] I cannot deny but that in former ages many have said so; and, to confess a truth, I myself have read as much in Antonius, archbishop of Florence, and in Peter Mexia. But verily that image resembled no such thing. For neither was it like a woman lying in child-bed; nor was the boy, which was engraven by her, like a child in the swadling-clouts, but like one of some years.

Prot. This your exception is to no purpose; for that age was a learnless and a witless age. And therefore, perhaps, had no more skill in engraving, carving, and painting, than [46] they had (of whom we read in an epistle of Sir Thomas More's unto Erasmus) who pictured an hare and a grayhound so like, that no man could know the one from the other, till he, full wisely, writ under, 'This is the dog: this is the hare:' as they of whom Appian writes, making mention of some, [47] who were driven to set either under or above their pictures, *Hoc est bos, illud equus, hic arbor;* that men might know what kind of creature it was that they had painted. Questionless [48] Æneas Silvius, pointing to a better time than that of Pope Joan's, condemns the painters and carvers thereof, for notorious bunglers, saying thus, *Si ducentorum, trecentorúmve annorum, aut sculpturas intueberis, aut picturas; invenies non hominum, sed monstrorum portentorúmque facesi;* that is, 'If thou 'observe the engraven or painted images, which were made two or three hundred years 'ago, thou shalt find, that they are faced more like monsters, and hobgoblins, than men.' Now if they were such, what marvel, though intending to engrave a woman travelling, or rather newly delivered of a child, they did it but untowardly? But what, I pray you, doth that image represent, if it represent not Pope Joan?

Pap. Cardinal Bellarmine [49] seems to like of their opinion, who guess that some heathenish priest, who was about to offer sacrifice, and had his man before him, is denoted thereby. But I am rather of [50] Florimondus's mind, who thinks it was an idol, even an image of some of the gods of the heathen.

Prot. If it had represented a sacrificing priest, and his man; the man should have been engraved behind, and not before his master. For the servant followeth his master, [51] as the young man, that bare Jonathan's armour, followed Jonathan; wherefore you have reason to leave Bellarmine in this. But why do you incline to Florimondus; doth he give you any reason for this opinion; or allegeth any author of his opinion?

Pap. Yes, [52] he professeth, that he followeth Onuphrius therein, who was a most diligent antiquary.

Prot. But he lyes in that. For Onuphrius speaks not one word good or bad of this marble image. He passeth it over in silence, as though no man had ever spoken of it.

Pap. I marvel if that be so. But yet I rest persuaded upon Florimondus's next reason,

[41] *Joh. Aventinus author parum probatæ fidei*, saith Bell. Append. ad lib. de Sum. Pont. cap. 10.
[42] *Infectam hæresis scabie bestiam, pietate & doctrinâ omninò desertam.* Baron. Annal. tom. x. ad An. 996. num. 54. [43] In Indicibus Lib. Prohibitorum. [44] Lib. de Privilegiis & Juribus Imperii.
[45] Florimond. lib. citato, cap. 21. num. 2. [46] Inter Opera Mori, impressa Basil. 1563. pag. 441.
[47] Ælian. de variâ Hist. lib. x. [48] Epist. 120. [49] Lib. iii. de Rom. Pont. cap. 24.
[50] Cap. citat. num. 6. [51] 1 Sam. xiv. 12, 13.
[52] *Cum Onuphrio Panvino antiquitatis perscrutatore diligentissimo vetus aliquod idolum existimavi.* Florim. ibid.

that that image resembled not Pope Joan. For if the engraver had purposed to express such a matter, and to continue thereby the memory thereof to the world's end, he would have set some [53] inscription over it; for so do all men who erect monuments for remembrances.

Prot. That is not so, for we read in [54] Eusebius, that the [55] woman who was cured by our Saviour Chsist of her issue of blood, &c. erected, after the custom of the heathen, an image of him no doubt for remembrance-sake. But we read of no inscription written upon it. In the book of Joshua [56] we read, that the Israelites were commanded to lay twelve stones upon an heap, as a memorial unto their children for ever: and yet it is plain by the circumstances, they set nothing thereon in writing. When you paint St. Peter, you paint him with keys in his hand, and set no inscription over his head, nor under his feet, as [57] Baronius confesseth. Wherefore, for any thing I yet hear, it is most probable that it was set up for a monument of Pope Joan.

Pap. Enjoy your conceit. But [58] I can tell you one thing: that image is now removed out of that place. For Sixtus Quintus, that great builder and mender of highways, when he made that street straight wherein that image was, was forced to remove that image.

Prot. Belike, that image would have been some blemish unto the street, if it had remained; and that made him move it.

Pap. Yea, marry would it.

Prot. Now well fare his heart that was so careful to rid the streets of such a cumbersome monument.

Pap. But who told you that Sixtus Quintus removed it upon that occasion?

Prot. Florimondus [59].

Pap. Was it he? Then know him for a lyar, whilst you live; for it was Pius Quintus, and not Sixtus Quintus, who removed it.

Prot. And Pius Quintus removed it, and cast it into Tiber, not for that it disgraced the street; but *ut memoriam historiæ illius aboleret;* 'that he might extinguish the memory of 'that shameful act.' And this is witnessed not only by some travellers, who were at that time in Rome; but by [60] Elias Hassenmuller, one (once) of your fiery order of Jesuits. Your Florimondus will not deserve (I fear) half the commendation you have given him.

Pap. I doubt not but he will acquit himself like a man, of whatsoever you can say against him. But whence had you that of the stool of easement, I pray you, for [61] in Bellarmine I read, that *de sede ad explorandum sexum nulla usquam mentio.* 'Of a stool of 'easement, to try the Pope's sex there is no where any mention:' and in [62] Onuphrius, that it is but a mere toy, and an idle conceit of idle people.

Prot. That of the stool of easement, is recorded by Philippus Bergomensis [63], a man of great worth in his time, as Trithemius witnesseth. For upon mention made of Pope Joan's story, *Ad evitandos similes errores statutum fuit,* saith he [64], *nè quis de cætero in B. Petri collocaretur sede, priusquàm per perforatam sedem futuri pontificis genitalia ab ultimo diacono cardinale attrectarentur:* that is, 'For avoiding like error in future times, it was 'decreed, that no man should be held for pope, till the youngest cardinal deacon had 'found by trial, while he sat upon a stool of easement, that he was a man.' And it is likewise testified by [65] Laonicus Chalchondylas. For upon relation of that story, he goes on thus: *Quapropter nè decipiantur iterum, sed rem cognoscant, neque ambigant; pontificis*

[53] *Inscriptionem præfixisset.* Pag. 188. [54] Lib. vii. Hist. cap. 14.
[55] Matt. ix. 21. [56] Cap. iv. 7, 8.
[57] Observat. in Annal. tom. i. ad An. 57. apud Possevin. in Apparat. Sac. verbo *Cæsar Baron.*
[58] *Sixtus Quintus hunc vicum rectiorem duci curavit; quo factum est ut imago illa sublata sit.* Florim. cap. 21. pag. 189. [59] Loco citato.
[60] Historia Jesuitici Ordinis, cap. 10. de Jesuitarum Patre & Matre.
[61] Lib. iii. de Rom. Pont. cap. 24.
[62] *Fabulosum, & ab imperito vulgo fictum.* Annotat. in Plat. in Vit. Joh. VIII.
[63] *Nobilitèr doctus, historiographus celeberrimus.* Trith. de Script. Eccles. verbo *Jacobus Bergomensis.*
[64] In Supplement. Chron. ad An. 858. [65] De Rebus Turcicis, lib. vi. pag. 98.

creati virilia tangunt, & qui tangit, acclamat, Mas nobis dominus est: that is, 'Lest they 'should be deceived again, they make proof by feeling; and he that feeleth, makes it 'known by crying out, We have a man Pope.' And by Friar Robert[66]: For, *duxit me spiritus ad Lateranense palatium, & posuit me in porticu ante sedes porphyrii ubi dicitur probari papa an sit homo:* 'My good spirit (said he) led me unto the palace of Lateran, 'and set me in the gallery before the chairs of porphyry, wherein they say the Pope is 'tried whether he be a man or no man.' And you may find as much in a later Papist, who within these few years, writ a book of the harmony of Romish magistrates, and in it this.

Pap. You say true indeed. For I now remember[67] Florimondus confesseth so much, yet he reproveth the author for writing so. But let us go on; for I long to hear of whom you heard that such a chair was to be seen, in the Pope's palace, within these few years.

Prot. I heard that of[68] Sabellicus. For, writing of the same matter, *Spectatur adhuc in pontificiâ domo marmorea sella* (saith he) *circa medium inanis, quâ novus pontifex continuò ab ejus creatione recedit, ut sedentis genitalia ab ultimo diacono attrectentur:* that is, 'There 'is to be seen at this day, in the Pope's palace, a chair of marble, wherein the new Pope 'presently upon his election is set down, that, as he sits, the lowest deacon may make 'trial of his humanity by touching.' And you may find as much in William Brewin, who lived in the year 1470; for,[69] *In capellâ Salvatoris*, saith he, *sunt duæ vel plures cathedræ de lapide marmoreo & cubio, cum foraminibus in iis sculptis, super quas cathedras, ut audivi ibidem, est probatio papæ, utrùm sit masculus annon:* that is, 'In the chapel of our 'Saviour, there are two or three marble chairs with holes in them, wherein, as I heard 'there, they make proof, whether the Pope be a man or no.'

Pap. Florimondus[70] acknowledgeth, there is yet such a chair, wherein the Pope sits after his election. But that he sits therein, to such an end as you speak, that he utterly denies.

Prot. And what is his reason?

Pap. Because[71] he sits therein not in a corner, but in the great church of St. John Lateran, whither all the world, almost, comes to see him; where he is attended by the whole college of cardinals, and whereat there are many ambassadors of kings and princes; for a closer place were fitter for such a purpose. They might more conveniently have made trial of his humanity in the conclave where he was chosen.

Prot. And so they did, it seems; for, presently upon their electing of him, before they proclaimed him pope, they set him in a chair in their conclave, as you may read in the book of holy ceremonies, dedicated to Leo the Tenth. Whereby you may see how idly Bellarmine[72] talks, who, taking upon him to clear the point, never speaks of his sitting in the chair in the conclave, but only of his sitting in certain other chairs at St. John Lateran's, as though he had been chaired only in public, and not in private; and that he himself had said sufficiently to the point in question, by proving, that in public there was no such conclusion tried with the Pope; whereas the conclusion was tried in secret. But can you tell me what the end is, why the Pope sits in such a chair in public?

Pap. Marry, to the end that thereby he may be put in mind, that he is not God, but man; inasmuch as he stands in need of a close-stool as well as others; for so saith[73] Florimondus.

Prot. I promise you, and he had need be put in mind thereof. For, though[74] some Papist shamefully deny it, there have been popish clawbacks, who[75], in plain words,

[66] Lib. Visionum, impressus Paris. 1513, cap 3, fol. 25.
[67] Cap. 18. p. 159. *In ridiculorum authorum grege annumerandus est.* [68] Æneid. 9. lib. i.
[69] Wilhelmus Brewin, in codice manuscripto de septem Ecclesiis principalibus urbis Romæ.
[70] Cap. xx. p. 176. [71] Ibid. p. 181. [72] Lib. iii. de Rom. Pont. cap. 24.
[73] Cap. xx. p. 177 & 188.
[74] N. D. in his Warn-word to Sir Francis Hastings's Encounter I. cap. ii. fol. 30.
[75] Cap. cum Inter. extrav. Joh. xxii. impress. Paris. 1513, & Lugduni, 1555.

have termed the Pope (as[76] St. Thomas termed Christ) their Lord and God; and there are still[77] who give him such titles as are due to God, and ascribe like power to him and God. But methinks they should not need to have set him in such a chair to such a purpose: for his own necessity would have driven him to set himself thereon ordinarily every day; and his chamber-pot would have served to put him in mind of his humanity sufficiently. For Antigonus the elder knew by that, that he was man and not God, as Plutarch[78] writeth. Besides, methinks they should not have intended such a mystery by such a ceremony, because they set him therein before he was in his pontificalibus; for, till he be mitered, till he be crowned, till he have received the keys, whereby is denoted his power to bind and loose; and a rod, whereby is denoted his power to punish the obstinate; methinks there should be no great fear of forgetting himself. For, till such ceremonies are performed, he is not in his ruff. Again, had it not been better, think you, if they had aimed at any such mark, to have caused a boy to come every morning unto the Pope's chamber-door (after the example of[79] Philip king of Macedonia) who should have whooped him out of his bed, and bid him remember, that he was mortal?

Pap. If you like not Florimondus's conjecture touching that ceremony, what say you to[80] Bellarmine's, which is: That he is set on such a stool, to signify how he is raised from base estate to supreme honour?

Prot. I say, Bellarmine's conjecture is as improbable and fond as Florimondus's. For your popes, since Pope Joan's days, have been chosen, for the most part, out of the number of your cardinals. And your cardinal's estate is not so base, as that he, who is advanced from that unto the papacy, can be truly said to be taken in any sort from off a close-stool. For they are generally princes[81] fellows. Yea, some of them, you cannot but know, have not been ashamed to prefix their own names before their own king's, using these words; 'I and my king[82];' wherefore, unless you can render me some better reason, why your Popes are set on such a seat, I shall remain persuaded, that, in former times, it was for proof of their humanity, upon the accident aforesaid.

Pap. Enjoy your opinion for me. But where read you that there was such an image in the church of Siena, which the jesuits would have defaced, but that the bishop of the place would not suffer them?

Prot. That I have heard by many travellers, and read in master Bell; both in his book of[83] 'Motives concerning the Romish Religion,' and in his[84] 'Survey of Popery;' whereunto never a papist of you all dare answer.

Pap. Yes we dare, though we do not. But I can tell you news: [85] That image of Pope Joan, which was set up in the church of Siena, is cast down by the commandment of Clement the Eighth, by the means of Cæsar Baronius, at the request of Florimondus. Cæsar Baronius hath certified Florimondus so much by a letter, and for joy, [86] Florimondus hath published it unto the world.

Prot. What? Is that image cast down too? Florimondus might do well to make request to the present Pope, that those books which write of Pope Joan may be burned; in hope, that the present Pope will as readily burn the books, as Clement the Eighth threw down that image, and Pius Quintus the other. And so, in time to come, when all evidences are embezzled, and all monuments defaced, and made out of the way, it will be a plain case there was never any Pope Joan.

Pap. Oh! this angers you, I perceive. And yet why should you be angry at the throwing down of this? For, suppose it had stood still, is there any sense, that, because of

[76] Joh. xx. 28.

[77] *Planè supremum in terris numen.* Stapleton. Princip. Fidei Doctrin. Præfat. ad Greg. XIII.

[78] Part. ii. Moral. lib. de Iside & Osiride. [79] Stobæus, Serm. 19. ex Æliano.

[80] Lib. iii. de Rom. Pont. cap. 24.

[81] *Cardinalatûs celsitudo ac splendor, dignitati regiæ comparatur.* Sixtus V. in Constitut. 5. in princip. & sect. Prætereà Joh. Franciscus Leo in Thesauro Fori Ecclesiastici, part. i. cap. 2. num. 1.

[82] [An allusion to Cardinal Wolsey, who is said to have prefaced some of his public dispatches with *Ego et rex meus.*] [83] Lib. ii. cap. 6. conclus. iii. p. 80. [84] Part. iii. cap. 2. p. 191.

[85] Florim. cap. xxii. p. 194. [86] Page 195.

such an image, we should be bound the rather to believe there was such a Pope?[87] I can tell you, if we believe painters and carvers, we may soon mar all; for in St. Andrew's church at Bourdeaux (one of the excellentest churches in all France) our Saviour Christ is described ascending up to heaven upon the back of a flying eagle, which stands not well with the Scripture.

Prot. That is true; if we believe your painters and carvers, we shall soon mar all indeed: for we find the Trinity painted by you, sometimes in the likeness of a man with three faces; sometimes in the likeness of a man with two heads, having a dove between them; both which fashions of painting the Trinity are monstrous, in[88] Bellarmine's opinion. We find our Saviour Christ painted with long hair, as though he had been a Nazarite by vow; which conceit is controuled by[89] Scripture. We find him set on a weather-cock upon the top of the temple of Jerusalem, as though that temple had had a spire-steeple like ours[90]; which is neither so, nor so. We find the Virgin Mary treading on the Serpent's head, which the[91] Scriptures foretold, that Christ himself should do. We find her set out in a gown of wrought gold, whereas, no question, she was meanly appareled, and with a pair of beads in her hand; whereas, of a thousand years after Christ, there were[92] no beads in the world. In like sort we find[93] Moses painted with two horns, [94]John Baptist in a raw camel's skin, [95] John the Evangelist like a beardless boy when he writ his Gospel, Mary Magdalen in a loose gown, [96] St. Jerome in his cardinal's robes; all which is false as God is true. Besides, your painters recommend unto us a saint on horseback, whom they call George; and another saint on foot, as big as a giant, whom they call Christopher; and a she-saint, broken upon a wheel, whom they call Catharine; and a fourth, drawn in pieces with horses, whom they call Hippolytus; whereas, in all antiquity, [97] there is no mention of any such saints: so that you never spoke a truer word, in your life, than this, That if we believe painters and carvers, we shall soon mar all. But what, if book-proof concur with painting and carving, may we not then, without fear of marring all, give credit to painters and carvers? Your[98] Bellarmine is of opinion, that there can be no error in substance, as long as, besides book-proof, there be monuments of stone, or of brass, for the proof of any ancient report. And, if he speak the words of truth, the truth is with us; for, besides monuments of stone, we have the testimonies of many writers.

Pap. But not so many as you brag of, I believe; and, besides[99], those you have are but paltry writers.

Prot. That shall be seen by a more particular view of them: wherefore, first, what say you to Charanza, the last of them whom I named, who was a divinity-reader among you, and afterwards[100] archbishop of Toledo in Spain? Was he a paltry writer? or, hath he not his story, in your opinion.

Pap. I think he hath it not. For[101] Florimondus names Charanza among them, who disproved the story of Pope Joan, before he himself fell to disprove it.

Prot. Doth he so? Doubtless then, he belyes Charanza; for this is all that[102] Cha-

[87] *Si ea quæ ab artificibus manu finguntur, credamus esse vera, interdum Veteris & Novi Testamenti historiam pervertemus;* &c. Florim. p. 193. [88] Lib. ii. de Imag. cap. 8.

[89] For Nazarites must drink no wine; Numb. vi. 3: yet our Saviour did, Matt. xi. 19. and xxvi. 29.

[90] Tho. de Truxillo. Ord. Prædic. Domin. 1. Quadrag. conc. i. [91] Gen. iii.

[92] Teste Polydoro Virgil. de Invent. Rerum, lib. v. cap. 9.

[93] Hieron. ab Oleastro in Exod. xxxiv. & Aug. Steuchus in Recognit. Vet. Test. ad Hebraïcam Verit. in Exod. xxxiv. [94] Jansen. Concord. Evang. cap. xiii.

[95] In novis Bibliis Sixti Quinti, & Clem. VIII. Yet he writ it ninety; *ætatis annum excedens*, ut docet Baron. Annal. tom. i. ad An. 99. num. 2.

[96] Scultingius, Confessio Hieronymana. Polid. Virg. de Invent. Rerum, lib. iv. cap. 9.

[97] For proof whereof, see D. Rayn. de Rom. Ecclesiæ Idololat. lib. i. cap. 5. num. 21, &c.

[98] Lib. ii. de Rom. Pont. cap. xi.

[99] *Si hujus commenti authores spectes, nihil illis vilius.* Florim cap. xxxi. num. 1.

[100] Possevinus, Apparat. Sacro, verbo *Barth. Charanza.* [101] Cap. xxxi. num. 6.

[102] In Sum. Conc. p. 370. edit. Paris. 1564.

ranza writes of that argument: *Johannes VIII, Papa* 105 *sub Petro, sedit an.* 2. *mens.* 1. *dies* 4. *De hoc ferunt, quòd malis artibus pontificatum adeptus est, quoniam, cùm esset fœmina, sexum mentitus est; & postea à servo compressa, doloribus circumventa, mortua est.* Which, in English, is thus: 'John the Eighth, the one-hundred-and-fifth pope from St. 'Peter, sat two years, one month, and four days. They report of this person, that he 'got the papacy by evil means, because he feigned himself to be a man, whereas, in truth, 'he was a woman; who, being afterwards begot with child, by one of her servants, fell 'in travail and died thereon:' and this is not disproving of it, is it trow you?

Pap. No verily, if he say no more of it; but perhaps he saith more, and you conceal it from me.

Prot. Not a word, I warrant you, in way of disproving it. Wherefore let us go on, and observe who, and what manner of men, the rest are, who bear witness with us in this case. What say you to Krantius? Hath he not this story? or, is he but a paltry writer?

Pap. Krantius is commended by [103] Pontanus, for a famous historiographer. And, seeing he wrote before Luther's days, there is no reason (as [104] Bellarmine notes upon another occasion) that he should be suspected to write any thing for love or hatred. But hath he this story?

Prot. Yea; [105] for these are his own words: *Johannes Anglicus, ex Moguntiâ mulier, mentita sexum, quum acutissimo ingenio & promptissimâ linguâ doctissimè loqueretur, adeò in se convertit omnium animos, ut pontificatum adipisceretur, uno famulo sexum ejus cognoscente, à quo compressa prægnans efficitur; & fertur peperisse apud Colosseum, an.* 2°. *necdum expleto, in partu moritur.* Which in effect sounds thus: 'John English, a woman of 'Mentz, dissembled her sex, and being of a quick wit and glib tongue, and one that 'could speak very scholar-like, she so won the hearts of all men, that she got the papacy, 'no man knowing any other, but that she was a man, save one of her servants, who af-'terwards got her with child. They say she was delivered near the Colosses, before she 'had sitten full two years.' Thus Krantius.

Pap. And hath Mantuan the same, whom you cited next before Krantius?

Prot. Yea, Mantuan, who is commended by [106] Trithemius for a great divine, an excellent philosopher, and a famous poet, the only man in all Italy in his time: Mantuan [107], at whom the people pointed, as he went in the streets, and said, 'This is he;' which was wont to be held a matter of extraordinary credit: Mantuan, of whom Picus Mirandula, Pontanus, Beroaldus, Baronius, Possevin, and divers others [108], give honourable testimony: This Mantuan hath this story; for, falling to describe hell, and what manner of persons were in hell:

Hìc ([109] saith he) *pendebat adhuc sexum mentita virilem*
Fœmina, cui triplici Phrygiam diademate mitram
Extollebat apex, & pontificalis adulter.

Which in effect sounds thus much: 'Here hanged the woman who went like a man, 'and came to the popedom: and here hanged he, that committed adultery with her.'

Pap. You say right: for I remember now that [110] Florimondus confesseth the tale is in Mantuan. But Mantuan deserves no credit in this: for he writes worse of her than ever any did before him; and [111] feigns, very ridiculously, that her horsekeeper (who got her with child) and she were both hanged together.

[103] Chronograph. lib. ii.

[104] *Krantius, homo Germanus, & qui ante Lutheranas contentiones scripsit, proindè nec odio nec amore ducebatur.* Lib. ii. de Effectu Sacram. cap. ix. [105] Metrop. lib. ii. edit. Colon. 1574, & Francofurt. 1590.

[106] De Script. Ecclesiasticis, verbo *Baptista Mantuanus.*

[107] Philip. Beroaldus, Hieron. Carmelita, ad initium tom. ii. Operum Mantuani.

[108] Possevin. in Apparat. Sacro, tom. i. verbo *Baptista.*

[109] Tom. iii. lib. 3. Alphonsi. fol. 44. edit. Francof. 1573. [110] Cap. 22. num. 3.

[111] *Stabuli pontificii præfectum cum illâ, laqueo in collum inserto suspensum, commentatur.* Florim. ibid. & cap. 23. num. 6.

Prot. Mantuan talks of no horsekeeper of her's, but in general of one, who committed adultery with her; nor of any hanging, save of their hanging in hell, which is likely enough to be true. Your Florimondus can lay his finger upon nothing, but he grimes it. He can comment upon no man's words, but he wrests them. There is not a word in Mantuan more concerning her, than that which is comprehended in the three verses cited.

Pap. At better leisure, I will examine your words more narrowly.

Prot. Is not this plain?

Pap. What is there in the epistle of the universities of Oxford, Paris, and Prague, which makes for you?

Prot. In that epistle set out by Huldericus Hutten, anno 1520, we read thus: *Joh. successor Leonis IV, cœpit circa an. Dom.* 854, *& sedit an.* 2. *& mens.* 5. *Fœmina fuit, & in papatu impregnata.* 'John, who succeeded Leo IV, was chosen pope about the year '854. She was a woman, and got with child in her papacy.' Is not this plain?

Pap. Yes; but what find you in Ravisius Textor?

Prot. Scitum est ex chronicis, & à majoribus scriptum, (saith [112] Ravisius Textor,) *Johannem Anglicum ab ephebis sexum virilem simulâsse, & tandem fato nescio quo, aut fortunâ certè volente, ad pontificatum pervenisse, in quo annos circiter duos sederit, post Leonem IV; neque priùs innotuerit facti veritas, quàm, à quodam ex domesticis impregnata, tandem emiserit partum.* That is, 'It is a thing well known by the chronicles, and written by our 'ancestors, that John English, from her youth up, carried herself as though she had been 'a man, and at length, by I know not what destiny, certainly by very great luck, she 'became pope, and sat about two years, after Leo the Fourth, and nobody knew her 'cozenage, till she was with child by one of her menial servants, and delivered thereof.'

Pap. What find you in Fulgosus?

Prot. Marry, I find in [113] Fuglosus (who [114] was a noble and learned man, and sometimes Duke of Genoa), that John the Eighth was found out to be a woman.

Pap. And what in Laziardus?

Prot. Johannes Anglicus in cathedrâ Petri sedit annis duobus, mensibus septem, diebus uqatuor; saith [115] Laziardus. *Hic, ut fertur, fœmina fuit,* &c. That is, 'John English 'sat in St. Peter's chair two years, seven months, and four days. This, as the report 'goeth, was a woman,' &c.

Pap. And who was the next you cited before this?

Prot. Hartmannus Schedel, a doctor of physick, yet not ignorant of Holy Scriptures, a very witty and well spoken man, as [116] Trithemius witnesseth.

Pap. Oh! Schedel (I confess) [117] reports this. But [118] he reports it so coldly, so fearfully, so faintly, that a man may well see he doubted of it. For he confesseth, that he knew not whether it was so or no; and therefore fathers it upon one Martin, I know not whom.

Prot. Fie, that you should say so. Doth he not use the very words without change, which Platina useth in relating the same; whereof we shall have occasion to speak ere we part? and against which you can take no exceptions. And doth he not (to imprint the matter deeper into the reader's memory) set her picture down with a child in her arms?

Pap. Yes, indeed I cannot deny that. But, to be plain with you, I care not what he saith of it. For, as [119] Florimondus noteth, he [120] was one of the stinking brood of the Hussites, and lived in Nurenberg, what time Nurenberg was infected with Husse's heresy.

[112] In Officinâ, tit. *Mulieres virilem habitum mentitæ.*

[113] De Dictis Factisque Memorabilibus, lib. viii. cap. 3. tit. *De Fœminis quæ doctrinâ excellunt.*

[114] So saith Allen, cap. 5. of his Defence of the Seminaries; and Possevin. Apparat. Sacr. verbo *Baptista Fulgosus.* [115] Epitom. Histor. Universalis, cap. 3. [116] Lib. de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis.

[117] In Chron. Ætatum Mundi, Ætate 6.

[118] *Schedel. de hâc Johannâ verba facit, sed ita jejunè, ita exilitèr, ita incertè, ut de eâ re dubitâsse videatur.* Florim. lib. cit. cap. 4. num. 3. [119] Loco citato.

[120] *Ex impurâ Hussitarum familiâ,* &c.

And therefore, no marvel, if to curry favour with them, he touched by the way the supposed popedom of Joan the woman.

Prot. See how you lavish. This Hartmannus Schedel, born in Nurenberg, was[121] student in Padua, where he was created doctor of physick by the great Mathiolus. And he was so far from Husse's mind, that in the same [122] book he hath one whole chapter intituled, 'De Hæresi Hussitarum, & ejus Origine.' That is, Of Husse's heresy, and of the original thereof. Wherein he follows Æneas Silvius step by step [123], who speaks spitefully and bitterly against Husse and all his followers. It seems Florimondus, of whom you learned this, is one of some stinking brood of lyars.

Pap. Well, who is next?

Prot. Jacobus Bergomensis, a man well seen in Scripture, and an excellent humanist, witty, eloquent, of good conversation, and a most famous historiographer, as [124] Trithemius reports of him. This Jacobus Bergomensis (I say) writes thus of this point: [125] *Johannes VII. papa, natione Anglicus, post Leonem pontificem pontifex factus, sedit ann. 2. mens. 5. Hunc tradunt fuisse fœminam, quæ adolescens admodùm, ex Angliâ, Athenas cum quodam doctissimo Amasio suo profecta, ibidem, bonarum artium præceptores audiendo, tantùm profecit, ut Romam veniens paucos admodùm etiam in sacris literis haberet pares. Ea quippe legendo, disputando, docendo, orando, tantam benevolentiam & gratiam sibi comparavit, ut, mortuo Leone prædicto pontifice, in ejusdem locum, ut multi affirmant, omnium consensu pontifex crearetur: Verùm postea, à familiari compressa, gravidatur, & papa existens peperit. Nam ex Vaticano ad Lateranensem basilicam aliquando ad litanias profecta, inter Colosseum & S. Clementem, præter spem doloribus circumventa, sine obstetrice aliquâ publicè peperit, &, eò loci mortua, ibidem, sine ullo honore, cum fœtu misera sepulta est. Ad cujus detestandum spurcitiem, & nominis continuandum memoriam, in hodiernum usque summi pontificis rogationem cum populo & clero sacram agentes, cùm locum partûs, medio ejus in itinere positum, abominentur, eo omisso, declinant ad diverticula vicosque; & sic, loco detestabili postergato, reintrantes iter perficiunt quod cœperunt. Et ad evitandos similes errores statutum suit, nè quis de cætero in B. Petri collocaretur sede, priusquàm per perforatam sedem futuri pontificis genitalia ab ultimo diacono cardinale attrectarentur.* That is, 'John the 'Seventh, by country English, was created pope next after Leo, and sat two years and 'five months. They say this was a woman, and that she went very young out of England 'to Athens, with a certain great clerk, who was in love with her; and that there, by 'hearing of good professors, she profited so much, that, when she came to Rome, she 'had few like her in divinity. Whereupon, by her reading, disputing, teaching, and 'praying, she got herself so much favour, that upon Leo's death, she was chosen pope 'into his room (as many men say) by common consent. But see the luck of it; a while 'after she was got with child by one of her acquaintance, and delivered thereof in the 'time of her papacy. For, going upon a time from the Vatican to St. John Lateran's 'in procession, between the Colosses and St. Clement's, ere ever she was aware, she fell 'in travail, and was delivered in the high street, without the help of any midwife. But she 'died presently, and was buried without any solemnity in the same place, with her little 'one by her. Now, in hatred of her filthy dealing, and for continuing of the memory of 'so lewd a part, the Popes to this day, when they go in procession, in respect of their 'dislike of that place of her travail, which was in the midst of her way, forsaking it, do 'turn into by-lanes and by-streets, till they have left that on their backs; and then, re-'turning into the same street again, they go forward with their procession. And, for 'avoiding of like mischief in time to come, it was decreed that none should be consecra-'ted pope, before the youngest cardinal deacon had tried by touching, whilst the party 'to be consecrated sat on a close-stool, that he was a man.' Thus Bergomensis.

Pap. Is not this he that wrote 'Supplementum Chronicorum' in the year 1503?

[121] *Ego Hartmannus Schedel. doctor Patavinus*, &c. Circa an. 1440. fol. 252. b.
[122] Circa an. 1410. fol. 238. a. [123] Historia Bohemica, cap. 35.
[124] Lib. de Ecclesiasticis Scriptoribus.
[125] Supplement. Chron. lib. xi. ad An. 851, impres. Venetiis ann. 1486.

Prot. No, but this is he who wrote 'Supplementum Chronicorum' in the year 1486, as Trithemius [126] witnesseth, and the book itself convinceth. Your [127] Florimondus was deceived, who, seeing (perhaps) that it was printed in the year 1503, thought it was written in the year 1503.

Pap. That error is not so great, though an error. But, if it be he that I mean, I say with [128] Florimondus, that his reporting of it is an argument of his ignorance, and so let him go.

Prot. So you may cast off all the rest, if you be disposed, and make short work of our conference, for you may say of every one: "His reporting of it is an argument of his ignorance." When Volaterran, an historiographer of good note, shall be brought in, saying, *Johannes VII. Anglicus, quem dissimulato viri habitu dicunt fœminam alioquin doctissimam fuisse, deprehensamque, in viâ apud S. Clementem, quando peperit;* that is, 'John 'English, the seventh of that name, who (as they say) carried himself like a man, when-'as, indeed, she was a notable well learned woman; and discovered so to be by her deli-'very of a child in the way near to St. Clement's.' You may reply, Volaterran's reporting of it is an argument of his ignorance.

Pap. And what if I did so? Yet you shall know anon, that I have a better answer to him, and to the rest. But meanwhile, go on; and tell me what Trithemius saith to the matter.

Prot. Trithemius [130], abbot of St. Martin's monastery, in Spanheim, a reverend and an exceeding great learned man, writes [131] thus: *Sancto Leone papâ mortuo, eodem anno, Johannes Anglicus successit 2 annis, et mensibus 5; quem ferunt quidam fœminam extitisse, et uni soli familiari cognitam, et ab eo compressam, peperisse in strata publica. Et ob id eum nonnulli inter pontifices ponere noluerunt, quasi indignum facinus abhorrentes.* That is, 'In 'the same year that Pope Leo died, John English succeeded for two years and five months. 'Now some say she was a woman, and that she was known so to be but to one only, by 'whom at length she was begot with child, and delivered thereof in the highway. And 'for this cause some would not reckon her among Popes, in disliking her villainous fact.' Thus Trithemius. With whom in substance agreeth Sabellicus, [132] a man of great reckoning in Venice, yea one of the famousest men in his time for all manner of good learning: of whose books [133] Pius the Third professed he made as much reckoning as Alexander did of Homer's Iliads. *Johannes Anglicus hujus nominis VII. sit indè pontifex,* saith [134] Sabellicus. *Fuit is Moguntiaco oriundus.*

Pap. Stay you there, and save a labour. For I confess with [135] Florimondus, that Sabellicus, by relying too much on Platina, hath put it in his history, doing therein very indiscreetly.

Prot. And what think you of Wernerus Rolenink, who is reckoned by [136] Paulus Langius, among the famous scholars of the order of Carthusians, and commended by [137] Trithemius, for a man of good learning, and much devotion [138]; whose words are these: *Iste Johannes Anglicus cognomine, sed natione Moguntinus, circa hæc tempora dicitur fuisse. Et erat fœmina habitu vestita virili: sic in divinâ Scripturâ profecerat, ut par ei non inveniretur, et in papam eligitur. Sed pòst impregnata, cùm publicè in processione pergeret, peperit et moritur. Et hic sextus videtur fuisse papa, qui nomen sanctitatis sine re habuit usquehuc. Et similitèr sicut alii à Deo plagatus fuit; nec ponitur in catalogo pontificum:* That is, 'This John, by 'his surname English, by his country of Mentz, is reported to have sat as pope about this 'time. And she was a woman: but went in man's apparel. She profited so well in di-

[126] Lib. de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis. [127] Lib. citato, p. 37. [128] Ibid.
[129] Anthropologia, lib. xxii. p. 503. edit. Basil. an. 1559.
[130] *Reverendus et undecunque doctissimus vir, Paulus Langius;* in Chron. Citizense, ad an. 1515.
[131] In Chron. Monasterii Hirsaugiensis.
[132] *Sabellicus, vir undecunque doctissimus, claret hodiè apud Venetos maximo in precio.* Trithem. lib. de Script. Ecclesiasticis. [133] Papir. Mason. de Urb. Episc. lib. vi. in Pio III. [134] Ænead. 9. lib. i.
[135] *In similem impudentiam incidit Sabellicus,* &c. saith Florimondus, loco suprà citato.
[136] In Chron. Citizense, post an. 1493. [137] Lib. de Script. Ecclesiasticis.
[138] Fascicul. Temporum, Ætate 6, ad An. 854.

'vinity, that she had no fellow, and so was chosen to be pope. But, after a while being 'great with child, as she went in public procession, she was delivered thereof, and died. 'And this seems to be the sixth pope, which, to this day, was called holy, and proved 'nought: and, therefore, he was plagued by God, as the rest before him were plagued. 'Neither is she in the register of Popes.' How say you? Did not Wernerus indiscreetly in relating it thus plainly?

Pap. Yes, marry did he. But I wonder not at him, for relating of it, because in the same place (as [139] Florimondus observes) he writes, that inasmuch as she was a German, no German could ever since be chosen pope. Which is a lye with a latchet. For divers Germans, since that, have been advanced unto the popedom, as Damasus the Second and Victor the Second, with others.

Prot. True: divers Germans have been popes, since Joan the woman's popedom; and if Wernerus writ the contrary, Wernerus lyed shamefully. But he had no rule of his tongue, who chargeth Wernerus with such a matter. For these are Wernerus's words, which follow presently upon the former: *Nugantur aliqui, hâc de causâ nullum Alemannum in papam eligi, quod falsum esse constat.* 'Some prattle, that for this cause no Ger-'man may be chosen pope, which is apparently false.' Whereby you may see, that he reproveth that in others, for which he is injuriously reproved by your Florimondus. Your Florimondus may be a man in office, but if he goes on as he begins, he will hardly prove himself honest.

Pap. Good words, I pray you, Sir; Florimondus may be honest enough, for any thing you say against him. For he [140] writes, that he hath two editions of this Wernerus; the one bearing date what [141] year it was printed, the other without date, but very ancient. And these two (as he saith) do differ in reporting the story of Pope Joan, and in nothing else. Now it may be, that though in yours it be as you say, yet in his it is otherwise.

Prot. I myself have seen two editions of Wernerus as well as Florimondus; yea, I have seen four: one [142] printed in the year 1479; another printed by Nicholas Gotz, of Seltestad, I know not when, for it carries no date; a third without note, either of the printer, or of the place where it was printed, or of the time when it was printed; but, questionless, very ancient; a fourth printed at Frankfort, 1584. In the three ancient ones, there is not a word different in the narration of Joan: nor in the fourth, saving that the words *Nugantur aliqui*, &c. are in the fourth, and not in the other. But in none of them is there any such thing as Florimondus chargeth him with. But, will you hear what the next man saith to the point in question? He is Matheus Palmerus, [143] an Italian, and one of the choice men which were at the council kept by Eugenius the Fourth, against the council of Basil. *Pontifex* 106. *Johannes Anglicus* (saith [144] Palmerius) *sedit annis 2, mensibus 3. Fama est hunc Johannem fœminam fuisse, et uni soli familiari cognitam: qui eam complexus est, et, gravis facta, peperit papa existens: quamobrem eum inter pontifices non numerant quidam, ideò nomini numerum non facit.* That is, 'John was a woman, yet not known so 'to be, but to one of her familiars, who lay with her. She was delivered in the time of 'her papacy: and, because some reckon her not among the Popes, there are no more 'Johns for her, than if she had never been.' Thus Palmerius.

Pap. Be it so. But what saith Platina, I pray you, for your purpose?

Prot. Platina [145], keeper of the library in the Vatican, a man of great wit and learning [146], writes thus: *Johannes Anglicanus, ex Moguntiaco oriundus, malis artibus (ut aiunt) pontificatum adeptus est: mentitus enim sexum, cùm fœmina esset, adolescens admodùm Athenas cum amatore docto viro proficiscitur, ibique præceptores bonarum artium audiendo tantùm*

[139] Lib. citato, cap. 7. pag. 64 & 65. [140] Loco citato. [141] *Viz.* 1480. [142] By Henry Quentel.

[143] *Matth. Palmerius, natione Italus——qui in conc. Florentino (quod Eugenius Papa IV. contra Basil. synodum celebravit) inter præclarissimos viros annumeratus fuit.* Trithem. Descript. Eccles.

[144] In Chron. ad Ann. 853.

[145] *Bartholomæus Platina, apostolicus abbreviator, vir undecunque doctissimus*, &c. Trith. de Script. Eccles.

[146] De Vitis Pontif. in Joh. VIII.

profecit, ut Romam veniens paucos admodùm etiam in sacris literis pares haberet, nedum superiores. Legendo autem, et disputando doctè, et acutè, tantum benevolentiæ et authoritatis sibi comparavit, ut, mortuo Leone, in ejus locum (ut Martinus ait) omnium consensu pontifex crearetur: verùm postea à servo compressa, cùm aliquandiu ventrem occultè tulisset, tandem, dum ad Lateranensem basilicam proficisceretur, inter theatrum (quod Colosseum vocant à Neronis Colosso) et S. Clementem, doloribus circumventa peperit: eòque loci mortua, pontificatûs sui anno 2, mense 1, diebus 4, sine ullo honore sepelitur. The meaning of which is: 'John English, born at Mentz, got the popedom (as men say) by evil means. For he 'dissembled his sex, being a woman indeed: and, when she was very young, she went to 'Athens with a scholar, who was in love with her; where, by hearing good readers of all 'good learning, she profited so well, that when she came to Rome, she had few fellows, 'but never a one her better. Now by reading and disputing, learnedly and wittily, she 'got so much credit, that, upon Leo's death, she was chosen in his room (as Martin 'writes) by common consent. But, within a while after, she proved with child by one 'of her servants; and, though she carried all closely for a time, yet, at length, as she went 'to St. John Lateran's, between the theatre (called the Colosses) and St. Clement's, she 'fell in travail, and was delivered of a child, and died in the place; which was in the se-'cond year, first month, and fourth day of her reign: and she was buried without any 'solemnity.' How like you this?

Pap. So and so. But Bernartius is of opinion, that this was never written by Platina, but was foisted into him. For I have heard ([147] saith he) by Antonius Hetweeld, a man of good report, and an alderman of Lovain, that one Engelbertus Boonius, a reverend man, and dean of a great church in Germany, had oftentimes told him, that he had seen many ancient manuscripts of Platina in the Vatican at Rome, and perused them diligently, and yet found never a word in any of them touching Pope Joan.

Prot. That Dean had the luck of it, if he light on such ancient manuscripts, as the Alderman of Lovain told Bernartius of. But how came the manuscripts in the Vatican to be many and old, seeing printing was in use, and Platina died anno 1481? And how chanced it, that neither Onuphrius, nor Bellarmine, nor Baronius, who have had as free access into the Vatican library, as any, could never light on these manuscripts? How chanced it, that none, since Bernartius, thought good to except in that sort against Platina? Onuphrius, Bellarmine, and Baronius's acknowledgment, that this story is in Platina, persuade me, that either Bernartius belyed the Alderman, or the Alderman belyed the Dean, or the Dean made a fool of the Alderman. For, questionless, if there had been any such manuscripts, some of them would have found them out, and made it known to the world, ere this. For they are glad of narrower fig-tree leaves to cover their nakedness withal, than such manuscripts, if they were forth-coming. But, perhaps, you have some better answer behind than this.

Pap. I have. For what could you reply, if I answered that which [148] Bellarmine hath upon another occasion, to wit, that Platina wrote not by public authority, nor took his history out of the public registers of the church?

Prot. I could quickly tell you, that both Bellarmine and you speak without book. For, besides that Platina himself [149] professeth, that he writ by the commandment of Sixtus the Fourth, [150] Onuphrius confesseth, that he followed Damasus, Anastasius, and such historiographers as had written before of the same matter.

Pap. But what say you to [151] Florimondus, whose answer is, That Platina reported it rather to shew his reading, than for that he thought it true?

Prot. What is Florimondus's reason for that?

[147] *Impudens aliquis nebulo interpolavit scripta Platinæ. Audivi ex Antonio Hetweldio, amplissimo laudatissimoque viro, consulari Lovaniensi, dixisse sibi sæpiùs Engelbertum Boonium——vidisse se Romæ, in Bibliothecâ Vaticanâ, antiquissima Platinæ exemplaria manuscripta, sedulò examinâsse, et de Joanne fœminâ ne literam quidem reperisse.* Bernartius de Utilitate legendæ Hist. lib. ii. p. 111.

[148] Tom. ii. de Pœnitentiâ, lib. iii. cap. 13. [149] Proœmio lib. de Vitis Pontif. in Epistolâ ad Sixtum IV.

[150] Annotat. in Plat. in Vit. S. Petri Apostoli. [151] Lib. citato, cap. 4, p. 36.

Pap. Marry, if he had thought it true, saith [152] Florimondus, he would have exaggerated it, and made the worst of it, that thereby he might have revenged himself of the popes at whom he was angry. For Paul the Second (as all men know) racked him, and deprived him of all his dignities, and justly cast him into prison, and kept him there as long as himself lived.

Prot. That Paul the Second racked Platina, and deprived him of his dignities, and kept him long in prison, is very true: but that he cast him justly into prison, is false. For Trithemius [153] witnesseth, that Paul the Second dealt [154] cruelly therein. Yet, suppose all to be true: doth it follow in your Florimondus's logick, Paul the Second wronged Platina; *ergo*, Platina hated all Popes? And why not then: Sixtus the Fourth gratified Platina many ways; Sixtus the Fourth set Platina at liberty, and restored him to his dignities: *ergo*, Platina loved all Popes? If one man's kindness could not work love towards all, it is not likely that one man's unkindness should breed an heart-burning against all. Wherefore, notwithstanding this, we may well think that Platina wrote as he thought: and the rather, for that, in the words following, he professeth, [155] that such a thing might well happen. What say you to Chalcocondylas, the Athenian, whom I named next before Platina, as a witness for us in this controversy?

Pap. I say, Chalcocondylas hath not this tale.

Prot. What, man? Are not these [156] his words? *Constat mulierem quandam in pontificatum esse subvectam, quia sexus ignorabatur: nam Italiæ occidentales penè omnes barbam radunt. Cùm autem illa mulier gravida esset facta, & ad festum sive sacrificium prodiisset, peperit infantem inter sacrificium in conspectu populi. Quapropter, nè decipiantur iterum, sed rem cognoscant, neque ambigant, pontificis creati virilia tangunt, & qui tangit, acclamat: Mas nobis dominus est.* That is, 'It is well known, that a certain woman was 'made pope, by reason they knew not her sex: for all (almost) in the western parts of 'Italy, shave their beards. Now, when she was great with child, and came abroad to 'solemnize some day, or to say service; as she was at service, she was delivered of a child 'in the sight of all the people. Wherefore, lest hereafter they should be deceived in like 'sort, they make trial of his manhood by touching, and he that toucheth proclaimeth, We 'have a man to our Pope.'

Pap. I confess, these words are in Chalcocondylas, translated into Latin. But I say with [157] Baronius, that though it be in the Latin, yet that was by Clauserus the translator's bad dealing, who foisted it in. It was not written in the Greek by Chalcocondylas.

Prot. How proves Baronius that?

Pap. Nay, he meddles not with proving of it, but refers you over to Florimondus for it. For Florimondus hath excellently well (as [158] Baronius saith) discovered Clauserus's cozenage therein.

Prot. How, I pray you? For I know you have Florimondus at your finger's end.

Pap. Why, [159] Florimondus compared Clauserus's translation into Latin, with a Frenchman's translation of the same into French; and, by that, he saw this tale was not in Chalcocondylas, for he found nothing of it in the Frenchman's translation.

Prot. And is this Florimondus's reason, so much commended by Baronius, whereby he discovers Clauserus's cozenage? Now the Vicar of S. Fools be ghostly father to them both: for why might not the Frenchman as well leave it out, as Clauserus put it in?

Pap. Oh, a faithful translator, as [160] Florimondus notes, durst not have left it out, if he had found it in the Greek.

[152] *Si hæc vera sibi persuasisset, tanquam unguis in ulcere fuisset, & odium, quod in pontifices concepe-rat, audaciùs evomuisset.* [153] De Script. Ecclesiasticis, verbo *Bartholomæus Platina.*

[154] *Crudelissimè.* [155] *Apparet, ea quæ dixi ex his esse, quæ fieri posse creduntur.*

[156] De Rebus Turcicis, lib. vi. p. 98.

[157] Annal. tom. x. ad Ann. 853. num. 66. *Quamvis, apud Chalcocondylam Latinè redditum, ejusmodi fabulare petitur esse descripta; non tamen ab ipso authore positum scias, sed ab impostore Clausero fraudulenter appositum.* [158] Ibid. *Imposturam egregiè detexit Florimondus.*

[159] Florim. Fabula Joannæ, cap. 6. num. 2.

[160] Florim. Fab. Joannæ, cap. 6. num. 2. *Fidus interpres prætermittere non ausus fuisset, si in Græco exemplari exaratum invenisset.*

Prot. Nor put it in, if he had not found it in the Greek: durst he? And why may not we hold Clauserus as faithful an interpreter, as the Frenchman? Yea, why may not we hold him more faithful, seeing the Frenchman was a Papist? For [161] Papists hold it lawful, in translating, to omit offensive matter: and so doth no Protestant. The truth is, Clauserus shewed himself an honest man in translating it; and the Frenchman shewed himself a popish companion in concealing it: which appears by the Greek, printed at Colen, anno 1615, wherein it is, and by Gretser's confession, *Fac sunt qui velint, ea quæ leguntur, lib. vi. Hist. Laonici, non ab authore, sed ab interprete Clausero esse.* Going on thus; *Ægrè credo. Nam, in bibliothecâ Bavaricâ monachii, tres extant historiæ hujus manuscripti codices, & unus ibidem in bibliothecâ academiæ Ingolstadiensis, in quibus omnibus hoc de Joh. Papâ fœminâ fabulamentum legitur: nec credibile est interpretem ipsos etiam Græcos codices vitiare potuisse.* 'There are who hold opinion, ([162] saith he,) that 'that which is read of Pope Joan, in the sixth book of Chalcocondylas, was never written 'by the author, but chopped in by Clauserus the translator; which I can hardly believe. 'For there are three MSS. of Chalcocondylas, in one library in Bavaria, and another in the 'library of the university of Ingolstadt; in all which, this tale of Pope Joan is to be read: 'and it is not credible, that Clauserus, the translator, did or could corrupt all these Greek 'copies.'

Pap. Well, if this answer please you not, know further, that it matters not what Chalcocondylas writes of this matter. For, in rendering the reason why she could not so well be known to be a woman, he writes, 'That in the western parts of Italy, all, almost, shave 'their beards;' wherein he was grossly deceived, as [163] Florimondus observes. And, if in that, why not in the other?

Prot. He was not deceived in that of shaving: for, by the Pope's canons, the Italian priests, yea, all the priests of the Western church, are to be shaven: *Hic Papa (Anicetus) clericos comam & barbam radere in signum clericatûs jussit;* saith [164] Pontacus. That is, 'Pope Anicetus commanded the clergy to shave both their heads and their beards, in 'token that they were of the clergy.' And, *Occidentalis ecclesiæ clerum, ab ipsis ecclesiæ Christianæ primordiis, barbam radendi morem tenuisse,* [165] *asserit Gregorius VII.* 'Pope 'Gregory VII. avoucheth, that, from the Apostles' days, the Western clergy did shave 'their beards.' To whom [166] Durandus, who lived about the year 1280, subscribeth: for he acknowledgeth, that before, and in his time, they were shaved; proving the lawfulness of it out of Ezekiel, and shewing the mysteries that are imported by it. Yea, [167] Johannes Pierius Valerianus, as you shall hear hereafter, witnesseth the same; imputing your error, in electing Pope Joan, to the ordinary shaving of beards; because, by that means, a man could hardly know a man from a woman. Will not Florimondus leave lying? What think you of Theodoricus de Niem, one of your Pope's secretaries; is it doubtful whether I wrong him in calling him to be a witness in this case?

Pap. I think you wrong him: for [168] Florimondus reckons him among them who would readily have taken up such a tale against the Popes, if he had heard of it, and yet did not.

Prot. Florimondus is like himself, to say no worse, for these are [169] Theodoricus's own words: *Johannes vocatus de Angliâ, & fuit mulier de Moguntiâ nata, quæ studuit Athenis sub virili habitu, & in tantum profecit in artibus ipsis, quòd tandem veniens Romam, & per biennium in eâdem scholâ artes ipsas liberales legit, & adeò sufficiens fuit, quòd etiam majores & nobiliores urbis ejus lectiones frequentèr audierint. Ea postea in papam concorditèr eligi-*

[161] Gretser, Lib. ii. de Jure, &c. prohibendi Lib. malos, cap. 10.
[162] Tom. ii. Defens. Bellar. lib. iii. cap. 24. col. 906.
[163] *In eo quod de barbâ radendâ asserit turpitèr lapsus est.* Flor. cap. 6. num. 1.
[164] Chronograph. lib. ii.
[165] Greg. VII. lib. viii. Regist. Epist. 10. ut refert Salmeron, Disput. 18. in 1 Cor. xi. p. 147. & Baron. Annal. tom. i. ad Ann. 58. num. 142.
[166] Rational. divin. Offic. Lib. ii. de Ministris, &c.
[167] Pro Sacerdotum Barbis. [168] Cap. v. num. 5 & 6.
[169] Lib. de Privilegiis & Juribus Imperii.

tur à Romanis, & papatum biennio & amplius tenuit; sed tunc, divitiis, ocio, & deliciis vacans, non potuit continere sicut priùs fecit, dum ardentèr in paupertate posita literarum studio insistebat, unde, dum quâdam die in rogationibus cum clero Romano, sicut tunc moris erat, in solenni processione incederet, papalibus ornata divitiis & ornamentis, edidit filium suum primogenitum, ex quodam ejus cubiculario conceptum, prope templum Pacis in urbe, ut adhuc vetus statua marmorea illic posita figurativè demonstrat. Unde summi pontifices, dum ad Lateranensem de basilicâ principis apostolorum, & è contrà vadunt, illud rectum iter non faciunt, imò per alios vicos, per indirectum transeunt, illud aliquantulùm prolongando. That is, 'John, called English, was a woman born at Mentz, and she studied at Athens, going 'in man's apparel, where she profited so well in the arts, that coming to Rome, she read 'there the liberal sciences, and was held so sufficient a reader, that many of the better 'sort became her ordinary hearers. Afterwards with one consent she was chosen pope, 'and lived in it two years and upward. But betaking herself, more than before, to her 'idleness and pleasure, she could not live continently as she did in her poor estate, when 'she plied her book diligently; whereupon one day, as she went with the clergy and 'people of Rome, according to the custom of that time, in solemn procession, being 'attired in papal manner, she was delivered of her first-begotten son, begotten by one of 'her chamber, near the temple of Peace, which stands in the city; as is evident by an old 'marble image, which stands there to this day, to denote so much in a figure. And here-'upon it is, that when the Popes go from the Vatican to St. John Lateran's, and back 'again, they go not the direct way thither, but by other streets further about, and so 'make their journey longer.' Thus Theodoricus de Niem.

Pap. I do not remember any particular answer unto this man's testimony. Wherefore go on, and let me hear what the rest say. Yet if you will, for brevity-sake, you may pass over the testimonies of Petrarch, and Boccace, and Lucidus, and of our countryman Higden, and some such others, because [170] Florimondus acknowledgeth that they speak to it.

Prot. Content. What think you of John of Paris, [171] who lived about the year 1280, and read publicly with great commendation, in the university of Paris, both divinity and humanity; believed not he this story?

Pap. I cannot tell. What say you?

Prot. I think he did. For shewing how sometimes a man may lawfully dispute and take exception against the Pope, in respect of his person, he notes [172] that such a person may be chosen as is not capable; *Ut si esset fœmina, vel hæreticus, sicut fuerunt aliqui, qui ob hoc non enumerantur in catalogo Paparum.* 'As for example, (saith he,) if he 'prove a woman, or an heretick, as some have done, who in that respect are not reckoned 'in the catalogue of Popes.'

Pap. It seems by his words, I cannot deny, that he alludes to such a matter. But did you not allege Gotefridus Viterbiensis, for proof of the same? I pray you let me hear him speak; for [173] Dr. Harding reckons him among them who say nothing of her.

Prot. True; Dr. Harding doth so. But so doth no man else of his side, to my remembrance: which is a great probability that Harding belyes him. But not to stand upon probabilities, the history itself puts the matter out of doubt; for between Leo the Fourth, and Benedict the Third, we [174] read thus, (not in the margent, nor in any other letter, but in the current of the text, and same letter,) *Papissa Joanna non numeratur*: that is, 'Joan, the she-Pope, is not registered.' Whereby it is manifest that he knew of her, though he said little of her.

Pap. When lived this Gotefridus; and what manner of man was he?

Prot. He lived, as [175] Trithemius witnesseth, in the year 1185, and was a priest well

[170] Cap. 3. & 4.

[171] Trithem. de Script. Eccles. verbo *Joh. Paris.* & Possevinus in Apparat. Sac. verbo *Joh. Paris.*

[172] De Potestate Regiâ & Papali, cap. 23. [173] Answer to Bishop Jewel's Apology.

[174] Gotefrid. Viterb. Chron. part. xx. in Catalogo Rom. Pont.

[175] De Script. Eccles. verbo *Gotefridus Viterb.* Gotefridus was *imperialis aulæ capellanus, & notarius.* Possevin. Apparat. Sac. verb. *Gotefrid. Viterb.*

seen in the Holy Scripture, and not ignorant of human knowledge; so that you have little cause to except against him either as a late writer, or a rash writer. But shall we at length hear what evidence Martinus Polonus affords us in this case?

Pap. With all my heart; for there are [176] divers who hold opinion that that which is in Polonus, touching Pope Joan, is cogged into him by Heroldus, who first printed him, or some such like fellow.

Prot. Do they say so? And can they shew me any book, written or printed, wherein it is not in [177] Polonus, thus? *Post hunc Leonem Johannes Anglus, natione Moguntinus, sedit an. 2. mens. 5. diebus 4. Hic, ut asseritur, fœmina fuit, & quum in puellari ætate à quodam suo amasio in habitu virili Athenas ducta fuit, in diversis scientiis ita profecit, ut nullus sibi par inveniretur: adeò ut post Romæ* [178] *trivium legens, magnos magistros, & discipulos & auditores haberet. Et, quum in urbe, & vitâ & scientiâ, magnæ opinionis esset, in papam concorditèr eligitur. Sed in papatu per familiarem suum imprægnatur: verùm tempus partûs ignorans, quum de Sancto Petro in Lateranum tenderet, angustiata inter Colosseum & S. Clementis ecclesiam, peperit, & postea mortua ibidem (ut dicitur) sepulta fuit. Et, propterea quòd dominus papa semper eandem viam obliquat, creditur omninò à quibusdam, quòd ad detestationem facti hoc faciat. Nec ideò ponitur in catalogo sanctorum pontificum, tam propter mulieris sexum, quàm propter deformitatem facti.* Which, in effect, sounds thus in English: 'After this Leo, John English, by her country of Mentz, sat two 'years, five months, and four days. This Pope, as they say, was a woman, and being 'carried in her youth in man's apparel to Athens, by one who was in love with her, she 'profited so much in divers kinds of learning, that she had no fellow; insomuch that 'coming to Rome, and reading there grammar, logick, and rhetorick, she had of the 'greatest rabbins there many auditors and scholars. And being much esteemed of, in 'that city, both for her life and learning, with one voice she was chosen pope. Now, 'in the time of her papacy, she was got with child by some of her familiars; and not 'knowing she was so near her reckoning, as she went from St. Peter's to St. John Lateran, 'between the Coloss, and St. Clement's church, she was delivered of a child; but died 'thereon, and was there, as they say, buried. And, because the lord the Pope doth al-'ways shun that way, it is thought by some, that he doth it in dislike of the accident. 'And she is not numbered among the Popes; partly because of her sex, partly because 'of the filthiness of her fact.' Can they, I say, shew me any book written or printed, wherein it is not in Polonus thus? Doth not Onuphrius, and Bellarmine, and Bernartius, and Baronius, and N. D. with many others of your side, who shew more wit than honesty in pleading this case, confess that Polonus writ this; and that this is to be found in Polonus? Doth not [179] Antoninus, who lived long before Heroldus, cite it as it is in Polonus at this day?

Pap. Yes; the most do. But some, as I told you before, suspect the worst, and namely [180] Dr. Bristow; for he reports that, many years ago, a Protestant, who wa counted a great historian, brought out the same Martinus, in a fair written hand, to shew him this story. And behold, she was not in the text, but in the margent, in another hand. Whereupon, when he saw that, "Now I perceive, (quoth he,) that this author also faileth you."

Prot. What Protestant was that, who had Martinus in so fair a written hand? Can you tell me his name, or the place where he abode, that I may enquire further, for satisfying myself in the truth of this matter?

Pap. Nay, I know no more than I have told you. For the Doctor names no particular circumstance. But I make no question of the truth of it: for I presume that such a doctor would not lye.

[176] *Veriùs dixerim, hæc omnia ex Heroldi Officinâ manâsse,* &c. Florim. cap. 2. num. 6.

[177] Polonus in Chron. ad An. 855.

[178] *Gra. loquitur. Dia. vera docet. Re. verba collocat. Mu. canit. Ar. numerat. Ge. ponderat. As. colit astra.* The three first make *Trivium.* The four latter *Quadrivium.*

[179] Summa Hist. part. ii. tit. xvi. cap. 1. sect. 7.

[180] In his Reply to Dr. Fulke, cap. 10. Demand 45. pag. 371.

Prot. Oh no. A popish priest lye; that is not credible, no more than it is credible, that [181] a priest of the order of Aaron would deceive. But you know what a long story that [182] Doctor tells, of one Margaret Jessop, who was cured of her lameness by the sacrament of miracle, that was kept at St. Gudilae's church at Brussels; and how he amplifies every point, and sets it out with all the circumstances, as though it were as true as the Gospel; whereas [183] the senate of Brussels, by way of proclamation within a few years after, did discover all to be but a pack of knavery. And therefore you must pardon me, if notwithstanding I give him not the lye, yet I believe him not in this, considering it is an old said saw: *Qui versatur in generalibus, versatur dolosè.* 'He that speaks only in generality, 'means falsely.'

Pap. Well, be it that Polonus writ this; yet know you, that as [184] Bellarmine and N. D.[185] note, he was a very simple man; and that his manner of writing was vain, and nothing like to be true in [186] Dr. Harding's judgment. Yea know, that he was only famous for tales, for that is [187] Bernartius's censure of him.

Prot. See the rashness of our latter generation of papists. Polonus was an [188] archbishop, and the Pope's penitentiary: he was learned [189] in the Holy Scriptures, and not ignorant of secular learning; he was one whom [190] Platina relied on much, for matters of history, and thought worthy the commendation of great learning, and singular good life. He was the man, whom the author of 'Fasciculus Temporum,' and Jacobus Bergomensis, (two good historiographers,) professed that they followed especially. And yet, with our present papists, he is but a simple man; &c. Are you not ashamed of this exception?

Pap. No: for I will prove his simplicity by many arguments.

Prot. And how I pray you?

Pap. Why first by this, [191] that he would needs persuade us that Pompilius, who was Numa's father, succeeded next to Romulus. For this is a mere tale, and yet he writes it is as a truth.

Prot. Away, away. *Post Romulum regnavit Numa Pompilius,* [192] saith Polonus. That is, Numa Pompilius reigned next after Romulus; but not Pompilius who was Numa's father.

Pap. Secondly, [193] he would persuade us, that Numa, of a tribune of the people, was made a king, which is another tale.

Prot. He would not; for he [194] writes plainly, that tribunes were ordained sixteen years after the reign of the Roman Kings, when the people complained of the hard measure that they received at the hands of the Consuls and of the Senate. He knew no such officers in the time of the Kings.

Pap. Thirdly, [195] he would persuade us, that the church, which is now called Sancta Maria Rotunda, and in old time Pantheon, built by one Agrippa, was before that the house of one Cybele, supposed to be the mother of the gods; which is a toy, and a conceit of an idle head.

Prot. This is false too. For [196] he saith only, that Pantheon was built by Agrippa at Cybele's motion, who was the mother of the gods; which is confirmed for true by many others; he saith not, that it was first Cybele's, and afterwards turned to the honour of all the gods.

[181] *Dixerunt: Homo sacerdos de semine Aaron venit, non decipiet nos.* 1 Mac. vii. 74. in Vulg.
[182] Motive 5. [183] Meterran. Hist. Belg. lib. x. [184] Lib. iii. de Rom. Pont. cap. 24.
[185] 3. Convers. part. ii. cap. 5. num. 29. pag. 399. [186] Answer to Bishop Jewel's Challenge.
[187] *Martinus Polonus fabulis tantùm celebris, cætera obscurus homo.* Lib. ii. de Utilitate legend. Hist. pag. 113.
[188] *Archiep. cosentinus, & pœnitentiarius papæ.* Possevin. Apparat. Sacer, verbo *Martinus Polonus.*
[189] Trithem. de Script. Eccles. verbo *Martinus.*
[190] *Vir magnæ doctrinæ singularisque vitæ.* Plat. in vitâ Victor. III.
[191] Bernart. lib. citato, pag. 113. Florim. cap. 2. num. 6.
[192] Lib. de Quatuor majoribus Regnis & Rom. Urbis Exordio. Cap. de Rectoribus & Regimine Urbis, pag. 10.
[193] Bernart. & Florim. locis citatis.
[194] *Supputat. post exactos Reges ad Christum usque.* Cap. de binis Coss. pag. 12.
[195] Bernart. & Florim. locis citatis. [196] In Chron. in Domitian. pag. 38.

Pap. Fourthly,[197] he would make us believe, that that famous theatre, made by Titus, was the temple of the Sun; which is mere foolery.

Prot. No, no, *Ante Colosseum fuit templum Solis*, saith[198] Polonus: 'Before the Coloss 'there was a temple of the Sun.' But, that Titus's Theatre was that temple, Polonus saith not.

Pap. Yes,[199] he saith, that the temple of Peace, commonly called 'the Everlasting Temple,' fell the same night that Christ was born: whereas it is plain by all ancient histories, that it was not built till Vespasian's days, a good many years after Christ was born.

Prot. The ancient histories witness, that Vespasian built a temple of Peace: but that des not argue, there was no temple of Peace before. Some write, that Romulus built a temple of Peace: and[200] Clemens Alexandrinus writes, that Numa built a temple of Peace. But it concerns not Polonus's credit, whether there was any or none: for he saith not, that the temple of Peace fell the same night that Christ was born. He only[201] saith, that the golden image which Romulus set up in his palace, (avowing, that it should not fall down, till a virgin was delivered of a child,) fell down in the night wherein Christ was born; though, if he had said the other, the matter had not been great. For he was neither the first, nor the last: many[202] of good note, both before and since, have written as much; namely, [203]Petrus Damianus, [204]Petrus de Natalibus, [205]Jacobus de Voragine; and the author of that first sermon upon Christ's nativity, which is extant among the sermons ascribed to[206] Bernard. If you have no better arguments to prove his simplicity, you may soon prove yourself a malicious slanderer.

Pap. My arguments are good against him, as you shall hear more fully anon. But for the present tell me, what Marianus Scotus hath that makes for you. For I cannot think it is true, that Marianus Scotus hath this story.

Prot. You jest, I am sure. For do we not read thus in[207] him? *Leo papa obiit kalend. Augusti. Huic successit Joanna mulier, an. 2. mens. 5. dieb. 4*; that is, 'Leo the Pope 'died in the kalends of August. After him succeeded Joan the woman, who sat two 'years, five months, and four days.' And, which I would have you note by the way, this Marianus[208] was born in the year 1028, and[209] lived in great credit in his life-time, and when he died was held a saint; and at this day is reputed, by your[210] Baronius, *nobilis chronographus*, 'a worthy chronologer.'

Pap. I do not deny but that you may read so in some printed copies[211]. But I deny there is any such thing to be read in the more ancient hand-written originals, found in Flanders, and other places.

Prot. Do you not deny, but that we may read so in some printed copies? Verily, you might have yielded unto me, that I may read so in all printed copies; for you are not able to produce any printed copy (except it be of yesterday's printing) wherein it is not. But you deny it to be in the more ancient hand-written originals found in Flanders, and other places: and upon what ground (I pray) deny you that? For[212] Baronius (your Cardinal historiographer) confesseth, that that ancient hand-written original, which the first printed copy followed, hath the story. And it is so ordinary with you Papists to belye

[197] Bernart. & Florim. locis citatis.
[198] Lib. de 4 majoribus Regnis, & cap. de Templis Idolorum, p. 8.
[199] Bernart. & Florim. locis citatis. [200] Stromat. lib. v. [201] In Chron. ad an. Christ. 1.
[202] *Tabella de collapso Romæ Pacis templo, tempore Christi ortûs, multiplicium haud vulgarium fuit scriptorum authoritate firmata.* Baron. Annal. tom. x. ad Ann. 853. num. 61.
[203] Hom. quæ legitur apud Lips. tom. viii. & Satur. tom. vi.
[204] In Catal. Sanct. lib. ii. cap. 1. [205] Ser. 2 de Die Nativit. Dom.
[206] Fol. 297. edit. Paris. 1517. [207] Marian. Scotus in Chron. Ætate 6. ad An. 854.
[208] So he himself writeth in Chron. ad Ann. 1028.
[209] *Ab omnibus honore habebatur, & non sine opinione sanctitatis sepelitur.* Trithemius de Script. Eccles. verb. *Marianus.* Joh. Major. de Gestis Scotorum, lib. iii. cap. 5.
[210] Annal. tom. i. ad Ann. 34. num. 149. [211] N. D. lib. citato, num. 27. p. 397.
[212] *In scripto codice, ex quo prodiit prima editio, ita legitur.* Baron. Annal. tom. x. ad Ann. 853. num. 60.

hand-written originals, that he, who knows you, cannot in wisdom believe any of you upon your bare words.

Pap. I have good ground of that which I deny, I would you should well know. But first, I challenge you to make proof that we Papists (as you call us) belye any hand-written originals; for methinks you therein charge us deeply.

Prot. The proof of that is plain. For, first, one of your bishops, even [213] Bishop Lindan, to make good his own conceit of the right reading of the text, John xxi. 22. (about which you know there hath been hot contention,) which he maintained to be this: 'If so, 'I will he remain till I come, what is that to thee?' Alleged for proof thereof the testimony of an ancient hand-written original kept at Aix in Germany; whereas, in truth, it is not so read in that copy, but according to the Greek: 'If I will that he remain till I 'come, what is that to thee?' As [214] Franciscus Lucas, a man of your own coat, witnesseth. Again, the same bishop Lindan [215] protested that he saw an ancient hand-written original of the Psalms in Hebrew, found in England; whereby it was apparent, that the Hebrew Bible is defective at this day in some points. Yet the same [216] Lucas, who came to the sight of the same copy, assures us, that that Psalter makes rather to the contrary. In like manner [217] Onuphrius, your friar above-named, alleged certain hand-written originals of Maximus a monk, by which it is manifest (as he saith) that Honorius the First condemned the Monothelites: yet Turrian the Jesuit, who had access to the self-same manuscripts, confesseth (as [218] Andradius relateth) that Maximus makes no mention of Honorius condemning them. And whereas your great Goliah of Gath, (Bellarmine [219] I mean,) to prove that Honorius's name was thrust by fraud into the sixth general council among the Monothelites, affirmeth, that Anastasius (which was then in written hand only) did testify so much: now, that Anastasius [220] is printed, we see Bellarmine's fraud. For Anastasius testifieth no such thing: Anastasius [221] himself reckons Honorius for a Monothelite. In this controversy about dame Joan, divers of your [222] proctors plead, as out of the hand-written originals of the same Anastasius, that upon Leo the Fourth's death, the see was void but fifteen days, and then Benedict was chosen. Yet our printed Anastasius makes it evident, they belyed the hand-written Anastasius; for, in the printed, there is not a word of the number of days between Leo's death, and Benedict's election. Lastly, whereas your grand historiographer, Baronius, was informed by letters, from such as yourself, that Zoticus was shot through with darts, and so martyred, and he, who certified him thereof, assured him, that he sent a true copy out of the hand-written original acts of Zoticus, whereupon Baronius put it in print: Baronius [223] was glad to retract it since; because (though he light upon the same acts) he could find no such thing in them. How say you? Do not these particulars prove, that many of you are excellent at facing matters out, under pretence of hand-written originals, which, when they come to viewing, make nothing for you?

Pap. If all be true you say, it will prove (I grant) some bad dealing in some few persons among us. But you shall never be able to prove as much by me; for I will prove whatsoever I say.

Prot. Go to then: make you proof unto me that this story is not in the more ancient hand-written originals of Marianus Scotus; and if you do so, I will yield.

Pap. Will you so? Then I argue thus: [224] If this story had been in the most ancient

[213] De Opt. Gen. Interpret. lib. ii. cap. 6. [214] Notat. in Joh. xxi. 22.
[215] Lib. citato, cap. 3, & 5. [216] Notat. in Psal. xiii. [217] Annot. in Platin. in Honorio I.
[218] Defens. Fidei Trident. lib. ii. [219] Lib. iv. de Rom. Pont. cap. 11.
[220] Moguntiæ, ann. 1602. [221] In Leone II.
[222] Onuph. Bell. Bernart. locis supr. cit. & Florim. cap. 14. num. 1. & Sanders de visibili Monarch. lib. vii. pag. 412.
[223] *Quòd arundinibus percussum martyrium consummâsse Zoticum dixerimus, emendamus. Haud enim fidelem nacti sumus testem, qui ea se ex actis ejus descripsisse, per literas ad me datas, testatus est. Accepi post hæc acta martyris, & nihil tale in illis reperi.* In Martyrologium Rom. Jan. 12. f.
[224] *Si ita sit ut ipsi fingunt, qui post Marianum de Joannâ scripserunt, nonne ipsum Marianum in suæ sententiæ patrocinium ascivissent, & suam hâc arce opinionem munivissent?* Florim. cap. 2. num. 4.

hand-written originals of Marianus Scotus, they who writ since his time, would have alleged him for proof of it: but no man, till now of late, alleged him for proof of it. Wherefore, this was not in the most ancient hand-written originals of Marianus Scotus.

Prot. I deny the consequence of your proposition, viz. They who writ since Marianus's time, would have alleged him for proof of it, if so be it had been written in the most ancient hand-written originals. For, first, till of late, there was no controversy about it, which made men less careful to avouch their authors for it. Secondly, Marianus's chronicle, till printing came to some perfection, was rare (it seems) and hard to come by. For [225] Polonus, reckoning up the books out of which he took his story, names not Marianus among them. No more doth [226] Onuphrius, where he reckons up the authors whom Platina followed. Onuphrius (I say) doth not reckon Marianus among them. Jacobus Bergomensis and Wernerus Rolenink (in their prefaces to their histories, wherein they shew whom they followed) pass by Marianus as a man unknown to them: and so do others. But, for making of this matter plain, tell me, have you not heard, that [227] Anastasius the Second, one of your Popes, would have restored Acatius, the Bishop of Constantinople, who stood excommunicated by some of your Pope's predecessors, but that God prevented your Pope, and struck him with a fearful death?

Pap. Yes, I have heard so much. But [228] I take it to be as vain a fable as this of Pope Joan.

Prot. Yet you cannot deny but that it is recorded for true, by [229] Anastasius Bibliothecarius, by [230] Rhegino, by [231] Marianus Scotus, by [232] Sigebert, by [233] Luitprandus, by [234] Albo Floriacensis, by [235] Gratian, by [236] Polonus, by [237] Platina, by [238] Volaterran, by [239] Jacobus Bergomensis, by [240] Wernerus Rolenink, by [241] Trithemius, by [242] Charanza, by [243] Johannes de Turrecremata, and [244] by others.

Pap. No, indeed, I cannot deny that; for all these (I know) report it as true.

Prot. Yea, and that in their most ancient hand-written originals: do they not, for aught you have seen or heard, to the contrary?

Pap. Good. But what of all this?

Prot. You shall see anon. In the mean time tell me only, whether they, who writ since Rhegino and Marianus's time, allege Rhegino or Marianus, for the author of it?

Pap. [245] Bergomensis, Rolenink, Trithemius, Turrecremate, [246] and such like, allege Gratian for the author of it. But I do not remember that any historiographer allegeth Rhegino, or Marianus Scotus, for it.

Prot. If this, touching Anastasius the Second, may be in the most ancient hand-written originals of Rhegino and Marianus Scotus, though they who have written since their times, allege them not for authors of it; why may not the other, touching Pope Joan, be in the most ancient hand-written originals of Marianus Scotus, though they, who writ since his time, allege him not for the author of it? Have you not another argument?

Pap. Yes; for [247] Bellarmine writes, that he who set forth Krantius's Metropolis at Colen, in the year 1574, doth witness, *In antiquissimis exemplaribus Mariani Scoti non haberi Joannem fœminam*, 'That in the ancient copies of Marianus Scotus there is no mention of Joan the woman.'

[225] Præfat. in Chron. [226] Annot. in Plat. in Vit. B. Petri.

[227] *Anastasius papa voluit occultè revocare Achatium Constantinop. episc. damnatum; quare divino nutu percussus est.*

[228] Bell. lib. iv. de Rom. Pont. cap. 10. & Append. ad Lib. de Summo Pont. & Pighius Eccles. Hierarch. lib. iv. cap. 8. [229] De Vit. Pontif. in Anastas. II. [230] Chron. lib. i. ad Ann. 414.

[231] Ætate 6. ad Ann. 499. [232] In Chron. ad Ann. 491. [233] De Vit. Pont. in Anastas. II.

[234] De Vit. Pont. in Vitâ Anastas. II. [235] Dist. 16. c. *Anastasius.*

[236] In Chron. ad Ann. 498. [237] De Vit. Pont. in Anastas. II. [238] Lib. xxii.

[239] Supplem. Chron. ad Ann. 495. [240] Fascic. Temp. ad Ann. 484.

[241] De Script. Eccl. verbo *Anastas.* [242] Summa Conc. [243] Summa de Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 103.

[244] Nauclerus, Antoninus, locis infrà cit. [245] Locis suprà citatis.

[246] Nauclerus, vol. ii. Chronogr. general. 17. Antoninus, part. ii. Hist. tit. 11. cap. 1. sect. 8.

[247] Lib. iii. de Rom. Pont. cap. 24.

Prot. And what was he that set forth Krantius; can you tell me that? Doth Bellarmine, or [248] N. D. (who twangs on the same string with Bellarmine) name him?

Pap. No; but what is that to the purpoe? He, whosoever he was, witnesseth so much: and is not that enough?

Prot. No, believe me: no reason that a nameless Sir should be credited against all printed copies; especially if it be true, which [249] Bellarmine saith, in another case: *Author sine nomine, est sine authoritate;* 'A man without a name, is without credit[250]:' and, *Canon à concilio, cujus ne nomen quidem extet, facilè contemni potest:* 'A canon out of 'a council, whose name is not known, may very well be scorned.' But would you know why Bellarmine and N. D. did not name him? Questionless, not for that they knew not what his name was; but because he was but a base fellow, a printer, a poor batchelor of the law; a man of small esteem in the world; for he is named, in the first page of the book, *Gerwinus Calenius Lippiensis*, and his whole style is no greater than *legum licentiatus.* And what was such a fellow, to carry away such a matter as this, upon his bare word? But, which is more to be marked, this fellow barely saith (without any proof in the world) that the manuscripts of Marianus Scotus, which are extant, discover the falsehood of them who put this story into the printed Marianus; implying that all manuscripts, not the ancient only, want it. Which neither Bellarmine, nor N. D. durst, or dare avouch; the contrary being confessed directly by Baronius, and may out of themselves be gathered by consequence. Besides, he saith as much for clearing of Sigebert, as Marianus Scotus, for [251] these are his very words: *Quæ hic author de Johanne fœminâ refert, in odium Romanorum pontificum conficta fuisse ab illis, quos ipse deceptus sequitur, ut alios omittamus quos Onuphrius in Platinam scribens recenset, testantur Marianus Scotus & Sigebertus, quorum quæ supersunt MS. exemplaria, fraudem illorum detegunt qui eorum impressis voluminibus id inseverunt.* 'That this, which the author thereof reports touching Pope Joan, is 'but counterfeit stuff, devised to make the Pope odious; to say nothing of such proofs 'as Onuphrius gives in his annotations upon Platina, Marianus Scotus and Sigebert do 'testify; whose manuscripts, remaining on record, discover their falsehood, who have 'chopped this tale into their printed volumes.' And yet neither Bellarmine, nor N. D. durst allege him to prove that Sigebert is corrupted.

Pap. Peradventure, they durst have alleged him to that purpose also, though they did not; for, doubtless, there is no such story in Sigebert.

Prot. Why? But all the printed copies do convince you of shameless lying, in so saying. For thus [252] they read: *Johannes Papa Anglicus. Fama est hunc Johannem fœminam fuisse, & uni soli familiari cognitam, qui eam complexus est, & gravis facta peperit papa existens. Quare eam inter pontifices non numerant quidam, ideò nomini numerum non facit.* 'John the English Pope. The report is, that this John was a woman, and that one only, 'who used to lie with her, knew so much; and that at length, even in the time of her 'papacy, she was delivered of a child. Whereupon it is, that some reckon her not among 'the Popes, and that there is not one Pope John the more in number for her.' What say you, is it not even thus?

Pap. I confess the printed copies make for you in this also. But in the ancient, true, and approved copies of Sigebert in writing, this, which you talk of, is not; *Aliquis impudens nebulo interpolavit scripta ejus:* 'Some paltry fellow hath been tampering with his 'writings;' as [253] Bernartius notes. Marry, whether it was Geffrey the monk, or one Robert, who continued the story of Sigebert, for some years, I know not; but between them it is as [254] Onuphrius supposeth. And I am sure Sigebert never writ it. [255] *Cui rei adserendæ fidus & adpositus mihi testis est Gilbertus Genebrardus;* 'Which is witnessed very fully by Genebrard.'

[248] Lib. citato, num. 27. pag. 397. [249] Lib. iv. de Rom. Pont. cap. 13.
[250] Lib. i. de Matrimonio, cap. 17. [251] Annot. in lib. ii. Krantii Metrop.
[252] Sigebert. Gemblacensis in Chronico ad An. 854. Printed at Paris, 1513.
[253] Lib. suprà citato, pag. 110. [254] Annot. in Plat. in Vit. Joh. VIII. [255] Bernartius, loco citato.

Prot. The [256] canonists, when Popes allege Popes for proof, do note, that it is *familiaris probatio.* Meaning such belike, as that in the proverb, 'Ask my fellow, if I be a 'thief.' And so methinks is this of yours, which is fetched from your fellow Genebrard. But what saith Genebrard for your purpose?

Pap. Genebrard [257] saith, there be many manuscripts of Sigebert, wherein this is not.

Prot. Yea, but that is the question. And how doth Genebrard prove it? Names he any place where they are, or any person who hath seen them?

Pap. No not he, but [258] N. D. doth; for, in the monastery of Gemble in Flanders, there is extant (saith N. D.) the original of Sigebert, which wants this story.

Prot. What, the original of Sigebert? Who told N. D. that the original of Sigebert was in that monastery? Or was he there, and saw it with his own eyes?

Pap. N. D. saith nought of that. But you may have further proof thereof out of [259] Bellarmine; for he writes that Molanus, a doctor of Lovain, saw the copy.

Prot. But Bellarmine saith not, that Molanus judged it to be the original of Sigebert; which yet N. D. avoucheth as confidently, as if he had held the candle, while Sigebert wrote it. Neither doth Bellarmine tell us, to whom Molanus told this; or in what book he writ this. So that yet there is no just proof brought, that so much as one copy wants it; much less that it is foisted into such copies as have it.

Pap. Is there not? Hearken then to Florimondus, who [260] writes, that one Protasius, the credit of the order of Franciscans, swore to him that he saw such a book in that monastery; and that, reading it all over, he found no word touching such a pope.

Prot. This would have moved me somewhat to believe, that the copy in that monastery wants this, if Florimondus had sworn for the satisfying of his reader, touching the truth of his report; as he urged the Franciscan to swear to him for the justifying of that, which he told. But Florimondus delivers it barely of his word; and I have found him oft false of his tongue: wherefore I cannot trust him. Florimondus [261] would make us believe, that Michael the Emperor's letter sent to Pope Nicholas, wherein the Emperor objecteth whatsoever might sound to the disgrace of the Roman See, is extant to this day: yet [262] Baronius testifieth that they are not extant. He writes, that the Pope burnt them. Yea, Florimondus himself in another [263] chapter (forgetting the proverb, *Mendacem esse memorem oportet)* confesseth, that they are lost. Yet be it so, that the copy which is in that monastery wants this: unless Florimondus can prove that it is the original, or truly copied out of the original, he speaks not to the point; as I shall shew by-and-by.

Pap. Yea, but he proves that it is the very original itself. For there (as [264] he saith) Sigebert lived, there he wrote this book with his own hand, there he left it at his death as a monument of his love: there it is shewed by the monks to such as come thither, for a rare and ancient monument.

Prot. Sigebert lived not there, when he writ that book. He writ both that, and many others, in the monastery of St. Vincentius, within the city of Metensis. Which I speak not of my own head, as Florimondus doth, but out of [265] Trithemius. For in Trithemius you may read so.

Pap. Yet you cannot disprove Florimondus, in that which he saith of his dying there; and bequeathing of that book by his will, to that monastery for a legacy.

Prot. No indeed. But neither can he prove his own saying. Now you know that

[256] 9 q. 3. patet in Glossâ Joh. Andreæ. *Familiaris est hæc probatio quum papa alium papam adducit in testem.* [257] Lib. iv. Chronolog. ad Ann. 855.

[258] Lib. citato, num. 27. pag. 397. [259] Lib. iv. de Rom. Pont. cap. 24.

[260] *Protasius Franciscani ordinis decus, ad stringendam fidem priùs jurejurando devinctus, mihi obtestatus est,* &c. Florim. cap. 5. num. 5.

[261] Cap. 27. num. 6. *Extat adhuc Michaëlis ad Nicolaum epistola,* &c.

[262] Annal. tom. x. ad An. 863. num. 75. *Non extant ipsæ blasphemæ Michaëlis Imperatoris literæ, traditæ sunt igni.* [263] Cap. 10. num. 4. [264] Florimond. cap. citat. num. 5.

[265] *Sigebertus, cùm in cœnobio S. Vincentii Metensi ad instruendos pueros esset positus, scripsit historiarum lib.* Trithem. de Script. Ecclesiasticis, verbo *Sigebertus.*

actori non reo, incumbit probatio: 'The plaintiff, and not the defendant, must bring in his 'proof.' That which is nakedly affirmed, is sufficiently answered, when it is barely denied. *Si dicere, probare est; pari ratione, inficiari, refutare est:* as you may read in [266] Bellarmine.

Pap. Why, but the monks of that house do shew it to all comers as Sigebert's own.

Prot. That I believe. For I have read [267] of a monk who gave out, that he had brought from the East some of the sound of the bells, which hung in Solomon's temple[268]: and that he could shew, among other relicks, some of the hairs which fell from the seraphical angel, when he came to imprint the five wounds of Christ in St Francis's body. And I have read [269] of others, who shew the pilgrims that go to Jerusalem a three-cornered stone, and bear them in hand that it is that very stone whereof[270] David spoke, saying, 'The stone, 'which the builders refused, is the head of the corner.'

Pap. Tush, those monks do but cozen folks.

Prot. No more do the monks of Gemble, in my opinion; though, it may be, they are rather cozened, than cozeners. For many a papist persuades himself he hath that, which indeed he hath not. As for example: many papists are persuaded they have that *sindon*, wherein Christ's body was lapped, when it was interred, wherein (as they say) is to be seen to this day the picture of Christ: whereas indeed (by some [271] of their own men's confessions) they have but one made after that fashion. Again, many are persuaded, they have one of those nails, wherewithal Christ was nailed on the cross: whereas [272] they have but one fashioned after that nail; or at most, some nail wherewithal some martyr of Christ was tormented: and, in like manner, are they themselves deceived in their conceit of other relicks. But that, which makes me most suspicious of your monks of Gemble, is this: I have read, that among many other goodly relicks, which are shewed at Rome by the Pope's commandment, there is a bible shewed, which they say was written by St. Jerom himself, even with his own hands; and yet one of your own profession professeth freely, 'that he, perusing it thoroughly, found it was written by the commandment of 'one King Robert, and by a bungling scrivener:' *Illum ego diligentiùs inspectum comperi scriptum esse jussu regis (ut opinor) Roberti, chirographo hominis imperiti;* saith [273] Valla. Now I suppose, if we had access to Gemble in Flanders, perhaps we might find as much for discovering of their falsehood, in that which they report of the original of Sigebert, as your fellow found for the discovering of the other's falsehood, who gave out, that the bible which they shewed, was of St. Jerom's writing.

Pap. Suppose it be not the original of Sigebert which is at Gemble; yet you will not deny (I hope) but that it is some ancient copy, which they esteem so much of.

Prot. Be it so. But will you thereupon conclude, that the author never writ it? I presume you are not so ignorant, but you know, that words, sentences, and memorable accidents have (sometimes by negligence, sometimes by wilfulness) been left out of copies? As for example, 'No, not the Son of Man,' Mark xiii. 32. (whereon your Jesuits[274], as upon a chief foundation, build their doctrine of æquivocation) were wanting in many Greek copies, as [275] St. Ambrose testifieth: and yet both you and we do hold opinion, that they were set down by the author in the first copy. In like sort, the story touching Christ's sweating agony, and the angel's comforting him, Luke xxii. 43, 44. was not to be found in many copies, as [276] Hilary and [277] Jerome witness: which came to pass, not for that it was never written by St. Luke, but (as [278] Bellarmine in part, and [279] Sixtus Senensis more fully notes) for that some simple Catholicks, fearing it made for the Arians,

[266] Lib. iii. de Rom. Pont. cap. 20.
[267] Vergerius, Annotat. in Catalogum Hæret. Romæ conflatum, an. 1559. fol. 17. [268] Ibid.
[269] Bellonius, Observat. lib. ii. cap. 83. [270] Psal. cxviii. 22.
[271] Gretzer. lib. i. de Cruce, cap. 85. pag. 240. [272] Idem, lib. i. cap. 20. pag. 50.
[273] De Donatione Constantini.
[274] Apology in Defence of Ecclesiastical Subordination in England, cap. 12. fol. 200.
[275] Lib. v. de Fide, cap. 7. [276] De Trinitat. lib. x. [277] Lib. ii. contra Pelag.
[278] Lib. i. de Verbo Dei, cap. 16. [279] Bibl. sanctæ, lib. i.

rased it out of their books. So the story of the adulterous woman, in John the viii, was wanting [280] in many manuscripts both Greek and Latin, and namely in a manuscript of Eusebius[281]: yet that doth nothing prejudice the truth of our printed copies at this day, in which it is; no, not in the opinion of you that are papists. For, as [282] Bellarmine proveth out of Austin, this history was blotted out of many books, by the enemies of God's truth. In much like sort it seemeth, that the words of Ælfricus, which make against transubstantiation, were cut out of a fragment of an epistle of his in the library of Worcester, as [283] M. Fox proveth evidently: and as this story of Pope Joan is cut out of a very fair manuscript [284] of Ranulfus Cestrensis, which is to be seen at this day [285] in the library of New College in Oxford.

Pap. Is this story torn (indeed) out of Ranulfus Cestrensis in New College in Oxford? Who, think you, was so mad?

Prot. Why, who but a papist? For do not [286] they give a direction, that *quæ famæ proximorum, & præsertim ecclesiasticorum, & principum detrahunt, corrigantur atque expurgentur?* 'That such things should be altered or put out, which tend to the discredit of 'the clergy?' And doth not this touch at the quick their ecclesiastical state? Doth not Possevine advise, that the note [287] in John Nevison the lawyer, which mentioneth Pope Joan, should be rased out? *Dele*, (saith [288] he,) *quia Johannes hæc fœmina chimæra est, & impostura calumniatorum:* 'Blot it out, or rend it out, (quoth Possevine,) for it is but a 'fiction, and a forgery.'

Pap. You are too suspicious of Papists. But, if these answers, whereon I have hitherto insisted, please you not; let it be, as you would have it, that all these historians writ so[289]. Yet I deny, that any credit is herein to be given unto them, because they report it but by hearsay, with *ut asseritur.*

Prot. That is false. For Marianus Scotus reports it simply without *ut asseritur*, as before I shewed. And Laonicus Chalcocondylas reports it as a certain truth, saying *Constat, &c.* So do Ravisius Textor and [290] others.

Pap. That, which you say of Marianus Scotus, is true, if we were to be judged by the printed copy, which Heroldus set out. But I can assure you, that Heroldus unconscionably corrupted this place, and many others. For it is thus [291] written in the written copy, after which the first edition was printed: *Johannes qui, ut asseritur, fuit mulier:* 'John, 'who as the report goes, was a woman.'

Prot. So your [292] Cardinal Baronius would make us believe (I grant), but he brings no other proof thereof than *tes'e meipso:* which, however it may go for proof among princes, yet is no proof among scholars. And, for my part, without proof I believe nothing, whosoever he be that speaks it; especially if he be a papist. For, as [293] Sigismund the Emperor said of Julian the Cardinal legate at the council of Basil, when one commended him highly to him; *Tamen Romanus est;* 'yea, but he is a Roman;' so I may say of any papist, reporting things unknown: 'Yea, but he is a Papist.' Yet be it so, as Baronius saith it is; why may it not be true, though it be delivered with *ut asseritur?*

Pap. Why? [294] Because lyes are commonly so soothed.

[280] Jansen. Concord. Evang. cap. 76.
[281] Euseb. lib. iii. Hist. cap. 39, teste Bellar. Lib. i. de Verbo Dei, cap. 16. [282] Ibid.
[283] Acts and Monuments, Allegations against the Six Articles, page 1304. edit. 1570. [284] Lib. v.
[285] An. 1606. [286] Index Lib. Prohib. per Clementem VIII. De Correctione Lib.
[287] Job. Nevisanus Sylva Nuptialis, p. 319. [288] In Apparat. Sacro, verbo *Joh. Nevisanus.*
[289] *Onuph.* Annot. in Platin. in Vit. Joh. VIII. *ut aiunt, & tradunt, eam refert.*
[290] Barthol. Cassanæus 2. Part. Catalogi Gloriæ Mundi, nona Consideratio. Turrecremat. Sum. de Eccles. part. ii. lib. iv. cap. 20. Cælius Rhodiginus antiquarum Lectionum, lib. viii. cap. i.
[291] *Leo papa obiit kal. Aug. Huic successit Johanna mulier an. 2. mens. 5. dieb. 4. Hæc in codice impresso Heroldi Opera qui malâ fide locum hunc cum aliis multis corrupit. Nam in scripto codice, ex quo prodiit prima editio, ita legitur: "Johannes, qui, ut asseritur, fuit mulier."*
[292] Annal. tom. x. ad An. 853. num. 60.
[293] Rerum Memorabilium Paraleipomen. Hist. Abbat. Virpergens. annexa, p. 394.
[294] Harding, loco suprà citato.

Prot. Indeed, many lyes pass in such general terms. As for example: men say (saith [295] your legend) that St. Patrick drove with his staff all the venomous beasts out of Ireland; and that he obtained of the Lord, that no Irishman should abide the coming of Antichrist. The former of which, [296] Harpsfield Cope confesseth to be a lye; and so I think all the generation of you Papists think of the latter. Else, why do none of your great masters allege it to clear your Pope from being Antichrist? Men say (saith Nangiacus, as [297] Genebrard reporteth) that Kentishmen have tails like brute beasts, because their ancestors mocked Austin the monk, when he came to preach unto them. Now that this is a lye well worthy of a whetstone[298], yourself (I hope) will acknowledge. Yet truth, now and then, is so delivered. When Boniface the martyr was demanded on a time, 'Whether it was lawful, at the administration of the Lord's Supper, to use a wooden cha-'lice?' It is said he answered thus, (saith [299] Duaren): *Olim aurei sacerdotes ligneis vasis, nunc lignei aureis utuntur:* 'In old time, golden priests used wooden chalices, 'now wooden priests use golden chalices.' Mark *(fertur)* it is said, saith Duaren, yet [300] no question but he answered so. In like manner, it is written, that [301] Pius the Second was wont to say, marriage was upon just reason forbidden priests, but now upon better reason to be restored to priests. Of which his saying there is made no question, as may appear by this, that a Jesuit [302] replieth only to it, that it was recanted by him, and denieth not that it was spoken of him. That Alexander the Third trampled the Emperor Frederick under his feet, and commanded one to say that which is in the [303] Psalms, 'Thou shalt walk 'upon the lion and asp, the young lion and the dragon shalt thou tread under thy feet;' is [304] recorded by some with *ut fertur:* and yet [305] they have little to say for themselves, who call the truth in question. That merry Cardinal, who seeing, after the death of Clement the Fourth, that his fellow Cardinals called still for the assistance of the Holy Ghost, and yet could not agree upon the election of a new Pope, [306] cried out: *Domini, discooperiamus tectum cameræ hujus; quia Spiritus Sanctus nequit ad nos per tot tecta ingredi:* 'My good masters, I pray you let us untile the roof of this room; for I fear 'the Holy Ghost cannot get to us through so many slates;' is merrily [307] reported upon election of Gregory to have made these verses:

Papatûs munus tulit Archidiaconus unus,
Quem patrem patrum fecit discordia fratrum.

Yet who doubts but he made them? [308] Nicholas Clemangis, Archdeacon of Bayonne in France, doth write upon hearsay, that when Balthasar, commonly known by the name of John the Twenty-third, held a council at Rome, and caused, as the manner is, before the first session, a mass to be said for the assistance of the Holy Ghost; presently, upon the council's setting themselves down, and Balthasar's advancing himself into his chair of state, a dreadful owl (which is ordinarily thought to presage some evil) comes out of her hole, crying after her evil-favoured fashion, and flying to the middle balk of the church; staring just in Balthasar's face, to the great astonishment of Balthasar himself, and all the whole council, so that he was glad to break off for that time. Yea, he writes, that at the next session she appeared again, staring in the Pope's face, as before; and could not be scared away with flinging of sticks, or with whooping, till one felled her with a stick,

[295] A golden Legend in the Life of St. Patrick. [296] Dial. lib. iii. cap. 28.
[297] Chronol. lib. iii. ad ann. Christ. 595.
[298] ['To lye for the whetstone,' seems to have been proverbial: notorious liars formerly had a whetstone fastened to them, as an ignominious badge.] [299] De sacris Eccles. Benefic. ac Minist. lib. ii. cap. 4.
[300] Alciat. Parerga Juris, lib. vii. cap. 24. & de Consecrat. Dist. 1. c. Vasa.
[301] *Pius II. dixisse fertur sacerdotibus magnâ ratione sublatas esse nuptias, majori restituendas videri.* Platina in Vitâ Pii II. Fulgos. de Dict. &c. lib. vii. cap. 2. [302] Pisanus de Continentiâ, cap. 11.
[303] Psalm xci. 13. [304] Duaren. de Sac. Eccl. Minist. lib. i. cap. 2.
[305] See Tortura Torti, p. 262, and the B. of Lincoln's Book against a nameless Catholick, page 282.
[306] Onuph. Annot. in Plat. in Vit. Greg. X. [307] Onuph. ibid.
[308] Disput. super mater. Conc. Generalis, quæ habetur in Fasciculo Rerum expetend. impress. Colon. 1535. fol. 201. b. Et in Bibl. sanct. Patrum Bygnæi, tom. viii. edit. Paris. 1576.

and so killed her. Yet no man hath cause to doubt of the story, for he had it of a trusty man, and a faithful friend of his, who assured him, of his credit, that it was true. That [309] St. Cyril entreated the Pope, he might say the Moravians their service in a known language; and that, when there was some sticking at the motion, a voice was heard, as it were, from heaven, saying, *Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum, & omnis lingua confiteatur ei;* 'Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord, and let every tongue confess his holy 'Name.' Upon hearing whereof, the Pope granted St. Cyril his suit, is but reported with *ferunt.* And yet, though [310] Costerus, in that respect, makes some question of the truth of it, [311] Ledesma and [312] Bellarmine receive it for true: that the worst Christians, in Italy, are the Romans; that of the Romans, the priests are the most wicked; and of the priests, the lewdest are made Cardinals; and of the Cardinals, the baddest chosen to be Pope; it is [313] written, but with *asseritur.* Yet to them that are skilled in histories, and have observed the course of the world at Rome, there are not many things more certain. *In Bavariâ palàm ferunt, Jesuitas dolium in collegium subvexisse, è cujus fundo effracto meretrix in publicas plateas prolapsa sit,* (saith [314] Hassen Muller:) 'they say openly, in Bavaria, 'that the Jesuits caused a tub to be carried unto their college, which breaking by the 'way, a wench dropped out of the one end of it, in the midst of the street.' And why may not this be true, though it go but by report? The Papists believe, as true, far more incredible reports than this, which concern Protestants. But to conclude this point, doth not [315] Harpsfield Cope avouch, that if men reject stories, upon this quirk, that they are related with *ferunt & dicitur,* they will soon mar all? You had best devise a better answer than this, for fear you be one of them who mar all.

Pap. Take you no care for that: yet, in way of further answer to Polonus, who is taken (as [316] N. D. writes) to have been the first relator of this fable [317], I say, there are so many incongruities, simplicities, absurdities, varieties, and contrarieties, in his very narration of it, as it discovereth the whole matter to be a mere fable, and fiction indeed, and him a very simple man: *Post Leonem sedit Johannes Anglus, natione Margantinus:* 'After Leo the Third, sat John English, by nation a Margantine:' but, where this country of Margantia is, no man can tell.

Prot. N. D. whose words you use, doth Martinus Polonus open wrong, in reporting this of him. For, first, he saith not, that she sat after Leo the Third, but Leo the Fifth. Secondly, he calls her not Margantine, but Maguntine, which is witnessed by [318] Onuphrius himself, who cites his words to his best advantage, that he might have the rather whereat to cavil. If any blind book have Margantine, it is but the scrivener's fault, such as is committed once and again in that book of N. D. whence this sweet cavil is taken, [319] where, for Magdeburgians, we read Magdebugians; for in Polonus there is an *r* too much, and in N. D. there is an *r* too few. Now, where Maguntia is, every man can tell; to wit, in Germany.

Pap. Yea, [320] but it followeth in Polonus: *Quæ alibi legitur fuisse Benedictus III.* 'Which otherwise is read to be Benedict the Third.' So as this man seemeth to confound him with Benedict the Third, and consequently ascribeth to him the same time of his reign, that is assigned to Benedict; to wit, two years and five months; and yet, presently after, he saith, that Benedictus was a Roman, son to Prateolus, &c.

Prot. The substance of this your answer is false, and feigned of N. D. his own head; for in Polonus there are no such words, as *Quæ alibi legitur fuisse Benedictus III;* neither ascribeth he to her the same time of reign that is assigned to Benedict; for he ascribes to Benedict two years and five months, whereas he ascribes to Pope Joan two years, five

[309] Æues Sylvius, Hist. Bohemica, cap. xiii.
[310] In Enchirid. Controv. cap. xix. de Precibus Latinè recitandis.
[311] De divin. Script. quâvis linguâ non legend. cap. xxxiii. [312] Lib. ii. de Verbo Dei, cap. xvi.
[313] Sir Edward Sandys, in his Relation of the Religion used in the West, p. 91.
[314] Historia Jesuitici Ordinis, cap. vi. [315] Cope. Dialog. iii. cap. xi. p. 355.
[316] Num. xxvii. p. 397. [317] N. D. p. 399 & 400. [318] Annot. in Plat. in Vit. Joh. VIII.
[319] Page 306. [320] N. D. page 400.

months, and four days; or, as some [321] of you say, but two years, one month, and four days. N. D. might, with as great reason, charge Anastasius to confound Leo the Second, and Benedict the Second, his next successor; because he [322] ascribeth to Leo the Second the same time of his reign, within five days, which he ascribes to Benedict the Second. Questionless, [323] Polonus ascribes to Clemens nine years, two months, and ten days; and so he doth to his next successor, Anacletus, without difference, yet he confounds them not. Polonus ascribes to Celestinus the First eight years and nine days; and so he doth to Sixtus the Third, his next successor, and yet confounds them not.

Pap. Why [324], but what a foolish speech is it of Polonus, when he saith, 'John, an 'Englishman, by nation of Maguntia;' for Maguntia is in Germany, as you told me before. And how could she, being an Englishwoman, be of Maguntia?

Prot. You run counter; she was no Englishwoman, neither doth Polonus say she was: she was Joan English, as [325] N. D. truly translated *Johannes Anglus* in Polonus, but not 'Joan, or John of England;' English was her surname, as [326] Fasciculus Temporum observed; but England was not her country, her country was Maguntia, that is, Mentz. There are many who carry the name of Scot, French, Gascoigne, Westphaling, Holland, Welch, which were not born in those countries, but in several shires in England. Guitmundus, who wrote against Perengarius, was [327] Norman by name, but not by his country, saith [328] Possevine: *Defuncto Stephano successit Romanus nomine, natione Hispanus:* 'After the death of Pope Stephen, one Romanus by name, though by birth a Spaniard, 'succeeded;' saith Antoninus.

Pap. Such writers [329], as lived the very time wherein this matter is pretended to have fallen out, that is to say [330], with Leo the Fourth, and Benedict the Third, from the year 847 to 858, write nothing hereof at all. *Ergo*, there was no such matter.

Prot. Who are these writers, I pray you, of whom you speak?

Pap. The [331] first, and chiefest, is Rabanus Maurus, abbot of the monastery of Fulda, wherein this Pope Joan of yours (they say) lost her maidenhead. Rabanus Maurus writes nothing of her.

Prot. Nor of any other particular Pope, doth he? Rabanus [332] wrote Commentaries upon the whole Scripture, and some other treatises, but he wrote no history. Though, if he had, yet could he not have written of this Pope Joan, for her knavery was not discovered till after the year 855, in which [333] Rabanus died. Rabanus lived not to hear of her delivery of a child, as she went in progress.

Pap. Rabanus died in the year 856, and not in the year 855, as [334] Baronius notes. Trithemius, who noted out the year 855 for the year of his death, was deceived, and so are you.

Prot. Whether Trithemius was deceived, in assigning the year 855 for the year of Rabanus's death; I mean not to stand arguing with you, because it is all one to my purpose, though he died in the year 856: for Pope Joan was not discovered till after the year 856; and therefore, since he died in that year, by Baronius's and your own confession, he could not write of her.

Pap. [335] Strabus, whose fellow monk bereaved her of her maidenhead, as the tale goes; Strabus, I say, writes nothing of her.

Prot. Strabus writes nothing of his fellow monks, who, by the instigation of the devil, wearied Rabanus of his abbotship, through their continual grumbling against him, for

[321] Onuph. loco citato. [322] Anastas. de Vit. Pont. in Leo II. & Benedict. II.
[323] Chron. ad an. Christ. 94. & 103. [324] Onuph. Hard. & Bellar. locis suprà citatis.
[325] Num. xxx. page 400. [326] See before.
[327] *Guitmundus Normannus cognomento, non natione.*
[328] Apparat. Sac. verbo *Guitmundus*. Sum. Hist. part. II. tit. xvi. cap. i. sect. 14.
[329] Florim. cap. x. num. 1. [330] *Hoc est, ab ann.* 847, *ad ann.* 858. [331] Florim. loco citato.
[332] Trithem. de Script. Eccl. verbo *Rabanus*. [333] Trithem. ibid.
[334] Annal. tom. x. ad An. 856. num. 26. Possevin. Apparat. Sac. verbo *Rabanus*.
[335] Florim. loco citato.

giving himself more to the study of divinity, than to pleading about their worldly business. Yet we read thereof, in [336] Trithemius and in [337] others. Wherefore it doth not follow, Strabus wrote not of Pope Joan: *ergo*, there was no Pope Joan; especially if it be considered, that Strabus wrote no history, but glosses upon the Bible, and lived not till Pope Joan's days, but died about the year 840. For how could he write of that which fell out after his death? Who is your next man?

Pap. Haimo [338], who writ a book of Virtue and Vice, writes nothing of her.

Prot. No marvel, for he died in the year 834, at least twenty years before she was pope. If Haimo had written of her, his writing had been as strange as her delivery of a child.

Pap. How prove you that Haimo died in the year 834? For, by [339] Baronius, it should seem he died in the year 853.

Prot. Though Haimo had died in the year 853, it helps you not in this case; for, till after that time, this Joan was not made pope. But, that Haimo died in the year 834, it is witnessed by [340] Trithemius, and acknowledged by [341] Sixtus Senensis, and by Possevine. Wherefore go on.

Pap. Anastasius Bibliothecarius, a man of great reputation [342], that lived in both these popes' times, and [343] was secretary to them both, and was present at both their elections, and wrote the particulars thereof, writes nothing of her; but sheweth, among other points, that Leo the Fourth died the sixteenth day before the kalends of August, and that all the clergy of Rome gathered together, and, with one consent, did choose Benedict the Third, &c.

Prot. Where read you that Anastasius was secretary to both these popes? Or that he was present at their elections? [344] Platina, writing of an accident which fell out in the year 884, notes, that Anastasius, at that time, was a man of good account in Rome; but neither he, nor any man else, notes that he was secretary to Leo the Fourth, and Benedict the Third, or that he was present at their elections. [345] Bellarmine himself durst say no more, but that he was present at the election of many popes, who either lived before, or after this woman-pope. He durst not say, that he was at the election of these, as you say. Again, who told you that Leo died the sixteenth day before the kalends of August? Anastasius [346] writes, that Leo the Fourth *papa obdormivit in Domino* 16 *calend. August.*; but that is but the fifteenth day before the kalends of August, and not the sixteenth. Thirdly, Whereas, to win credit to this your author, you commend him, as a man of great reputation; it is worth the noting, which is noted [347] by one of your own friends, that in the age wherein he lived, *doctissimi censebantur, qui vel solam grammaticam callerent*; 'they were 'counted great clerks, who were skilled so much as in the grammar.' [348] That, in this chronicle of Anastasius, the phrase is harsh, rude, and barbarous; that many things are avowed therein, which are far from true; that, therein, there are many errors in the account of time, and some things wherein he crosseth himself: which censure, for the main point, is approved by many of your own mother's children; for many papists, in many particulars, condemn it: as for example, this man of great reputation [349] reckons Anicetus before Pius, and Anterius before Pontianus; whereas, your chroniclers [350] reckon Pius before Anicetus, and Pontianus before Anterus. This man of great reputation records [351], that Marcellinus, one of your popes, was brought to offer incense unto idols, and that he did

[336] De Script. Eccles. verbo *Rabanus*.
[337] Sixt. Senensis Bibl. sanctæ, lib. iv. verbo *Rabanus*; & in Possevin. Apparat. Sac. verbo *Rabanus*.
[338] Florim. pag. 84. [339] Annal. tom. x. ad An. 853. num. 71. [340] De Script. Eccl. verbo *Haimo*.
[341] Bibl. sanct. lib. iv. verbo *Haimo*. Apparat. Sacr. tom. ii. verb. *Haim*.
[342] N. D. part. ii. cap. v. p. 392. [343] Florim. p. 84.
[344] In Vitâ Joh. VIII. num. cx. *Anastasius à Joh. viz. VIII. præfectus est bibliothecæ S. Rom. ecclesiæ.* Baron. Annal. tom. ix. ad An. 787. num. 9. [345] Lib. iii. de Rom. Pont. cap. 24.
[346] In Vitâ Leonis IV. pag. 293.
[347] *Joh. Albinus Typographus Mogunt. præf. ad amicum Lectorem, quæ præfigitur Anastasio. Qui sciret tantùm grammaticam isto seculo rudi, doctissimus habebatur.* Baron. Annal. tom. ix. ad Ann. 802. num. 12. [348] Albinus, loco citato. [349] Anastas. de Vit. Pontif. in Vitâ Aniceti, &c.
[350] Platina de Vitis Pontif. in Vitâ Aniceti, & Onuph. in Chron. Rom. Pontif. [351] In Vitâ Marcel.

so; whereas your [352] Baronius inclines rather unto the contrary. This man of great reputation [353] records, that the priests of Rome, by the advice of Liberius chose Felix, a priest, to be a bishop, instead of Liberius; whereas [354] your chroniclers, of greatest esteem, maintain, that Felix was chosen priest by hereticks only, and not by consent of Liberius. This man of great reputation [355] records, that Liberius subscribed to the Arian heresy, which neither [356] Pighius nor [357] Onuphrius can abide to hear of. This man of great reputation [358] records, that Anastasius, the second pope of that name, communicated with Photinus the heretick, who was all one with Acacius the Eutychian; and that he purposed with himself to restore Acacius, who was deposed by his predecessors; but could not effect it, because God struck him with sudden death: all which is false and fabulous, in [359] Bellarmine's opinion. This man of great reputation records, that after Marcellinus, the bishoprick of Rome lay void, seven years, six months, and five-and-twenty days [360]; whereas, by [361] Baronius, it lay void but twenty-five days in all. This man of great reputation [362] records, that the cross of Christ was found in Eusebius the Pope's days, about the year 310; whereas, by [363] Baronius, it was not found till the year 316. This man of great reputation [364] reckons Honorius the First among the hereticks called Monothelites; whereas [365] the most of your side, and by name, [366] Bellarmine, would gladly clear Honorius from this imputation. This [367] man tells us, that Alexander the First sat but eight years, and a few odd months; whereas [368] Baronius tells us, that he sat ten years, and odd months. This man [369] giveth to Pius nineteen years, four months, and three days; whereas [370] Baronius gives him but ten years. This man [371] makes Soter sit nine years, and upward; whereas, by [372] Baronius, he sat not full four years. This man [373] saith, that Anterus sat twelve years, one month, and twelve days; whereas [374] Baronius saith, he sat not a whole month. This man [375] alloweth Dennis but two years, and a little more; whereas [376] Baronius allows him eleven years, and more. This man [377] writes, that Stephen the Fifth sat seven years, and seven months; whereas, by [378] Baronius's reckoning, he sat but seven months, and two or three odd days. And so, in many other things, this man of great reputation alloweth of that whereof you allow not, and disalloweth that which you allow: and therefore what reason have you to press us with his authority in this controversy?

Pap. Great reason: for though he missed sometimes the truth, yet he aimed always at it; and though he was unkindly dealth withal by some of the popes, yet he was not carried away with malice, and moved thereby, as many are, to write an untruth.

Prot. What? Was Anastasius, the man of great reputation, unkindly dealt withal by some of the popes? Who told you that tale?

Pap. I had it of [379] Florimondus; and I think he was induced to say so, because we read, in Leo the Fourth's time, one Anastasius was degraded by Pope Leo and a council of sixty-seven bishops.

Prot. That Anastasius, who was degraded by Leo the Fourth and the council, was he, as [380] Platina sheweth, who stood up antipope against Benedict the Third; it was not this Anastasius; which you may learn of him who made the index alphabetical for the more ready finding out of the most memorable points in Anastasius's chronicle; for he [381] distinguisheth Anastasius Bibliothecarius from Anastasius degraded by Leo, and set up in op-

[352] Annal. tom. ii. ad Ann. 302. num. 95, 96, &c. [353] In Vitâ Liberii.
[354] Baron. tom. iii. ad An. 355. num. 57. [355] In Vitâ Liberii.
[356] Pigh. Hierar. Eccles. lib. iv. cap. 8. [357] Annot. in Plat. in Vit. Fel. cap. ii. [358] In Vit. Anast. II.
[359] Lib. iv. de Rom. Pont. cap. x. & Append. ad Lib. de Summo Pont. cap. xiv.
[360] *In vitâ Marcellini cessavit episcop. ann.* 7. *mens.* 6. *dieb.* 25.
[361] Annal. tom. ii. ad Ann. 304. num. 25 & 26. [362] In Vit. Euseb.
[363] Annal. tom. iii. ad Ann. 326. num. 41. [364] In Vit. Hon. I.
[365] Onuph. Annotat. in Plat. in Vitâ Honorii I. &c. [366] Lib. iv. de Rom. Pont. cap. xi.
[367] In Vit. Alex. I. [368] Baron. Annal. tom. ii. ad Ann. 132. num. 1. [369] In Vit. Pii I.
[370] Baron. tom. ii. ad An. 167. num. 1. [371] In Vit. Soteris.
[372] Baron. tom. ii. ad Ann. 179. num. 51. [373] In Vit. Anteri.
[374] Baron. tom. ii. ad Ann. 238. num. 1. [375] In Vitâ Dionysii. [376] Tom. ii. ad An. 272. num. 21.
[377] In Vitâ Stephani V. [378] Annal. tom. ix. ad Ann. 887. num. 1. [379] Florim. cap. xiv. num. 1.
[380] De Vitis Pont. in Vit. Bened. III. [381] In Indice, litterâ *a*, verbo *Anastasius*.

position against Benedict the Third. But, let Anastasius be of as great reputation, as you are disposed to have him of: how soon after Leo's death, doth Anastasius report, that the clergy chose Benedict the Third? Can you tell me that?

Pap. Yea; the see was void, after Leo the Fourth, just fifteen days, and no more; and then not Joan, but Benedict the Third was chosen.

Prot. Who told you so?

Pap. Marry, [382] Onuphrius, [383] Bellarmine, [384] Bernartius, [385] Florimondus, and [386] Papyrius Massonus; for they say, that these are Anastasius's own words: *Sanctissimus Leo papa IV. obdormivit in Domino, 16. calend. Aug. sepultus ad Sanctum Petrum; et cessavit episcopatus dies 15. Quo mortuo, mox omnis clerus Romanæ sedis, universi proceres, cunctusque populus ac senatus congregati sunt, & uno conamine Benedictum pontificem promulgârunt:* that is, 'The most holy pope, Leo the Fourth, died in the Lord, the sixteenth of 'the calends of August, and was buried at St. Peter's; and the bishoprick was void fifteen 'days. Now, presently upon his death, the whole Roman clergy, with all the nobles and 'commons, and officers of the city, met, and, as one man, agreed that Benedict should be 'pope.'

Prot. They all lye falsely, for the words *(et cessavit episcopatus dies 15.)* are not to be found, as before I told you, in Anastasius; so that whatsoever they build upon this circumstance, as the most of their building is, is built upon a false foundation, and therefore cannot stand. Yet, besides, I would have you know, that Anastasius purposely passed over in silence divers things which touched the Popes; for, '*multa de Sergio desiderari videntur apud Anastasium*, saith [387] Baronius: 'Anastasius wants many things touching Sergius.' Again, *Johannis VIII. res gestæ desiderantur apud Anastasium, fortassis prætermissæ ob odiosam Photii restitutionem;* saith the same [388] Baronius: 'The acts of John the Eighth 'are wanting in Anastasius, perhaps, because he was loth to record that odious restoring 'of Photius.'

Anastasius [389] forbears to speak of Luitprandus's sacking of St. Peter's church, which is without the walls of Rome; and so doth Paulus Diaconus too: not for that he was ignorant of that fact, since he lived in the same time, but for that he was loth, by telling truth, to discredit Luitprandus. Besides, (under *Benedicite* be it spoken,) I fear Anastasius, when he was printed, passed ill fingers; I fear something was put out of him, which was in his manuscript.

Pap. What presumptions have you of it?

Prot. Great: for I read in Platina, and in Volaterran, that Bibliothecarius (by whom they mean Anastasius, who lived three-hundred years before Sigebert) made mention, in his history, that Adrian the First, first gave power to Charles the Great to confirm the election of the Bishop of Rome, and to nominate other bishops within his dominions; and yet I find not this in the printed Anastasius. Now I think it more probable, that some put this out of Anastasius, when he came to the press, (which was *anno* 1602,) than that Platina and Volaterran should belye his manuscript.

Pap. Methinks, Anastasius should not have written any such thing; for Baronius and Binnius do confidently affirm, that no man writ so before Sigebert, who lived *ad annum* 1112.

Prot. Tut, they both lye therein grossly; for Gregory the Sixth, (who lived and died *anno* 1047, a good many years before Sigebert,) in an oration, which he made to his Cardinals upon his death-bed, testified as much in effect, as Sigebert: for, *Laudatus est olim præ-*

[382] Annot. in Plat. in Vit. Johan. VIII. [383] Lib. iii. de Rom. Pont. cap. 24.
[384] De Utilitate Legend. Hist. [385] Cap. xiv. p. 123. [386] De Urbis Episc. in Benedict. III.
[387] Annal. tom. x. ad Ann. 847. num. 6. [388] Ibid. ad Annum 882. num. 6.
[389] *Multa prætermissa ab Anastasio inveniuntur, et, inter alia, deprædatio Basilicæ S. Petri, quæ in Vaticanis collibus extra urbis mœnia posita erat.* Baron. Annal. tom ix. ad Ann. 739. num. 6. *Plurima de eodem rege (viz. Luitprando) P. Diaconus prætermisisse convincitur; sed haud rerum ignoratione, sed ne tanto viro notam inureret*, &c. Baron. Annal. tom. ix. ad Ann. 744. num. 22. In Vitâ Paschal. I. Anthropol. 22. Lib. Annal tom. ix. ad Ann. 774. Not. in Vitam Hadriani, tom. iii. Conc. pag. 252. Apud Antoninum, Num. Hist. part. ii. tit. 16. cap. 1. sect. 19.

decessor noster Hadrianus prædicandæ memoriæ, quòd investituras ecclesiarum concessit Carolo Magno, ita ut nullus electus consecraretur ab episcopo, nisi priùs à rege baculo & annulo insigniretur; saith he. But let us leave Anastasius, and come unto the next, who, living in those days, passeth over Pope Joan in silence.

Pap. Ado [390], bishop of Vienna, who lived at the same time, hath not a word of this your Pope Joan.

Prot. Ado lived not at the same time, nor near the same time, if either [391] Gesner, or [392] Possevinus, or [393] Laurentius de la Barre, or [394] Angelus Rocca may be credited: for he (as they say) wrote a brief chronicle, from the beginning of the world to his own time, to wit, to the year 1353; wherefore it is not much material, whether he miss her, or mention her. Say on.

Pap. Theophanus Freculphus [395] wrote, in those days, an history, from the beginning of the world to his own time; and yet he writes nothing of her.

Prot. If Freculphus had written an history of that length, yet there was little reason why he should have mentioned her; for we [396] read not, that he lived above the year 840. But, indeed, his history goes not so far; he writ only to the year of Christ 550, as [397] Bodin observeth; or to the year 560, as [398] Pontacus noteth; or, at furthest, to the year 600. For, having spoken a few words of Gregory the Great, and Boniface, who succeeded him, he ends presently his story. Who is your next man?

Pap. Aimonius [399], a monk of St. Germains, and a famous French writer, speaks nothing of her.

Prot. Aimonius, or Ammonius, or Annonius, (for he is diversely named,) your famous French writer, drew out his story, by [400] your own men's confession, but to the year 828, or at furthest [401] to 844, which fell nine or ten years short (at least) of Pope Joan's time: and therefore, methinks, you should not look that he should write of her.

Pap. Audomarus [402], the Parisian, omits her also in his history.

Prot. Where might a man see Audomarus, I pray you? [403] Canus tells of a Bishop, in his country, which was wont to cite authors, that never were. Now I wish you be not of kindred to him in this; for I find no mention of any such historiographer in Trithemius, or in Gesner, or in Possevinus. Neither doth Bellarmine, nor Baronius cite any such, in their disputes about this matter. When you can tell me certain news of such a writer, you shall have a more certain answer: In the mean time proceed.

Pap. Nay, stay a little; for, though neither Bellarmine, nor Baronius, mention Ademarus (for so is his right name, and not Audomarus, as it is erroneously printed), where they speak of this matter, yet Ademarus is mentioned by Genebrard and Onuphrius, where they treat of this matter, as B. C. observed well, in his [404] Doleful Knell of Thomas Bell, where he taxeth Sutcliffe for captious quarrelling with Father Parsons (as he calls him) for citing Ademarus, calling him a counterfeit.

Prot. B. C. is a fit patron for Father Parsons, but an unfit match to deal with Dean Sutcliffe. Dean Sutcliffe, no doubt, scorns him, and good cause why: for who, but a fool, would appeal to one of his own fellows, for trial of his truth? Are not Genebrard and Onuphrius as like to cite a counterfeit author, as Parsons?

[390] Bellarm. lib. iii. de Rom. Pont. cap. 24; N. D. num. 24. p. 393; & alii.
[391] In Bibliothecâ, verbo *Ado.* [392] Apparatus Sacer, verbo *Ado.*
[393] In Hist. vet. Patrum, edit. Paris. 1583, ad initium, Chron. Adonis.
[394] In Biblioth. Vatican. impress. Romæ, anno 1591. tit. *Authores, quorum in opere citantur nomina.*
[395] Florim. pag. 84.
[396] *Freculphus floruit anno* 830, *& quod excurrit.* Possevin. Apparat. Sac. verbo *Freculphus.*
[397] In Method. Hist. *Freculphus historicos ab orbe condito ad annum Christi* 560. *Chron. digerit.*
[398] Chron. lib. ii. pag. 110.
[399] Onuphrii Annotat. in Plat. in Vitâ Johan. VIII. Harding, loco in initio citato. Florim. p. 84.
[400] *Annonius usque ad annum* 828 *historiam texuit*, saith Vasq. de Adorat. lib. ii. cap. ix. disp. 7.
[401] Genebr. Chron. lib. iv. ad Annum 844. [402] N. D. num. 24. p. 392.
[403] *Episcopus quidam nostras eos authores citavit interdum, quos nulla unquam habuit ætas.* Canus, loc. com. lib. xi. cap. 6. fol. 327. [404] Pag. 296 & 297.

Pap. Lupus Servatus[405] saith nothing of her.

Prot. Why, what occasion had he to speak of her, since he writ no books of history? Besides, *Lupus Servatus migravit ad Dominum, anno* 851; saith [406] Trithemius: that is, 'Lupus Servatus died in the year 851.' So that, though, as a prophet, he might have foretold of her delivery; yet, as an historian, he could not have reported her delivery.

Pap. Yea; but Lupus, abbot of Ferrara, in an [407] epistle of his to Benedict the Third, calls Leo Benedict's predecessor; and thereby sheweth, as [408] Baronius gathereth, that there was no such pope, as Pope Joan, between Benedict and Leo.

Prot. What? Doth Baronius gather such a conclusion of such premisses? Verily, he gathereth where no man streweth; for, I pray you, doth this follow? John the Ninth, speaking of Stephen the Sixth, [409] calls him his predecessor; *ergo*, there was no pope between John the Ninth and Stephen the Sixth? If not, as indeed it doth not, (for there were two popes who came between them, the one called [410] Romanus, the other [411] Theodorus,) then neither will it follow, that, because Leo is called Benedict's predecessor, therefore there was no such pope, as Pope Joan, between Benedict and Leo. *Interdum Rom. pontifices non solùm eos, qui proximi episcopi fuere, sed plerosque disjunctissimos illo nomine (prædecessoris) complectuntur:* 'The Popes of Rome, by the name of Predecessor, do 'sometimes understand, not such as were popes immediately before them, but such as 'lived very long before them;' saith [412] Massonus.

Pap. Yea, [413] but this Lupus, in divers of his epistles, doth complain of the miserable estate of the church in his time. And therefore, if any such horrible matter as this of Pope Joan had fallen out; [414] doubtless, he would have spoken of it, and mourned pitifully for it.

Prot. Doubtless, Baronius, if you give any credit to him, will make a fool of you. For doth not he [415] mention divers of his complaining epistles, sent to great personages; wherein yet he complains of nothing, but that courtiers robbed his corban, I mean his monastery: [416] that he wanted an ambling nag to ride to Rome on: [417] that he wanted Tully *de Oratore*, Quintilian, and Donate upon Terence: and [418] that there was such licentiousness in France (among the laity) that the people neither feared God nor the devil. Of faults among the clergy, Lupus complains not at all.

Pap. Luitprandus[419], who writ an history, speaks nothing of her.

Prot. What history of Luitprandus do you mean? That which is intitled *De Vitis Pontificum*, that is, 'Of the Popes' Lives;' which was printed the [420] other year at Mentz with Anastasius; or his history of such accidents as fell out through Europe?

Pap. I mean the latter. For I see the former, though it carry the name of Luitprandus, [421] cast off by the printer, as none of his.

Prot. Now then you are a wise man, to tell me that Luitprandus mentions not Pope Joan. For *Luitprandus, Ticinensis diaconus, historiam per Europam gestorum libris* 6, *ab an.* 858 *ad* 30, *usque Othonis magni ferè continuat*, [422] saith Genebrand: that is, 'Luit-'prandus, deacon of such a church in Italy, continues his history of accidents which 'fell out in Europe, from the year 858, to the thirtieth year (almost) of Otho the Great.' By which you may see that he began his history after Pope Joan's time: and therefore had no cause to speak of her.

Pap. Lambertus Schafnaburgensis[423] hath not a word of her.

[405] Florim. pag. 84. [406] In Chron. Monasterii Hirsaugiensis, ad An. 851.
[407] Epistola 103, quæ habetur apud Baron. Annal. tom. x. ad Annum 856. num. 8; & Florim. cap. 14. num. 4. [408] Annal. tom. x. ad Annum 853. num. 69.
[409] Baron. tom. x. ad Annum 900. num. 8. [410] Idem, ad Annum 901. num. 1. [411] Idem, ibid.
[412] De Urbis Episc. lib. v. in Cœlest. III. fol. 212.
[413] Baron. tom. x. ad Ann. 853. num. 69.
[414] *Certè, si quod tam nefandum scelus accidisset, dicere minimè omisisset, sed implacabili luctu vir zelo plenus planxisset.* [415] Tom. x. ad Ann. 846. num. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17.
[416] Ad Ann. 855. num. 14. [417] Ad. Ann. 856. num. 10. [418] Ad Ann. 856. num. 20.
[419] N. D. pag. 392. Florim. pag. 84. [420] Anno 1602. [421] Joh. Albinus, Præfat. ad Lectorem.
[422] Chron. lib. iv. ad Ann. 955. [423] N. D. & Florim. locis citatis.

Prot. To this I answer, first, that he lived not in the same time with her; he lived *anno* 1077. Secondly, I say that this Lambertus did but touch by the way all ages, from the beginning of the world to the year of Christ 1040, as [424] Pontacus truly observed; though he discoursed at large of the thirty-seven years that followed. Thirdly, this Lambertus doth not so much as name Stephen the Fourth, or Paschalis, or Eugenius, or Valentinus, or Gregory the Fourth, or Sergius the Second, or Leo the Fourth, or Benedict the Third, or Nicholas, or Adrian the Second; and therefore what marvel, if he speak not of this Pope Joan?

Pap. Otho Frisingensis[425], who lived about the year 1150, makes no mention of this story.

Prot. But he doth. For John the Seventh (saith [426] he) was a woman.

Pap. They[427] who lived within a few years after her, and writ at length of all other accidents, write nothing of her; and that is another presumption, it is but a fable which is reported of her.

Prot. Who are they you mean?

Pap. The first is [428] Johannes Diaconus, who, in the year 870, writ of the Popes' Lives.

Prot. That Johannes Diaconus writ St. Gregory the Great's life[429], I grant; and, as some [430] say, Clement's; but that he writ of any more popes, I utterly deny. You have a pretty gift in alleging writings that never were. But say on.

Pap. Milo Monachus[431], who lived *anno* 871, saith nothing of her.

Prot. Milo Monachus, I believe, saith nothing of her, nor any other pope; for he writ no history. They, who commend him, do commend him[432] for a rhetorician, and for a poet, and for a musician, but not for an historiographer.

Pap. Passeratius Rabertus[433], who lived in the year 881, saith nothing of her.

Prot. This Passeratius is (surely) some author of your own devising: for no man can tell any news of him. But (perhaps) you would say Paschasius Ratbertus, for [434] such a one lived about the time you speak of. Yet this writ no history. This writ neither at length, nor in brief, any of the Popes' lives.

Pap. Yea, but Rhegino[435], who lived in the year 910, and comprehendeth briefly all the choice matters which fell out in the time of this supposed Pope Joan, writes nothing of her.

Prot. Rhegino writes nothing of John the Second, nor of Boniface the Fourth, nor of Deusdedit, nor of Boniface the Fifth. He writes not a word of Sergius the Second, nor of Leo the Fourth, nor of Benedict the Third; and therefore no marvel, though he write nothing of this Joan the woman-pope.

Pap. Why[436], but the greatest enemies that ever the Popes had, who lived in, and after those times, and were ready to cast in the Popes' teeth whatsoever they knew, or knew not, to the end they might disgrace them; yet never objected this of Pope Joan. Which confirms me much in my opinion, that this is but a tale, devised long after by some crafty-headed hereticks.

Prot. Who are these, I pray you?

Pap. [437] John bishop of Ravenna is one of them, Methodius Illyricus another, and Michael Palæologus, the emperor of Constantinople, a third.

[424] Lib. ii. Chron. [425] Florim. pag. 85. Onuph. in Plat. in Vitâ Joh. VIII.
[426] Lib. vii. cap. 35. Rerum in Orbe gestarum. impress. Argentorati, ann. 1515.
[427] *Qui paulò post illius ætatem floruerunt, nihil de ea scripserunt*, &c. Florim. cap. x. pag. 84.
[428] Florim. loco citato. [429] For so I read in Trithem. de Script. Ecclesiast. verbo *Joh. Diac.*
[430] Possevin. in Apparat. Sac. verbo *Joh. Diaconus.* [431] Florim. loco citato.
[432] Trithem. Lib. citato, verbo *Milo. Sigebert.* ad ann. 879. [433] Florim. loco citato.
[434] Trithem. lib. citato. Possevin. Appar. Sac. verbo *Paschasius.* [435] Florim. loco citato.
[436] *Cùm omnes scribendi principes, quorum alii hæretici, alii schismatici, alii anathemate separati—— quæcunque odium suggessit, in pontifices ex omni vitæ præteritæ causâ collecta probra turpiter evomuerint——nihil autem de Joannæ pontificatu dixerunt: existimandum est quæcunque de eâ postea divulgata sunt, posteriorum hæreticorum fraude fuisse excogitata.* Florim. cap. x. num. 5 & 6.
[437] Florim. num. 4.

Prot. How know you, that these never objected Pope Joan's lewdness to the disgrace of the Roman Papacy? Have you read all that they writ, and all that they spoke?

Pap. Nay, their writings are not extant[438], I confess. But a man may know how they slandered the Popes by the answers of many godly men, made in defence of the Popes. For as we Catholicks at this day are forced to make mention of your objections, when we undertake to answer your books; so in those days the Catholicks were driven to make mention of the slanders which they refuted. Now, in their refutation of slanders, there is no such thing as this of Pope Joan.

Prot. Why, peradventure, they knew that in this they were slandered with a matter of truth; and therefore they held it best to pass it over in silence. Questionless, your fellows at this day do so often. When Beza objected this very matter in the assembly of Poissy, before the Cardinal of Lorrain, and the Sorbonists of Paris; who answered him? Do not your[439] own men confess, that no man said a word to him? When the Hussites (as you call them) objected the same at the Council of Constance[440], was not silence their answer? We read in a[441] book lately set forth, intitled, '*Synodus Parisien-*
'*sis*,' that St. Ambrose[442] asked, *Quâ ratione, quâve authoritate, imagines angelorum vel aliorum sanctorum adorandæ sint, cùm ipsi sancti angeli vel sancti homines vivos se adorari noluerunt?* 'What reason, or what warrant men had, to worship the images 'of men and angels, seeing the angels themselves, and holy men alive, refused to be 'worshipped?' Now the two great Cardinals, Bellarmine[443] and Baronius[444], snarl at this book, seeking by all means to disgrace it. Bellarmine[445] expressly professeth the confuting of it; and Baronius[446] sets the most of it down in his Annals, even word for word, making glosses here and there upon it, in way of answer to it. But both of them pass slily by the words of St. Ambrose. If we had not had the book itself, we should never have known, by their answers, of such an argument of St. Ambrose's making against images. In like manner these[447] two champions undertake to answer such arguments as are made to justify the report of Gregory's delivering Trajan out of hell. Yet there is one argument made by their opposites[448], which they never touch; and that is this: That in St. Gregory's church at Rome, the sum of that story is engraven in an ancient stone. Upon which argument the Jesuit Salmeron[449] stands much. If their opposites' writings were not extant, by their answers, we had never heard of such an objection. Wherefore, if you would persuade me that these eager enemies objected not this against the Pope, you must bring better proof than this, that you find no foot-stepping of it in the answers made unto them. But go on with your argument. What other enemies' silence persuades you that this story is a fable?

Pap. Hincmarus[450] archbishop of Rheims, Theodoricus de Niem, Waltramus bishop of Norimberg, Benno the cardinal, bitter enemies unto the Pope, pass this over in silence. And that is a great argument to me, there was no such thing.

Prot. That Hincmarus archbishop of Rheims should have lived at enmity with your Popes, it is not for your Popes' credit it should be known; for he was singularly well learned, very wise, and very honest, as Trithemius[451] witnesseth; insomuch that your

[438] Florim. ib.

[439] Johannes Sanmartinus in Fabulam Joannæ Pseudopontif. Romanæ ē corrupto historiarum albo erasam à Flor. &c.; & Florim. cap. vi. pag. 58.

[440] *Silentio satisfecerunt Catholici doctores*, &c. Florim. cap. vi. num. 6.

[441] Synodus Parisiensis, ann. Christi 824. Francofurti impress. apud hæredes Wechel. 1596. pag. 145.

[442] In Epist. Pauli ad Rom. [443] Append. ad lib. de Cultu Imag.

[444] Annal. tom. ix. ad Ann. 825. num. 3. [445] Loco citato in initio. [446] Num. 5, &c.

[447] Bellar. lib. ii. de Purg. cap. 8. Baron. Annal. tom. viii. ad ann. 604. pag. 182, &c.

[448] Alphons. Salmeron. in 1 Cor. xv. Disput. 27.

[449] *Cujus rei extat insigne Romæ monumentum lapidi antiquissimo inscriptum in æde sacrâ ipsius Gregorii ——— quod ego propriis oculis hausi*, &c. Salmeron, loco citato, pag. 239 & 240.

[450] Florim. cap. x. pag. 87.

[451] *Vir in divinis Scripturis singulariter doctus——sapientiâ & honestate morum conspicuus.* Trithem. de Script. Eccles. verbo *Hincmarus*.

great Cardinal Baronius[452], when he hath occasion to cite him, intitles him, Saint Hincmarus[453]; wherein his epitomiser[454] follows him.

Pap. Well: [455] what say you to Theodoricus de Niem?

Prot. I say (which before I proved) that he mentions the story.

Pap. And what say you to Waltram bishop of Norinberg?

Prot. I say, there are few of his works extant; and, in [456] those which are extant, he shews no gall against the Popes; only he proves that the Emperor hath right to the investiture of Bishops.

Pap. [457] Why, but do you not think that Benno the Cardinal, who spoke so much evil of Gregory the Seventh, and other popes, would have noted this, if he had known of it?

Prot. No. Benno (no doubt) knew much foul matter by many other popes, which he did not touch. There are many shameful things reported in other stories by many of your Popes, which Benno hath not in his story. But do you think in good earnest, that Benno the Cardinal was the author of that book which goes under his name, and is intitled '*Vita & Gesta Hildebrandi?*'

Pap. Nay, indeed I do not. I rather think it was made by some Lutheran, and falsely fathered on Benno: and of that mind is Bellarmine[458] in part, and [459] Florimondus wholly.

Prot. So was not Orthuinus Gratius, who set it out at Colen, in the year 1535. For he, though as hot a papist as any of the crew, held it for Benno's own, and [460] professed that he rather believed him than Platina, and Stella, and Sabellicus. But see you not by the way your own folly, in that you conclude there was no Pope Joan, because the writer of that story makes no mention of any such Joan? I hope (if he were a Lutheran that made it) he knew there was a common fame of such a matter: and therefore, if he had been disposed to have disgorged himself of all that lay on his stomach, he would have cast up that with the rest. But go forward.

Pap. Rupertus[461] the English bishop, who, because he was excommunicated by the Pope, devised and raked together all manner of lies against the Pope, did not for all that object this.

Prot. Rupertus the English bishop, whom you mean, was the man commonly called Grosthead: a great philosopher, excellently well seen both in Greek and Latin, a reader of divinity in the schools, a famous preacher in the pulpit, a man of holy life and conversation[462]; even so holy, that, in the opinion of the whole clergy of France and England, there was not such another among the prelates of that time; though it pleased your Pope Innocentius the Fourth, to call him old fool, surd and absurd companion [463], and to threaten he would make him a by-word and an astonishment unto the world. And, to say truth, this man had many bickerings with the Pope, insomuch that in one letter he [464] signified unto him, that by his writs with *(non obstante)* he brought upon the world a Noah's flood of mischiefs, whereby the purity of the church was defiled, and the quietness of the commonwealth hindered. That by his reservations, commendams, provisions of benefices for persons, who sought to fleece, and not to feed the flock of God, he committed such a sin, so contrary to the doctrine of the Apostles and the Evangelists; so hateful, so detestable, so abominable to Christ Jesus, as never sin was, but the sin of Lucifer; nor never shall be,

[452] Tom. ix. ad Ann. 760. num. 3. [453] *S. Hincmarus.*

[454] Joh. Gabri. Bisciola Epit. Baron. ad Ann. 760. [455] Florim. pag. 87.

[456] *De Investiturâ Episcoporum*, printed at Basil, anno 1566.

[457] Florim. cap. 10. num. 5 & 6. [458] Lib. iv. de Rom. cap. 13. [459] Florim. pag. 88.

[460] *Malo magis huic Benoni cardinali quàm Platinæ, &c. credere.* Epist. ad Lector. fol. 39. in Fascic. Rerum expetend. & fugiend.

[461] Florim. pag. 88 & 89. *Rupertus Episc. Angl.*——*quæcunque potuit excogitare convicia est ementitus.*

[462] *Magnus habetur philosophus, Latinis & Græcis adplenum eruditus, lector in theologiæ scholis, prædicator in populo*, &c. Matth. Paris. Hist. Angl. in Hen. III. pag. 1162. See the English Martyrology, made by a Popish Priest, Octob. 9. Printed ann. 1608.

[463] *Quis est iste senex delirus, surdus, & absurdus?* saith Innocent IV. Matth. Paris, ib.

[464] Apud Matth. Paris, pag. 1161.

but the sin of Antichrist, whom the Lord shall destroy with the breath of his mouth at his coming. He signified unto him, that no man could, with a good conscience, obey any such mandates as he sent, though they came from the highest order of angels: for they tended not to edification, but to the utter undoing of the church. Are these the lies, by reporting whereof he sought to revenge himself upon your Pope? Alas! the [465] College of Cardinals confessed before the Pope, that they could not blame him for writing thus, for he said nought but truth.

Pap. Another Englishman, Mathew Paris [466] by name, made a hotch-potch of all the villainies he could remember, and yet he hath not this.

Prot. Mathew Paris, indeed, tells many foul tales of the Popes and the Papists. As for example: he reports [467] how *Satanas, & omne contubernium inferorum*, that is, 'the devil of hell, and all his hellish crew,' writ letters gratulatory to the whole rabblement of the Popish clergy; acknowledging their kindness, in that, following their pleasures, and giving over preaching, they suffered more souls to go to hell than ever went before.

He reports [468], how Gregory the Seventh set the whole church on a hurry, by deposing married priests from their priesthood, and forbidding the laity to hear their service; because he had no precedent for such his proceeding, and because (as some thought) it was an unadvised part, contrary to the opinion of the ancient fathers; who wrote that the sacraments of the church, by the invisible working of the Spirit, have like effect, whether they be administered by good or bad men, &c.

He reports [469], how a Cardinal legate, at a council held in London, inveighing against priests' lemans, was taken the same night after in bed with a whore.

He reports [470], how Germanus, archbishop of Constantinople, signified unto the Cardinals of Rome, that the Grecians stumbled much at this, that the Cardinals desired to be accounted his disciples, who said, 'Silver and gold I have none;' and yet were wholly set upon gathering of silver and gold.

He reports [471], how the Pope enjoined by one mandate to the Bishops of Canterbury, Lincoln, and Salisbury, that they should provide for three-hundred Romans, in benefices next vacant; and they should give no benefice, till they had provided for so many competently.

He reports [472], how Hugh the Cardinal bragged, when Innocentius departed from Lyons, that whereas there were four stews at his coming thither, he had left them but one. Marry, that reached from the one end of the town to the other.

He reports [473], how the Franciscans and Minorites, by commandment of the Pope, appointed all sorts of people, young and old, men and women, base and noble, weak and strong, sound and sick, to go for the recovery of the Holy Land: and yet the next day, yea sometimes the same hour, for money, they dismissed them again.

He reports [474], how Pope Innocentius IV. stirred up the Christian people of Brabant and Flanders, to war against Conradus the Emperor; promising them, for their labour, forgiveness of all their sins. Yea, he promised such warriors not only forgiveness of sins for their own use, but forgiveness of sins for their parents also. The fathers and mothers of such as warred against Conradus, had all their sins forgiven them, as well as the warriors themselves.

These and many such like tales he tells by the Pope, which the truth itself forced him to do. But he meddles not with any thing which was done by any pope, within one-thousand years after Christ: and therefore no marvel, though he spoke nothing of Pope Joan.

[465] *Ut vera fateamur, vera sunt quæ dicit;* said the Cardinals. Matth. Paris, pag. 1162.
[466] *Impuro ore alter Anglus, nomine* Matth. Paris. *omne injuriarum genus conflavit.* Florim. cap. 10. pag. 89.
[467] Hist. Angl. in Guil. Conquest. ann. 1072. pag. 10.
[468] Ibid. Ann. 1074.
[469] In Hen. I. ad Ann. 1125. pag. 93.
[470] In Hen. III. pag. 617.
[471] In Hen. III. pag. 712. ad Ann. 1240.
[472] In Hen. III. ad Ann. 1251. pag. 1089.
[473] In Hen. III. ad Ann. 1249. pag. 1017. & 539. & 757.
[474] In Hen. III. pag. 1100. ad Ann. 1251.

Pap. John of Calabria[475], a man famously known for a railer against the Popes, spoke nothing of this.

Prot. John of Calabria[476] told our King Richard the First, that Antichrist was as then born in Rome, and that he should be made pope. John of Calabria[477] was generally reputed a prophet, and a man of great learning. Yet John of Calabria was so far from railing against your Popes, that (if Bellarmine[478] say true) he spoke very honourably of them: and therefore his silence, in this case, doth not help you.

Pap. [479]Yea, but Dantes, the Italian poet, would surely have touched this story, if he had heard any inkling of it.

Prot. Why so? Dantes found fault, only with six of your Popes, viz. with Anastasius II, Nicholas III, Boniface VIII, Clement V, John XXII, and Celestine V, as [480]Bellarmine notes. Whereby it is plain, that he never purposed to rave up all the filth which he found written of your Popes. Questionless, he might well have heard of this, for [481]he lived after Martinus Polonus; and in Martinus's days, the report of this was common. Have you any more to say?

Pap. Yea. [482]And not only the Latin writers, but even the Greek historiographers, Zonaras, Cedrenus, Curopalatas, and others, that wrote before Martinus Polonus, of matters concerning the Latin church in those days, and were no friends to the same, and would have been content with such an advantage against it, write nothing thereof at all: which is an evident proof there was no such matter.

Prot. What; an evident proof?

Pap. Yea[483], an evident proof, which you may perceive by Sutcliffe's answer to Father Parsons (as he calls him), for he never, I warrant you, so much as once names these Greek historiographers, but suppresseth that cunningly, or rather maliciously, because he could frame no colourable answer unto it.

Prot. Dr. Sutcliffe never intended to trouble himself, or his reader, with laying open Parsons's foolery in every particular. Otherwise, assure yourself, he would not have passed by this: for it is a matter of no great cunning to shape this argument its answer. For tell me, had not you once a pope called Mark, who sat, as divers of your own [484]histories note, two years, eight months, and twenty days? And had you not another pope called Marcellus, [485]who sat above five years?

Pap. We had. But what of that?

Prot. Your Pontacus [486], and Genebrard [487], confess that all the Greek writers, in a manner, omit to speak of the former: and [488] that all the Greek writers, without exception, omit to speak of the latter. Now if you, notwithstanding their passing by of these, be yet persuaded that these were popes, why may you not rest persuaded that there was a Pope Joan, though they do pass by her, and write not one word of her? I hope you believe many things, whereof they write nothing. We read in your [489]legend, yea in your mass-books [490], that Heraclius the Emperor, when he would have entered in by the gate, by which our Saviour went to his passion, clad like a king, with the cross on his shoulders; that he was miraculously hindered, and could not get thorough, till he had cast off his princely attire, and put off his hose and his shoes. Do not you believe this? I am sure you do. Yet Gretser [491] acknowledgeth, that the Grecians, such as Cedrenus and Zonaras, write nothing of this; professing that he likes it never a whit the worse for their silence. For they (as he further notes) omitted many other matters of truth, whereof no man doubts. But how

[475] Florim. cap. 10. pag. 89. [476] Roger Hoved. Annal. pars posterior in Ric. I. pag. 388.
[477] Possevin. Apparat. Sacer, verb. *Cyrillus Carmelita.* [478] Append. ad Lib. de Summo Pont. cap. 11.
[479] Florim. loco citato. [480] Append. ad Lib. de Summ. Pont. cap. 14.
[481] Polon. Dante Antiquor. Bell. ibid. [482] N. D. pag. 393.
[483] B. C. in his 'Doleful Knell of Thomas Bell,' book ii. page 296.
[484] Plat. de Vitâ Pont. in Vitâ Mar. Flores Hist. ad Ann. 341.
[485] Plat. in Vitâ Marcell. I. Onuph. in Chron. ad Ann. 304. [486] Lib. ii. Chronogr.
[487] Chronol. lib. iii. [488] Pontac. & Geneb. locis citatis.
[489] Aurea Legend. Exaltation of the Holy Cross. [490] Breviar. Rom. in Officio Exaltat. S. Crucis.
[491] Lib. i. de Cruce, cap. 27. pag. 170.

know you, that no Grecian ever writ of such an accident? It seems that they did: because Chalcocondylas, a Grecian, of later years hath writ thereof, as before I have shewed you; and [492] Barlaam the Greek monk alludes thereto. For, from whence could they have it, but from the Grecians his ancestors? You must bring more evident proof than this is, or else you will never persuade any man of sense and reason, that the story of Pope Joan, which is commended to us by so great a cloud of witnesses, is fabulous.

Pap. Why, but [493] Hermannus Contractus, and Conradus Abbas Urspergensis, and others more, write nothing of this Joan of yours.

Prot. And what of that? Will you conclude thereupon, that there was never any such woman-pope? Tell me in good earnest, do arguments, taken from authority of a few men, hold negatively? Is it a good argument, St. Paul, St. Luke, and Seneca do not say that Peter was at Rome: *Ergo*, Peter was not at Rome? Bellarmine denies this argument. *Respondeo*, (saith [494] Bellarmine,) *'Nihil concludi ex argumentis ab authoritate negativâ. Non enim sequitur, Lucas, Paulus, & Seneca, non dicunt Petrum fuisse Romæ, igitur non fuit Petrus Romæ. Non enim isti tres omnia dicere debuerunt; & plus creditur tribus testibus affirmantibus, quàm mille nihil dicentibus; modò isti non negent, quod alii affirmant:* that is, 'I answer, Negative arguments are nought worth. For it follows not, that St. 'Peter was never at Rome, because St. Luke, St. Paul, and Seneca do not report that he 'was at Rome: for these three were not bound to report all that was true. Besides, 'three witnesses, speaking to a cause, deserve more credit than a thousand who stand 'mute, not denying that which is witnessed by the three.' And in another place, *Certè* (saith [495] Bellarmine) *magis credi debet tribus testibus affirmantibus, quàm infinitis nihil dicentibus:* that is, 'Verily a man should rather believe three witnesses speaking to 'a cause, than infinite, who neither speak *pro* nor *con*.' Again, tell me whether Dennis bishop of Athens, was not afterwards bishop of Paris; though Ado, bishop of Triers in Germany, and Suidas a Greek writer, make no mention of that his second bishoprick? Your Lipomanus resolves upon Metaphrastes, and one Michael Syngelus's word, that Dennis was bishop of Paris, though Ado and Suidas speak not of it. Their passing it over in silence doth not prejudice Metaphrastes and Syngelus's report, who say he was bishop of Paris, in Lipamanus's [496] opinion. And why then, though these and many more say nothing of Pope Joan; might there not be such a pope, since as many, and as learned as they, do reckon her among the Popes? Salmeron [497], one of your prime Jesuits, notes, 'That when one historian reports a matter, and another passeth it by, the latter's silence 'doth not prejudice the truth of the other historian's relation:' *Ea lex apud historiographos observatur,* (saith he,) *ut quando unus ex duobus historicis aliquid affirmat, quod alius supprimit, non deroget affirmanti qui tacet.*

Pap. Yea, but there are in the Pope's library six or seven tables of Popes, wherein there is no mention of her [498].

Prot. And what of that? Your Pope's library is compared by [499] Baronius to a drawnet, which gathers together good and bad. Your Pope's library hath in it books of all sorts, approved, disproved; profitable, unprofitable [500]. It hath counterfeit and forbidden books, as well as books of better reckoning. They are simple people (as we read in Baronius [501]) who believe reports the rather, for that they are to be found in books which are in the Pope's library. Yet, suppose these seven tables be of the best note, will you

[492] De Papæ Principatu, cap. 14. [493] N. D. pag. 363.
[494] Lib. ii. de Rom. Pont. cap. 8. Vide Lib. ii. de Indulg. cap. 20.
[495] Lib. i. de Extremâ Unctione, cap. 6.
[496] Tom. i. de Sanct. Hist. Præfat. in Martyrium S. Dionysii per Metaphrasten.
[497] Prolegom. vi. in Evang. [498] Onuph. & Harding, locis suprà citatis.
[499] *Omnis copiosa bibliotheca* (in particular he means the Vatican) *refert similitudinem sagenæ missæ in mare, ex omni genere piscium congregantis, bonos & malos continens, libros probatos & improbatos, utiles & inutiles simul amplexans;* saith Baron. Annal. tom. viii. ad Ann. 604. num. 50.
[500] *Rom. biblioth. habet libros tum suppositos, tum improbatæ lectionis.* Cope, Dialog. 4. cap. 19. pag. 567. [501] Loco suprà citato.

yield thus much to me, that he who is numbered in these seven tables (or at least in as many, as authentical as these) as a pope, was a pope ?

Pap. No, not I. For I know that Leo the Eighth is numbered as a pope in [502] many tables, and in [503] some of those seven, if not in them all. And yet I am of [504] Baronius's mind, that Leo the Eighth was an intruder and an usurper; and that he was not worthy to be called a pope. But why asked you of me this question ?

Prot. If this be no good argument, Leo the Eighth is numbered among the Popes in seven tables that are in the Pope's library, or in seven as authentical as these in the Pope's library; *ergo* Leo the Eighth was a pope: what reason have you to think yours good, which is this in effect: Joan, the woman-pope, is not numbered among the popes in seven tables, which are in the Pope's library: *ergo*, there was no such Joan, a woman-pope ? If seven tables, speaking out for a pope, do not convince the being of such a pope; why should their silence convince the not-being of a pope ? Might they not as well leave out one who had been pope, as put in one who never was pope ?

Pap. But why should they have left her out ?

Prot. Partly for her sex's sake, because she was a woman; and partly in regard of the filthiness of her fact; for so your stories note. And this need not seem strange to you, if you would but observe that other popes, upon other occasions, have been passed by, by divers, as no popes. As for example: 'Felix the Second was a pope and martyr,' as Bellarmine [505] teacheth: for, *Felicem II. ut papam & martyrem ecclesia Catholica veneratur*, saith Bellarmine: and he sat in the popedom one year, four months, and two days, as we read in [506] Platina. Yet, by [507] Genebrard's confession, Marcellinus omits to speak of him in his Chronicle, because he was suspected of heresy. And, for the same cause, or some such like cause, [508] St. Austin and [509] Optatus mention him not among the Popes, in their memorial of Popes: nor yet Bristow, in his Table of Popes, which is printed with his wise Demands. In like manner, that one Cyriacus was pope, it is acknowledged by [510] divers: yet it is rare to find him in any catalogue of Popes. For as a [511] great Papist writeth, *Iste Cyriacus in catalogo paparum non annumeratur, quia credebant ipsum non propter devotionem, sed propter oblectamentum virginum dimisisse episcopatum.* 'Cyriacus is not in 'the register of Popes, because it was thought he left the popedom, not for devotion, 'but for the love that he bare to certain wenches.' Or, if you like it better, that Cyriacus is not in the register of Popes, *hoc ex indignatione cleri accidit, pro eo quòd in ordine dignitatis suæ usque ad finem permanere noluisset:* 'It came to pass by this means, that 'the clergy were angry at him, for that he would not continue pope till his death.' For so, some of you say, blessed Bernard told holy Elizabeth, when she desired to know the reason thereof. Damasus the Second hath his place in [512] many popish chronicles in the throng of Popes; yet there are [513] many on the other side who let him go for one that is naught, and never number him: and in much like sort they [514] deal with others.

Pap. [515] If Pope Joan were omitted for the filthiness of her fact, why was that close-stool reserved, and that monument of her's, whereof you told me before, set up in one of the high streets in Rome ? For the stool and the image were as like to continue the memory of her, as any record in writing. To be plain with you, I do not see how you can rid your hands of contradiction in this point.

Prot. Well enough. For may not some be of one opinion, some of another ? May

[502] Bristow's, printed with his Demands. [503] Onuph. Annot. in Plat. in Vitam Alexandri III.
[504] *Non dignus qui pontifex numeretur, sed intrusus & occupator potiùs nominandus.* Annalium, tom. x. ad Ann. 964. [505] Lib. iv. de Rom. Pont. cap. 9. [506] In Vit. Felicis II.
[507] Chron. lib. iii. ad Ann. 368. [508] Epist. 165. [509] Lib. ii.
[510] Golden Legend, in the Life of Ursula. Polon. ad Ann. 238. Suppl. Chron. ad Ann. 235. Ranulf. Cestrens. in Polychron. lib. iv. cap. 20. Petrus de Natalibus in Catal. Sanct. lib. ix. cap. 87.
[511] Joh. de Parisiis de Potestate regiâ & papali, pag. 217. cap. 5. In Sext. lib. i. cap. 7. de Renunciatione, in Glossâ. [512] Plat. in Vitâ Damasi II. Polonus in Chron. circa ann. 1040.
[513] *Censent nonnulli hunc inter pontifices nequaquam numerandum esse;* saith Plat. loco citato.
[514] Felix IV. teste Massono de Urbis Episcop. lib. ii. in Vitâ Johan. I. pag. 85.
[515] Florim. cap. 22. pag. 190.

not some think good to continue the memory of that, which others, for shame of the world, would have forgotten?[516] Did not some of your fellow-papists in France deny, that John Chastell was taught by the Jesuits to murder Henry the Fourth of France, because they were loth to make the Jesuits odious? And yet did not others help to erect a pillar of stone near to the king's palace, whereby so much was notified? If any man should affirm, that the same man, who omitted Pope Joan for the filthiness of her fact, erected such a monument of her in the streets, and prescribed such a stool to be kept for such a purpose, I know not how he could deliver himself from contradiction. But, speaking of divers men, his speech hangeth well enough together; there is no shew of contradiction in it. For further proof whereof, it is worthy your consideration, that when Paul the Third, moved with the spirit of God, (as [517] Harding saith,) and desirous to reform the church, gave charge to his best, learned, wisest, most godly and zealous men that he knew, four cardinals, three bishops, and two others, to enquire and search out what abuses and disorders were in the church, and especially in the court of Rome; which they did, offering up unto him a libel, containing the sum of all their proceedings. Some thought their labours worthy of registering; others thought them fitter to be burnt, which appears by this, that the libel is printed in Crab's edition of the council, *anno* 1551, and yet put into the '*Index librorum prohibitorum*,' by Paul the Fourth (one of those four cardinals who exhibited it to Paul the Third), and left out of Dominicus Nicolinus's edition of the councils at Venice, *auspiciis Sixti Quinti*, in the year 1585; and out of Severinus Binnius's edition at Colen, 1606.

Pap. [518] Yea, but give me leave I pray you. If Pope Joan were omitted for the filthiness of her fact, yet should there have been mention made of the vacancy of the see, for that time she was pope, or else there will be a manifest error in chronology.

Prot. A manifest error in chronology? A foul absurdity, indeed, to miss two years in reckoning! But, I trow, there are fouler than this, however the matter will be salved; for Onuphrius and Bristow reckon two-hundred and thirty Popes to Gregory the Thirteenth, and [519] Genebrard two-hundred and thirty-four; whereas, by Platina's account, there should be two-hundred and thirty-five, for he reckons, to Paul the Second, with whom he ends, two-hundred and twenty Popes; after whom, to Gregory the Thirteenth, every man reckons fifteen; which makes up the number of two-hundred and thirty-five: yet Vesteganus, in his table printed at Antwerp, 1590, numbers no more than two-hundred and thirty-one. Again, do not [520] some of your chronologies record, that Euaristus sat thirteen years? Whereas [521] others say he sat but nine years. Do not [522] some of them say, that Dennis sat eleven years? Others, [523] that he sat but two years? And do not these differences, and such as these are, whereof we have spoken before in part, argue manifest errors in your chronologies? If no further inconveniencies follow, upon Pope Joan's omission, than a manifest error in chronology for that space she lived, we may well enough believe, that some omitted her, not for that she was not, but that they were ashamed of her; for two years and odd months break no square in your chronologies, any more than an inch with a bungling carpenter.

Pap. Yea, [524] but no-body, within four-hundred years after, mentions her popedom; and, is it possible, [525] that all writers should so conspire together, that the truth thereof could never be certainly known, till four-hundred years after?

Prot. You lavish, when you talk of four-hundred years after; for I have proved unto you already, by the books that are yet extant, that it was known sooner. But, suppose we had no writer, who lived within four-hundred years of Pope Joan, to produce for proof; will you, in that respect, deny the story? Do not you Papists commend unto us many

[516] See Le Franc's Discourse, printed anno 1602.
[517] In his Rejoinder to M. Jewel about the Mass, pag. 177.
[518] Bellarm. Lib. iii. de Rom. Pont. cap. 24. [519] So doth Massonus *de Urbis Episcopis*.
[520] Anastas. in Vitâ Euaristi. [521] Baron. Annal. tom. ii. ad Annum 121. num. 1.
[522] Idem, tom. ii. ad Annum 272. num. 21. [523] Anastas. in Vitâ Dionysii.
[524] Florim. cap. i. pag. 6. [525] B. C. in his 'Doleful Knell of Thomas Bell,' pag. 295 and 296.

stories, as true, for which you can bring us no proof, out of any writer who lived within four-hundred years after? You tell us [526] of an image of Christ, which was made by Nicodemus, who came to our Saviour by night, for fear of the Jews; and of it you report wonderful things. But you are not able to name the man (shall I say, within four-hundred years of Nicodemus? nay, not within six-hundred years of Nicodemus) who writeth any such thing. Again, you [527] tell us, that St. Luke drew certain pictures of the Virgin Mary: but [528] Theodorus Lector is the ancientest man, that your friends allege for proof of this; and he lived, at least, five-hundred years after. Thirdly, [529] you write, that our Saviour Christ, wiping his face with an handkerchief, imprinted his image therein, and sent it to Agbarus for a token: but you can name no author for this, but Evagrius, [530] who lived [531] six-hundred years after Christ. Fourthly, [532] the most of you hold it for a certain truth, that Adrian the Pope was content, that Charles the Great should nominate the Bishop of Rome, and other bishops of his dominions; and yet there are, among yourselves, who write, that there can be no proof made thereof, out of any writer who lived within four-hundred years of Charles the Great's time.

That the Virgin Mary made that coat of our Saviour's, which was without seam, our Rhemists [533] teach; and [534] others of you add to that, that as our Saviour grew in height and in breadth, so the coat on his back grew. Do you think, that there is an author, within four-hundred years after our Saviour's time, that taught so?

Turrian [535] reports, and Gretser [536] after him, that the Apostles made this canon, in a council which they kept at Antioch: *Ne decipiantur fideles ob idola, sed pingant ex opposito divinam humanamque manufactam impermixtam effigiem Dei veri, ad Salvatoris Domini nostri Jesú Christi, ipsiusque servorum, contra idola & Judæos; neque errent in idolis, neque similes sint Judæis:* that is, 'Let not the faithful people be deceived by idols, but let them, 'on the contrary part, make the image of our Saviour Christ, both God and man, and the 'images of his servants; and let them not be deceived by idols, nor shew themselves like 'unto the Jews.' But I do not believe, that this can be proved to be a canon of that council, by any writer within four-hundred years of that time. Your [537] Rabbins allege [538] two councils; the one kept, as they say, in the year 303, the other in the year 324; both sounding much to the Pope's praise, and advancing of his authority: but, for any thing I read, the most learned among you can bring no proof, within four-hundred years after, that any such councils were then kept. Nicholas the First, who lived in the year 860, is the first whom [539] Bellarmine names for that purpose.

Pap. [540] Why, what say you to our ancient English histories written in the Latin tongue? to wit, William of Malmsbury, Henry Huntington, Roger Hoveden, Florentius Vigorniensis, and Matthew of Westminster: for I have one argument, of no small moment, [541] as it seemeth to me, taken from them, for the overthrowing of the fable of Pope Joan.

Prot. When lived these writers, from whence you draw your argument?

Pap. The [542] first four lived five-hundred years ago, and the latest of them three-hundred years.

[526] Bellarm. Lib. ii. de Imag. cap. 10. [527] Idem, loco citato; & Gretser. de Cruce, lib. ii. cap. 1.
[528] Lib. i. Collectaneorum.
[529] Bellarm. loco citato; & Baron. Annal. tom. i. ad annum Christi 31. num. 61.
[530] Lib. iv. cap. 26. [531] See Baron. Annal. tom. viii. ad Annum 594. num. 30.
[532] Bellarm. Lib. i. de Clericis, cap. 9. Pamelii Annotat. in Cypr. Epist. lii. num. 29. Carerius, de Potestate Rom. Pont. lib. i. cap. 18. Pet. de Natal. in Catal. Sanct. lib. viii. cap. 53.
[533] Annotat. in Joh. xix. 23. in marg.
[534] Rudolphus de Vitâ Jesû, part. ii. cap. 63. p. 221. col. 2.
[535] Turrian. lib. i. contra Magdeburg. cap. xxv. [536] Gretser. lib. ii. de Cruce, cap. i. tom. 1.
[537] Bellarm. lib. ii. de Rom. Pont. cap. xxvi. Baron. Annal. tom. x. ad Annum 963. num. 35.
[538] *Concilium Romanum & Synuessanum.* [539] Loco suprà citato [540] N. D. num. 25. pag. 393.
[541] B. C. Student in Divinity, in his 'Doleful Knell of Thom. Bell,' printed 1607, lib. ii. pag. 297, commends this for a very excellent argument. [542] N. D. num. 25.

Prot. Fie, five-hundred years ago! [543] William of Malmsbury continues his story to the year 1143; and [544] Henry Huntington his story till the reign of Henry the Second, which was 1154; and [545] Roger Hoveden continues his story to the year 1201; which argues, that the first four lived not five-hundred years ago. But, what is your argument out of them?

Pap. No one of them all makes mention of this Pope.

Prot. Oh, is that your argument? Why, I say to that, that our English histories might omit her upon like reason, as others of other countries omitted her, for her sex's sake, and for the filthiness of the fact. And do not you think this probable?

Pap. No, by no means: for [546] our English writers, above others, should have mentioned her, if any such had been.

Prot. And why, I pray you?

Pap. Because [547] King Alfred, living in Rome, when Leo the Fourth died, and Benedict III. was chosen, must needs have known also Pope Joan, if any such had entered, and lived two years and a half between them.

Prot. How know you, that King Alfred lived in Rome, when Pope Leo died, and Benedict was chosen?

Pap. Because [548] we read, that his father delivered him into the hands of Pope Leo the Fourth, to be instructed and brought up by him; and that the Pope received him with great kindness, and detained him there with him.

Prot. That Alfred's father sent him to be anointed king, and that the Pope anointed him at his father's motion, we [549] read indeed; but that his father delivered him to Leo, to be instructed and brought up by him, we read not in Malmsbury, nor Huntington, nor Hoveden, nor Florentius; nor yet that the Pope detained him there with him. But, perhaps, you can prove he staid at Rome, though it be not recorded, that Leo detained him with him; now, therefore, let me hear your argument.

Pap. That [550] Alfred lived in Rome, some number of years, seemeth evident: first, for that he returned more learned, and otherwise better qualified, than any Saxon king had been before him.

Prot. This argument is framed out of your fingers-ends, and not out of the stories; for the [551] stories mention two journeys which Alfred took to Rome; the former, when he was five years old, in the year 853, in which he was accompanied with the nobility: the second, when he was six years old, in the year 854, in which he went in his father's company, who staid in Rome a year. Now, though I find it not set down in particular, that he returned with his father, yet it is very likely by the circumstances; for the [552] stories note, that he was always brought up in the king's court: and it is without all doubt, whensoever he returned, that he returned not better learned, nor better qualified; for, at twelve years old, and upward, he knew not a letter in the book; which the [553] stories with great grief report. What is your next argument?

Pap. That [554] Alfred lived in Rome, some number of years, seemeth evident, for that we find no mention of his acts in England until the reign of his third brother, Athelred, in the year 871, at the famous battle of Reading in Berkshire, fought against the Danes.

[543] *Scripsit historiarum libros ad an.* 1142; saith Possevin. Apparat. Sac. verbo *Guliel. Malms.* But by the Book itself (fol. 108.) it is plain he continued it to the year 1143.

[544] Vide Histor. lib. viii. in fine. [545] Fol. 464. b. [546] N. D. p. 394.

[547] N. D. p. 395. [548] N. D. p. 394.

[549] Roger. Hoveden. Annal. pars prior, pag. 232. edit. Lond.; & Florentius, in Chron. ad Ann. 853.

[550] N. D. p. 395. [551] Hoveden. & Florentius, locis citatis.

[552] *In regiâ curiâ semper inseparabiliter nutriebatur*, saith Florent. lib. citato, p. 308. & Joh. Asser. Episcop. Shyreburnensis in Hist. Alfredi, pag. 7; which History was printed at London, 1574, with Tho. Walsingham.

[553] *Usque ad* 12 *ætatis annum (proh dolor!) illiteratus permansit.* Asser. & Florent. loc. cit.

[554] N. D. p. 395.

Prot. Alfred was but twenty-two years old in the year 871, and therefore no marvel, though, being in England, we read nothing of his acts. Yet, not to speak of his hawking and hunting in England, in his younger years, [555] whereof the stories speak much, we read [556] of his marriage three years before the battle of Reading, and of his going to aid the king of Mercia, the same year; so that this proceeds on a false ground, as doth the former: wherefore, unless you have better arguments to disprove the story of Pope Joan, you may prove yourself a fool, but never it a fable.

Pap. I am able to prove it a fable: for [557] our foresaid writers do not only not make any mention of Pope Joan, that came between Leo the Fourth and Benedict the Third, but do expressly exclude the same, by placing the one immediately after the other, and assigning them their distinct number of years beforementioned; to wit, eight years and three months to Leo, and two years, and six months, immediately following, to Benedict the Third.

Prot. Who is your first witness of the truth of this?

Pap. Malmsbury [558] *in Fastis Reg. & Episcop. Angl.* 847 & 855.

Prot. Where might a man see that book of Malmsbury's? for I never read nor heard before of any such book made by him. True it is, that in the end of Malmsbury, Huntington, Hoveden, Ethelwerdus, and Ingulphus, which are all printed [559] in one volume, there is such a treatise; but that was made by Sir Henry Savile, who set them out; it was not made by Malmsbury: you may as well say, that Malmsbury made the *Index Rerum et Verborum*, which follows after it. But who is your next witness?

Pap. Florentius [560] in his Chronicle.

Prot. Doth Florentius, in his Chronicle, give eight years and three months to Leo? Now, for shame of the world, leave lying. Florentius notes, that Leo began his papacy 853, and Benedict the Third, 858; whereby, it is apparent, that in Florentius's opinion, Leo sat but five years; so is it apparent, that, in his opinion, Benedict sat five years: for Benedict, according to Florentius's reckoning, began 858, and Nicholas, his next successor, began 863. Now, from 858 to 863, there cannot be fewer than five years; so that in prosecuting this argument, which is of your own devising, you have scarce spoken one true word.

Pap. I pray you tell me how [561] they called this Joan, when she read publicly in the schools at Rome.

Prot. They called her John. How else?

Pap. What; John? And was she called John after her election to the popedom too?

Prot. Yea, why not?

Pap. That is not likely; for [562] Sergius, a few years before, had brought in a laudable custom, that the Pope-elect should not step out of the conclave, before he had changed his proper name.

Prot. Indeed there are [563] who say, that because Sergius had a filthy name before his election, to wit, the name of Swine's-snout, he changed it after his election.

Pap. Yea, but they who say so, are greatly deceived; [564] for Swine's-snout was not his proper name, but the surname of a noble family, whereof he was descended.

Prot. So are they greatly deceived, who say that he changed his proper name; for, *ex paterno nomine à principio Sergius est appellatus;* 'from his birth he was called Sergius, 'after the name of his father;' as [565] Baronius notes. The first who changed his name was [566] Sergius the Third, and yet not for the filthiness of his name, but in reverence to St. Peter: *Cùm enim ille Petrus vocaretur, indignum putavit se vocari eodem nomine, quo*

[555] Matth. Westm. Flores Hist. ad An. 871. fol. 245.
[556] Matth. Westm. lib. citato, ad An. 868. fol. 236. [557] N. D. p. 396.
[558] N. D. p. 396. in marg. [559] At Frankfort, anno 1601.
[560] N. D. pag. 396. in margine. [561] Florim. cap. xxx. num. 4. [562] Florim. ibid.
[563] Fascic. Temp. ad Ann. 844. Polyd. Virg. de Invent. Rerum, lib. iv. cap. x. Joh. Stella in Vit. Pont. in Sergio II. [564] Florim. ibid. [565] Annal. tom. x. ad An. 844. num. i.
[566] He would have said Sergius the Fourth, as appeareth, Annal. tom. xi. ad An. 1009.

Christus primum ejus sedis pontificem, principem Apostolorum, ex Simone Petrum nominaverat. 'For, his name being Peter, he thought it was not meet that he should be called 'by that name, whereby Christ called the first bishop of that see, even the prince of the 'Apostles; whose name he changed from Simon to Peter, as we read in Baronius, in the 'same place.

Pap. I never heard this before; but I like it the better, if it be in Baronius, for [567] I cannot say too much good of that man. Marry, I had rather thought you would have taken exception against me, in respect that Platina ascribes this custom of the Popes, in changing their names, to John the Twelfth, who, being called Octavian, before his papacy, thought that name too warlike for him, after he was made pope, and therefore took the name of John. Now I could easily have replied unto this: for, besides that Platina speaks amiss in many other points, it is not likely, that John the Twelfth made any conscience by what name he was called, seeing he lived as licentiously, after he was pope, as before.

Prot. You have your learning at the second-hand: have you not?

Pap. I have this out of Florimondus, I confess: but what of that?

Prot. Your learned masters deceive you, and especially Florimondus; for [568] Platina is one of them, who ascribes the original of this papal custom to Sergius the Second; for which he is reproved by Onuphrius. Onuphrius, and not Platina, ascribes the original hereof to John the Twelfth: *Johannem hunc XII. primum esse inveni qui nomen in pontificatu mutavit,* (saith [569] Onuphrius): *nam, cùm antè Octavianus vocaretur, gentili nomine omisso, tanquam parum majestati & religioni pontificis idoneo, se Johannem appellavit:* that is, 'John the Twelfth was the first, as far as I can learn, who changed his name, when he 'was made pope; whereas, before, he was called Octavian, he left that heathenish name, 'as little beseeming the Pope's majesty and religion, and called himself John.'

Pap. Onuphrius must pardon me, though I believe him not in this.

Prot. Yet Onuphrius, in [570] Florimondus's opinion, was a most painful antiquary. But what if Baronius say as much, will you not believe him for Baronius's sake?

Pap. How can Baronius say so much, if you wronged him not before, when you told me, that he referred this custom of changing names to Sergius the Third? If Sergius the Third began it, then not John the Twelfth: if John the Twelfth began it, then not Sergius the Third.

Prot. Look you and Baronius to that, how both tales will hang together; but assure yourself, Baronius saith both: for, notwithstanding the former assertion, coming to speak of John the Twelfth, he [571] useth these words: *Hic reverà primus inventus qui mutavit sibi nomen, ut qui ex Octaviano vocari voluerit Johannes, pro mutatâ, non exutâ tyrannide. Nam qui dictus est à patre, ob temporale urbis dominium, Octavianus; ob spirituale, nomine Johannes appellari idcirco voluit, vel quòd eo nomine ejus patruus Johannes XI. papa sit appellatus; vel ut in nomine saltem bene posset audire in adulatoriis acclamationibus, quibus malè usurpatum proferri soleret sacrum illud eloquium, (Fuit homo missus à Deo, cujus nomen erat Johannes):* that is, 'This, in truth, is the first who changed his name, who of Octavian 'would needs be called John; and not for that he meant to leave his tyranny, but for that 'he resolved to use another kind of tyranny: for he, who was called by his father Octa-'vian, in respect of his temporal authority in the city, would now, in respect of his spiri-'tual, be called John; either for that his uncle, John the Eleventh, was called so, or for 'that he desired to hear well, at least for his name's sake, whilst, in clawing and fawning 'acclamations, the people fondly applied unto him that good speech: "There was a man

[567] *Baronii laudandi finem prorsùs invenio nullum;* Florim. cap. xxii. num. 6. *Non ignoro Platinam, qui sæpiùs, in aliis etiam rebus, lapsus est, hanc consuetudinem Joh. XII. acceptam referre,* &c.; Florim. cap. xxx. num. 5. [568] De Vit. Pont. in Vitâ Sergii II.

[569] Annot. in Plat. in Vit. Sergii II. & Joh. XIII.

[570] *Onuphrius antiquitatis perscrutator diligentissimus.* Florim. cap. xxi. num. 6.

[571] Tom. x. Annal. ad Ann. 955. num. 4.

'that was sent from God, whose name was John'.' Thus Baronius. Have you not another question to ask?

Pap. Yes. [572] Who was Pope Joan's father?

Prot. What is that to the purpose?

Pap. Much. [573] For the histories expressly set down who was the father of Linus, of Cletus, of Clemens, and of all the rest of the Popes: and would they not have done as much for her, if she had been pope?

Prot. It is false, that the histories expressly set down the fathers of all the rest of the Popes; for, by the histories, you cannot tell me, who was the father of Higinus, or Dennis, or of John the Nineteenth, and that I will prove unto you by the histores; for [574] in them we read, that *Higini genealogia non invenitur;* 'No man knows of what parentage Higinus 'was.' And [575] *Dionysii generationem invenire non potuimus;* 'We could not find out Den-'nis the Pope's ancestors.' And [576] *Johan. XIX. cognomen & patria ignoratur;* 'It is 'unknown of what surname, or country, John the Nineteenth was.' Again, in the [577] histories, it is expressly written, that Urban the Fourth was begotten *ex patre sutore veteramentario;* that is, 'of a cobler:' that [578] John the Twenty-second was *filius veteramentarii, resarcitoris videlicèt solearum;* that is, 'the son of a botcher:' that [579] Benedict the Eleventh was *filius lotricis pauperculæ,* 'the son of a poor laundress:' that [580] Benedict the Twelfth was *molitoris filius,* 'the son of a miller:' that [581] Sixtus the Fourth was the son of a mariner: that [582] Adrian the Sixth was a clothworker's son, or else a brewer's: that [583] Sixtus Quintus was a base and beggarly fellow's son; even the son, as is said, of a swineherd. But what the names of these men's fathers were, that is not expressly written: you may peruse many histories, and find nothing to that purpose. Your Alexander the Fifth [584] confesseth, *se nec parentes, nec fratres, aut aliquem ex agnatis, cognatisve suis unquam vidisse;* 'that he never saw either his father, or mother, or brother, or any of his 'kindred.' And can you tell me what was his father's name? [585] *Nihil tam incertum inter historiarum scriptores, quàm qui fuerunt parentes singulorum;* 'There is nothing more un-'certainly set down in histories, than who were the Popes' fathers;' saith Massonus.

Pap. Well, Sir, to be brief with you, I prove it as a fable thus: [586] Either this Pope Joan was young or old, when she was chosen. If she were young, that was against the custom to choose young popes, as may appear by the great number of popes that lived in that dignity, above the number of emperors that succeeded often in their youth. But, if she were old when chosen, then how did she bear a child publicly in procession, as you hereticks affirm? Answer me this: for to this Sutcliffe saith nothing, in answer to Parsons, as he calls him: and no marvel; for nothing can with any colour be pretended, as B. C. assures himself, in his [587] 'Doleful Knell of Thomas Bell.'

Prot. I deny the ground of this your reason; to wit, that this Pope Joan was either young or old, when she was chosen. For [588] learned men divide the whole course of man's life, not into youth, and old age, as you do; but into *pueritiam, pubertatem, adolescentiam, juventutem, constantem, mediamve, & senectutem.* Now middle age is from thirty-five to forty-nine, whereof she might have been, and so neither old nor young: for Leo the Tenth was chosen pope at thirty-eight years of age; for he was not forty-six years of

[572] *Quisnam hujus pseudopontificis pater?* &c. Florim. cap. viii. num. 5.

[573] *Aliorum quidem pontificum parentes, ut Lini, Cleti, & omnium cæterorum in Annalibus leguntur.* Florim. cap. vii. num. 5. [574] Anastas. de Vit. Pont. in Vitâ Higini, Polon. in Chron. ad Ann. 154.

[575] Anastas. in Vitâ Dionysii, Polon. in Chron. ad Ann. 257.

[576] Joh. Stella de Vitis Pont. in Joh. XIX. ad Ann. 999.

[577] Onuph. Annot. in Plat. in Vitâ Urbani IV. [578] Paulus Langius in Chron. Citizen. ad An. 1316.

[579] Idem, ad Ann. 1303. [580] Papyrius Massonus de Urbis Episcopis, lib. vi. in Benedicto XII.

[581] *Patre ortus qui semper nauticam exercuit.* Papyr. Mass. lib. cit. in Sixto IV.

[582] Onuph. Addit. ad Plat. in Vitâ Adriani VI. [583] Cicarellus in Vitâ Sixti V.

[584] Papyr. Masson. de Urb. Episc. lib. vi. in Alex. V. [585] De Urbis Episc. lib. ii. in Marcello II.

[586] N. D. num. 35. pag. 402, 403. [587] Lib. ii. pag. 303.

[588] *De Galeni sententiâ universæ vitæ sex sunt omnino ætates.* Leonard. Fuchsius, Institut. Medicin. lib. i. cap. 5.

age when he died, and yet he sat as pope eight years, eight months, and twenty days. And Gregory the Eleventh *fuit, dum eligebatur in papam, forsitan circa 35 annos,* 'was 'about thirty-five years old,' as [589] Theodoricus de Niem, and [590] Massonus witness. Again, she might have been chosen young, for any custom you Papists have to the contrary. For Boniface the Ninth, as [591] some write, *erat annorum 34, dum eligebatur in papam,* 'was but thirty-four, when he was chosen pope:' and [592] Innocent the Third was but thirty. Yea, she might have been one of the youths of the parish: for, (not to speak of the boy-pope, I mean, Benedict the Ninth, [593] who was chosen pope about twelve years old,) John the Thirteenth, aliàs Twelfth, [594] *in juvenili & floridâ ætate creabatur pontifex,* 'was made pope when he was in his prime;' that is, about the eighteenth year of his age, as [595] Baronius gathereth by circumstances. But why might not she have been old, since we read, that old women have borne children? *Henricus Suevus imperator ex uxore quinquagenariâ genuit Fridericum II.* saith [596] Massonus: 'Henry the emperor begat Frederick the Second, of his wife, who was fifty years old.' *Machutus episcopus ortus est matre plusquam sexagenariâ,* saith [597] Petrus de Natalibus: 'Bishop Machutus's mother 'was above threescore years old when she bare him.' *Hîc in palatinatu ante annos aliquot vidi meis oculis, & vocatus interfui partui cujusdam fœminæ, ampliùs annos 56 natæ, quæ binos mares enixa est eodem partu;* saith [598] Franciscus Junius: 'A few years since, I was 'entreated to see a woman in this country, above fifty-six years old, who was delivered of 'two boys at a birth.' N. D. whose steps you follow, hath one good property; for he is always like himself; he is no changeling. He began with lyes, and goeth on with fooleries; yet, in giving the reason why it was not the custom to choose young popes, he shews himself most a fool. For the multitude of popes above the emperors, came not by reason of their age, but by other accidents. In the first three-hundred years, while the popes were generally good, they were cut off by martyrdom. For though it be not true (as [599] Onuphrius notes well) that all the popes, from Saint Peter's time to Sylvester, were martyrs; which yet is confidently avouched by [600] some papists: it is true, I grant, that the most of them were martyrs. Now in succeeding times, their numbers grew the greater by their poisoning, and evil entreating one of another. If you peruse diligently the stories of their lives, you shall find, that, of forty popes already dead, and gone to their own place, there was not one that sat a full year: you shall find, that, within the compass of nine years, or little above, [601] there were nine several popes: you shall find, [602] that one man, in thirteen years, poisoned six popes: you shall find, that God in his justice cut them off, for their wicked and abominable lives.

Liberius sat about some six years, saith [603] Cardinal Turrecremata, and then died an evil death: *Malâ morte precibus sanctorum extinctus est:* 'He died not for age, but with 'cursing.'

Anastasius the Second sat two years, but God struck him suddenly for his naughtiness, and he died: yea, he died, some say, as Arius the arch-heretick died. For, *sunt qui scribunt eum in latrinam effudisse intestina, dum necessitati naturæ obtemperat:* saith [604] Platina, and [605] Johannes Stella the Venetian.

Clemens the Second kept the popedom but nine months; not for that he was old when he was chosen, but because he was poisoned; as we [606] read in your own writers.

[589] Nem. Unionis Tract. vi. cap. 39. [590] De Urbis Episcop. lib. vi. in Greg. XI.
[591] Masson. de Urbis Episc. lib. cit. in Bonif. IX. Plat. in Bonif. IX.
[592] Masson. Lib. iii. de Urb. Episc. in Innocent. III.
[593] Glaber. Radulphus, Hist. lib. v. cap. ult. & Masson. lib. iv. in Bened. IX.
[594] Paulus Langius, in Chron. Citizense ad Ann. 1389. [595] Annal. tom. x. ad Ann. 955. num. 3.
[596] De Urbis Episc. lib. v. in Celestin. III. [597] In Catal. Sanct. lib. x. cap. 64.
[598] Annotat. Biblicis in Ruth i. edit. ult. [599] Annotat. in Plat. in Vitâ Higini.
[600] Bristow, in his Table of Popes. [601] See Fasciculus Temp. ad Ann. 904.
[602] *Teste Bennone Cardinale,* in Vitâ Hildebrand. [603] Summ. de Eccles. lib. iv. part. i. cap. 9.
[604] Plat. in Vitâ Anastasii II. [605] De Vit. Pont. ad Ann. 498.
[606] Genebrard. Chronol. lib. iv. ad Ann. 1046. Æneas Sylvius, in Decad. Blond. Epit. lib. iii.

Damasus the Second, [607] who had a hand in poisoning this Clemens, kept the papacy but twenty-three days; not for that he died of age, but by the just judgment of God, that he might be an example to others (as [608] Platina notes) who climb to that dignity by bribery, and unlawful means, to which they should ascend by virtue.

Benedict the Sixth reigned but a year and an half, and then died, either of strangling, or famine, in close prison; as we read in the same [609] Platina, yea in [610] Baronius.

Victor the Third kept the papacy but one year and four months, and died of poison; say [611] Platina, [612] Genebrard, [613] Charanza, and [614] Polonus.

Pius the Third died [615] within a month, not without suspicion of venom.

John the Thirteenth (*aliàs* the Twelfth), [616] while he was committing adultery, was slain: whether [617] thrust through by some, who took him in the act, or [618] stricken by the devil, historians agree not: but your [619] Cardinal takes that as more likely, which is more dreadful. For, because (saith he) the life of Pope John was detestable, and marvellous offensive to the Christian people, therefore Christ himself gave out the sentence of condemnation against him: for, while he was abusing a certain man's wife, the devil struck him suddenly into the temple of his head, and so he died without repentance.

Boniface the Seventh sat but seven months, and a few odd days, and then the beast died, saith [620] Krantius.

Marcellus the Second lived but twenty-two days in the popedom; not for that he was full of years when he died, for he was but fifty-five years old, but for that he was poisoned. And (which is strange) it is [621] observed, that he was poisoned, because some thought he would prove an honest pope.

That Sixtus Quintus, after the sixth year of his reign, was fetched away by the devil, by whose help he came to that place; Sir Francis Breton [622], a monk of the order of the Celestines, protested that a prior of Saint Bennet's order assured him at Rome: and, they [623] say, your Jesuits report as much under-hand in Italy. But, to end this point in a word, [624] your own men tell us in plain terms, that many popes were of short continuance, because God saw they proved monsters, and shamed the true religion; [625] God, in his justice, would not suffer them to live. And so this argument of years hath its answer.

Pap. Yea, but it is a most unlikely thing, that the whole Roman clergy would choose a pope without a beard, especially a stranger.

Prot. And why might not the Roman clergy, as well as the clergy of Constantinople, [626] whom you upbraid with such a fact, do such a deed; especially if all your clergy in those days, as some of you write, were shaven? For men by shaving may make themselves look like women, and women by often shaving may make themselves look like men. Certainly a [627] learned man among yourselves imputes the error of Joan tho

[607] Platina in Vitâ Clem. II.

[608] In Vitâ Damas. II. Supplement. Chron. lib. xii. ad Ann. 1042. Joh. Stella, de Vitâ Pont. ad Ann. 1040. in Damaso II. [609] In Vitâ Bened. VI. [610] Annal. tom. x. ad Ann. 974. num. 1.

[611] In Vitâ Victor. III. [612] Chron. lib. iv. ad Ann. 1087. [613] In Summ. Conc.

[614] In Chron. ad Ann. 1095. [615] Plat. in Vitâ Pii III. [616] Kran. Metrop. lib. v. cap. 1.

[617] Plat. in Vitâ Joh. XIII. Blond. Decad. ii. lib. 3.

[618] Luitprand. Ticinens. lib. vi. cap. 11. Sigebert. in Chron. ad Ann. 963. Trith. in Chron. Monast. Hirsaug.

[619] Turrecremat. Summ. de Eccles. lib. ii. cap. 103; & lib. iv. cap. ix. part. i.; and so doth Walthramus Episc. Naumburgens. Tract. de Investiturâ Episc. [620] Metrop. lib. v. cap. 1.

[621] *Obiit die* 22, *non sine veneni suspicione, quòd nimiùm rectus quibusdam videretur.* Geneb. Chron. lib. iv. ad Ann. 1555.

[622] In his Declaration made at Vendosme, Jan. 28. anno 1601.

[623] Relation of the Western Church, by Sir Ed. Sands.

[624] *Pontifices tanquam monstra quædam è medio brevì Deus sustulit.* Platina in Vitâ Christophori. *Paucorum labes sinceris maculam, & univers. eccles. infamiam ingerit. Et in meâ opinione ideò frequentiùs moriuntur pontifices, ne totam corrumpant ecclesiam.* Joh. Salisb. de Nugis Curialium, lib. vi. cap. 24. [625] N. D. num. 35. pag. 403.

[626] N. D. num. 28. pag. 396. Bell. Lib. iii. de Rom. Pont. cap. 24.

[627] Johan. Pierius Valerianus pro Sacerdotum Barbis, fol. 21. ad Cardinal. Medicen. Printed at Lond. in ædib. Tho. Berthelet. anno 1533.

woman's choice to this, that your clergy were then shaven. For, by the means of shaving, (saith he,) the people were so disguised, that men and women were scarce known asunder: and by this it happened that a woman was chosen pope of Rome, to the perpetual rebuke of that same holy order. The same reason is given also by [628] Chalcocondylas: and by it is another of your arguments answered, which by [629] N. D. is touched in these words; How did they not discern her to be a woman or an eunuch, seeing she had no beard in her old age? For, it being ordinary, that the clergy should be shaven, why should they dislike her the more for want of a beard?

Pap. Yea,[630] but was there none, that either by countenance, or voice, or other actions of her, could discern the fraud?

Prot. Look you to that. But this is sure; if your stories be true; that divers women have lived longer among men, in men's apparel unknown, than dame Joan lived in the popedom. For Marina,[631] they say, lived all her life among monks, and no-body knew but she was a monk: [632] Euphrosina lived thirty-six years amongst monks, and was reputed for a monk: so did [633] Eugenia, Pelagia, and Margareta, and no man suspected them of fraud.

Pap. Yea,[634] but how happened it her own lovers had not discovered her, or her incontinent life?

Prot. That her lovers did not discover her, it is no wonder: for partners in mischief are good in concealments. As for her incontinent life, that discovered her at length: God, according to his [635] promise, bringing forth the shadow of death to light; that is, making known her secret naughtiness.

Pap. Yea,[636] but how could she pass through priesthood, and other ecclesiastical orders; how by so many under-offices and degrees as they must, before they come to be popes, without descrying? [637] For, nine-hundred years from St. Peter, no man was chosen pope, that was not brought up in the Roman church, and passed through priesthood, and other ecclesiastical orders.

Prot. That is not so. For [638] Dionysius was made pope of a monk; and [639] Valentinus in the time of his deaconship, before he was priested: and so was [640] Benedict the Fifth too: and as for [641] Leo the Eighth, he was chosen, being but a layman: *Per Othonem I. homo laicus Leo intrusus est*, saith Baronius. Your own [642] Genebrard did note, that this note of Onuphrius was worth nothing; yea, that it was false, as many of his notes are.

Pap. Yea, but [643] Polonus and others say, that this Joan brought forth a child, as she went in procession. Now it is not credible, that a woman, who had gone so many months with child, would then especially go abroad, when there was most fear she might be discovered.

Prot. This is like the rest: for the time of child-birth is uncertain. For, though women go usually ten months, yet sometimes they come sooner; at nine or eight, yea at seven months; as [644] physicians have observed. Honester women than Pope Joan have fallen in travail upon the high-way, before ever they were aware, that they were so near their reckoning, as Theophylact observeth; for, *Novit mulier quòd pariet, quando verò, non novit*, (saith [645] he:) *nam non paucæ* 8° *mense pepererunt etiam in itinere, nihil præscientes:* that is, 'A woman knows she shall be delivered, but the time she knows not: for

[628] Lib. vi. de Rebus Turcicis. [629] N. D. num. 35. pag. 403.
[630] Onuph. Annot. in Plat. in Vitâ Joh. VIII. Florim. cap. 23. pag. 197.
[631] Ravis. Textor in Officinâ, tit. *Mulieres habitum virilem mentitæ.*
[632] Ibid. & Pet. de Natal. in Catal. Sanct. lib. iii. cap. 113.
[633] Vit. Patrum, lib. i. Pet. de Natal. lib. ii. cap. 3. Pet. de Natal. in Catal. Sanct. lib. ix. cap. 36 & 37.
[634] N. D. pag. 402. [635] Job xii. 22.
[636] Onuph. loco citato. N. D. pag. 402. [637] Onuph. ibid.
[638] Plat. in Vitâ Dionysii. [639] Idem in Vitâ Valentini. [640] Idem in Vitâ Bened. V.
[641] Geneb. Chron. lib. iv. ad Ann. 963. Annal. tom. x. ad Ann. 999. num. 2.
[642] Chronol. lib. iv. ad Ann. 398. [643] Bell. Lib. iii. de Rom. Pont. cap. 24.
[644] Levinus Lemnius de occultis Naturæ Miraculis, lib. iv. cap. 22 & 23. [645] Comment. in 1 Thess. v.

'divers have been delivered in their eighth month, as they have been in their journeys, 'never dreaming of any such thing.' What is your next exception?

Pap. They say,[646] she was buried without any solemnities in the world. And how is that credible, seeing it is a barbarous and savage part, to deprive them of the order of solemn burial, which have borne the greatest offices?

Prot. Is it so? Do we not read in Scripture, that God in his justice doth use to serve the greatest princes so, who dishonour him? Do we not read,[647] that 'Jehoiachim, king 'of Judah, was to be buried as an ass is buried;' &c. Yea, do we not read in some of your own stories, that some of your popes have had as small solemnities? *Bonifacius VII. post mortem Joh. XV. sedit menses* 4, *repentinâ morte interiit, & in tantum eum odio habuerunt sui, ut post mortem cæderent eum, & lanceis vulnerarent, atque per pedes traherent nudato corpore usque ad campum qui est ante caballum Constantini; ibi projecere eum atque dimiserunt;* saith[648] Baronius. 'Boniface the Seventh, who sat after John the Fifteenth, 'four months, died a sudden death, and he was so hateful to his own followers, that, after 'his death, they beat him, and ran him into the body with lances, and dragged him by 'the feet, all naked, till they came to the field which is near the place where Constantine's 'horse stands; there they threw him from them, and there they left him.'

Pap. Yea,[649] but it was never heard of before, nor never in use among Christians, to bury a man in the high-ways.

Prot. No? Is it not written, that[650] Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, was buried under an oak; and that[651] Rachel, Jacob's wife, a far honester woman than Pope Joan, was buried in the way to Ephrath; though, if it had not, yet Pope Joan was but right served to be buried so; for it was never heard of before, nor never in use among Christians, that a pope should be delivered of a child. The extraordinariness of the case deserved extraordinary exemplary usage. Your friend[652] Papyrius Massonus (much commended by your[653] Cardinal Baronius)[654] holds opinion, that if there had been any such pope, the Romans could have done no less, in equity, than to have hanged her up in chains after her death. Because[655] he finds not that she was shamefully enough hanged after her death, he denies the story.

Pap. Papyrius Massonus is a worthy man indeed: *Ut ventus fumum, evanescere totam in auras fabulam fecit.* He hath disproved this tale thoroughly in[656] Baronius's judgment. But yet I think with Florimondus, they should have allowed her Christian burial; they should have made her a tomb; they should have written epitaphs on her.

Prot. What? Epitaphs on such a whore? That had been a jest indeed. Yet perhaps some mad-cap did so: and how prove you the contrary?

Pap. If she had had a tomb made for her, and epitaphs on her, they would have been forth-coming. For as[657] Florimondus writes, *Sepulchrorum nunquam intermoritur memoria,* 'Tomb-stones continue for ever.'

Prot. Indeed I have read,[658] that by law it was provided, that no men should deface tomb-stones: and I have read also,[659] that to this day, hard by Troy, *Videre licet magna marmorea sepulchra operis antiqui ex uno lapide, instar cistæ, excavata, quorum operculæ adhuc integra sunt;* 'A man may see many marble sepulchres, wrought after the old 'fashion, cut hollow like a chest, out of stone, the covers whereof are still whole.' But I do not read, that men can shew which was Priamus's grave, which Hector's, &c. Yet, but for evil fingers, I could have told you where Pope Joan's tomb was: till Pius Quintus cast it into Tybur, it was to be seen in Rome.

Pap. They say further, that she died instantly. But, though the pains of women be

[646] Florim. cap. 23. num. 6. [647] Jer. xxii. 18, 19.
[648] Annal. tom. x. ad Ann. 985. è veteri Pontif. Vaticano codice. [649] Florim. cap. 23.
[650] Gen. xxxv. 8. [651] Ibid. ver. 19. [652] *Papyr. Masso. vir præstans ingenio & pietate.*
[653] Tom. x. Annal. ad Ann. 853. num. 62. [654] De Urb. Episc. lib. iii. in Bened. III.
[655] *Ultimo supplicio affecissent.* [656] Loco citato. [657] Loco citato.
[658] Polyd. Virg. de Invent. Rerum. lib. vi. cap. 10. [659] Bellon. lib. ii. Observat. cap. 6.

great at such times, yet it comes by throes; they have some intermission; their pain is not like to a sudden apoplexy, on which they die instantly.

Prot. Men do not die instantly who are taken with an apoplexy; they may live long after, and be cured thereof, as [660] physicians say: your Florimondus herein is out of his element. Neither did she die instantly, though it seems suddenly: for she was delivered of a boy before her death.

Pap. Was she delivered of the boy wherewithal she went; and what was then the cause of her death? Florimondus accounts this as one of the absurdities which follows on this tale: *Imò, ut aiunt,* (saith [661] he,) *masculum pepererat; quid igitur mortem repentinam attulit?* 'If a woman be once delivered of the fruit of her womb, there is no danger of 'death in his opinion.'

Prot. Commend me to him, if ever you see him: and ask the woodcock [662], if he have not known women die in child-bed, as well as in child-birth. [663] Rachel was delivered of her son Benjamin, and yet died shortly. [664] Phinehas's wife was delivered of her son Ichabod, and yet died presently after. And, if they died so, why not Pope Joan? I pray you, let me hear what exceptions some wiser men take against this story; for I am weary of Florimondus's fopperies.

Pap. How [665] is she said to have gone from the palace of St. Peter to St. John Lateran; whereas, the Pope lay not then in the Vatican, but at St. John Lateran itself?

Prot. How prove you that the Pope lay not then in the Vatican?

Pap. Platina [666] witnesseth, that the Pope lay not in the Vatican till Boniface the Ninth's days; to wit, till the year 1350.

Prot. Boniface the Ninth lived in the year 1390, not 1350; wherefore in that circumstance you fail: and so you do in fathering such a fancy upon Platina. For [667] Platina reports only, that the Vatican was repaired by Boniface the Ninth. He saith not, it was first inhabited by Boniface the Ninth: though, if he had, yet the Pope might well have gone to see the Lateran, for he had other houses to solace himself and his courtiers in, besides the Lateran. He dwelt not always in that; for [668] Gregory the Fourth made two goodly houses, even out of the ground, for the Pope's use; as your Anastasius testifieth. And Leo the Third (as we read in the same [669] Anastasius) made another goodly house, near to St. Peter's church, which stands in the Vatican, [670] wherein Leo the Fourth gave entertainment to Ludovick the emperor. But besides, the stories do not report she went from St. Peter's palace to the palace of the Lateran; but from St. Peter's church to the Lateran church: for she was delivered, as they went in procession. Now she might go from St. Peter's church to the Lateran church, and yet dwell in the palace of the Lateran: for Popes began not always their processions at the next church to them. Leo the Third appointed [671] to go in procession three several days before Ascension-day: and he began the first day at one of [672] St. Mary's churches, and ended at St. Saviour's church. The second day he began at St. Sabina the Martyr's church, and ended at St. Paul's. The third day he began at St. Cross's church in Jerusalem, and ended at St. Lawrence's without the walls: so that this question of yours is answered. Let me know if you have any more to say.

Pap. You shall; and, first, [673] I will prove it a fable out of their own mouths that report it.

Prot. That is a piece of cunning in good earnest. But how I pray you?

[660] Felix Platerus Archiater Basil. Pract. cap. 1. pag. 46. edit. Basil. 1608.
[661] Pag. 205. [662] [An antiquated term of contempt for a supposed deficiency of brains.]
[663] Gen. xxxv. 17, 18. [664] 1 Sam. iv. 20, 21.
[665] N. D. of 3. Convers. part. ii. cap. 5. num. 36. Florim. pag. 202. Bell. Lib. iii. de Rom. Pont. cap. 24.
[666] Florim. loco citato. [667] In Vitâ Bonif. IX. [668] De Vit. Pont. in Vitâ Greg. IV.
[669] In Vitâ Leon. [670] Idem, in Leone IV.
[671] Platina in Vitâ Leon. III. & Anastas. de Vit. Pont. in Leon. III.
[672] *Ecclesia Dei genetricis ad præsepe.* [673] Baron. Annal. tom. x. ad Ann. 853. num. 67.

Pap. Marry, even as [674] St. Mark, the Evangelist, proved the Jews liars, by the inconvenience of their testimonies.

Prot. What mean you by the inconvenience of their testimonies?

Pap. Their disagreeing one with another.

Prot. But so did not St. Mark. For those false witnesses, whose testimony (as he notes) was inconvenient, agreed well enough in their tale. [675] They only failed in this, that the matter which they witnessed against him was not capital, though it had been true. For to promise the re-edifying of a church, in three days, is neither felony nor treason: and in this respect St. Mark observes, that their testimony was inconvenient, meaning to condemn him to death. But what great disagreement have you observed among the relaters of this tale?

Pap. Infinite [676]. Insomuch that a man may well think God hath taken a-new the same course with these, which he took of old with them who occasioned him to say [677]: 'Come, let us confound their language, that one of them know not what another saith.'

Prot. That is much: I long to hear the particulars.

Pap. So you shall, by-and-by. But, first, I pray you, tell me by the way, why [678] Marianus, the first broacher of this tale, gave her such a new-fangled and new-devised name as Joan? Why took he that name which in former ages was proper to men only, and by changing a letter made it a woman's name? Florimondus cannot teach the reason of this.

Prot. Florimondus is a proper 'squire, and you are a wise man to demand such a question. Read the Scriptures, and you shall find, that the name of Joan is no new-devised name, nor proper to men only: for [679] they mention one Joan, the wife of Chuza. Or, if, for fear of proving an heretick, you dare not read the Scriptures, read [680] your legends and festivals, and in them you shall find that your sea-saint, Nicholas's mother, was called Joan. If some should hear you demand such a question, they would think the fool rid you. Wherefore, no more of this, if you respect your credit: fall to shew me the manifold disagreement which you promised.

Pap. I will. [681] And, first, observe with me the confusion that is among them, touching her name before her papacy. Some say, she was called Agnes, some Gilbert, some Isabel, some Margaret, some Tutta or Jutta, others Dorothy.

Prot. Who calls her (I pray you) either Dorothy, or Jutta, or Tutta? Who ever called her Margaret, or Isabel? Yea, who of the ancient sort of writers called her Gilbert, or Agnes? In some of later time I find some difference; one calling her Gilbert, and another Agnes. But of all those whom I brought in, to give in evidence against her, there is not past one or two, who either before or after her papacy, gives her any other name than Joan. And, for aught I know, there is no man, either old or young, who ever christened her Dorothy, or Jutta, or Isabel, or Margaret. Know you any that have done so?

Pap. No; for I find no authors cited for proof of this, neither by Florimondus, nor by Baronius. And I can say no more than I find in them. But what say you to the next difference? [682] Do not some of your witnesses feign her John the Seventh, some John the Eighth, some John the Ninth?

[674] Mark xiv. 59.

[675] *Testes quidam inter se rectè conveniebant, cùm eadem uterque verba, & eodem sensu recitaret—— Sed quamvis affirmarent Christum dixisse: Ego dissolvam, &c. non judicabant pontifices propterea Christum ad mortem condemnari.* Maldonat. in Matt. xxvi. 61.

[676] Baron. Annal. tom. x. ad Ann. 853. num. 67. [677] Gen. xi.

[678] *Marianus eam Johannem novo adinvento & innovato vocabulo appellavit. Quorsum verò nomen, quod antea solis masculis imponebatur, solâ literâ mutatâ, ad mulierem detorsit?* Florim. cap. 7. num. 1.

[679] Luke viii. 3. and xxiv. 10.

[680] Golden Legend and English Festival, in the Life of St. Nicholas; and Pet. de Natal. in Catal. Sanct. lib. i. cap. 33.

[681] *Audi quanta inter eos confusio in confictæ fœminæ nomine*, &c. Baron. Annal. tom. x. ad Ann. 853. num. 67; & Florim. cap. 4. num. 5. & cap. 7. num. 4.

[682] *Alii eam vocant Joh. VII. alii VIII. alii verò IX.* saith Baronius, loco citato. 'Some do feign him to be John the Seventh, some the Eighth, some the Ninth;' saith N. D. pag. 401.

Prot. Who feigns her to be John the Ninth? Not a man that I know. If you bring not some author for the proof of this point, you must give me leave to think you speak over.

Pap. Over or short; I follow in this Baronius, and N. D. For some (saith Baronius) call her John the Seventh, some John the Eighth, some John the Ninth. Some (saith N. D.) do feign her to be John the Eighth, some the Ninth.

Prot. Baronius and N. D. are as like to speak over as you, for they are papists; wherefore I neither believe them nor you, further than I see reason: and herein neither they nor you shew reason. For none of you cite so much as one author, good or bad, for it. Besides, your Florimondus confesseth, that [683] we are only troubled about this, whether we should call her John the Seventh, or John the Eighth; he chargeth us not with naming her John the Ninth.

Pap. Well, let that be your difference, that you know not whether to call her John the Seventh, or John the Eighth.

Prot. That difference is not so great. For the like may be shewed in other popes, which yet you yourself confess were popes: but who styles her either John the Seventh, or John the Eighth? Verily, neither Marianus Scotus, nor Sigebert, nor Gotefridus Viterbensis, nor Polonus, nor Platina, nor Palmerius, nor Trithemius's Fasciculus Temporum, nor Krantius, nor Alphonsus è Carthagena, nor Textor, call her either John the Seventh, or John the Eighth, but simply John or Joan. For it seems they were of [684] Onuphrius's mind in this, that *numeri notam habere non debuit sacri ordinis non capax;* that, 'seeing she was not capable of priesthood, she should not go for one in the number 'of Johns.'

Pap. Yes, by your leave, Platina styles her John the Eighth, and the next the Ninth; for which he is reproved by [685] Onuphrius, and that upon the reason which you mentioned. For these are Onuphrius's words: *Johannes VIII, non IX, est, ut à Platinâ describitur: Nam, etsi Johannes fœmina papa, quam profitetur, fuisset, non tamen numeri notam habere debuisset sacri ordinis non capax:* that is, 'John questionless is the Eighth, and not the 'Ninth; as Platina accounts him: for though John the woman, whom he talks of, had 'been pope, yet seeing she was not capable of priesthood, she should not go for one in 'the number of Johns.'

Prot. Platina styles her not John the Eighth. Onuphrius, or somebody else, hath abused both Platina and you: for proof whereof, I appeal to Platina, printed in the year 1481, which was the year wherein Platina died [686]; and to the next edition, anno 1485. For, speaking of John the woman, in those ancient editions, he sets no numeral note upon her head, but begins his story thus: *Johannes Anglicus, ex Moguntiaco oriundus,* &c. 'John English, born at Mentz.' Neither styles he the next the Ninth, but the Eighth: for, coming to that pope's life, *Johannes VIII. patriâ Romanus,* &c. saith he: 'John the 'Eighth, by his country a Roman,' &c. For further proof of which latter point, I appeal to the [687] later editions, whereunto Onuphrius's annotations are annexed: for, though we read thus in them, *Johannes Nonus, patriâ Romanus,* &c. 'John the Ninth, by 'his country a Roman,' &c.; yet, that that reading is false, and the ancient reading true, it appears by that which is written of the next pope's life; to wit, Martin the Second, even in those later editions: for [688] Platina, shewing how Martin lived in the time of Charles the Third, adds presently, *Quem ab Johanne VIII. coronam accepisse scripsimus:* that is, 'Who was crowned by John the Eighth, as we have written.' Now Charles the Third was crowned by John, next before Martin, according to [689] Platina: wherefore the next before Martin was John the Eighth, in Platina's account, and not John the Ninth, as Onuphrius, or somebody else would make us believe. Which over-

[683] *Hoc unum eorum animos torquet, utrùm Joh. VII. aut Joh. VIII. nomen sibi usurpârit.* Florim. cap. v. num. 5. [684] Annot. in Plat. in Vitâ Joh. IX. [685] Loco citato.
[686] *Platina moritur Romæ, anno* 1481. Trith. de Script. Ecclesiast. verbo *Bartholomæus.*
[687] Such as that of Cologne, anno 1574. [688] De Vitis Pont. in Vitâ Martini II.
[689] In Vitâ ejusdem Joannis.

sight, or fraud of Onuphrius, was not so great, but by this means, he is forced to alter Platina's numeral note, set to all the Johns that follow; to call him John the Tenth whom Platina calls John the Ninth; to call him the Eleventh, whom Platina calls the Tenth; to call him the Thirteenth, whom Platina calls the Twelfth; and so unto the last, Baldesar Cossa, who was in the number of Johns; according to the ancient editions, the Twenty-third, and not the Twenty-fourth; as he is numbered in the editions with Onuphrius's notes. But say on: what other disagreement have you observed among the reporters of this story?

Pap. Some [690] say, she began her papacy in the year 853; some, in the year 854; some, in the year 857; some, in 858; some, in 904; some, in 653; some, in 686.

Prot. Why name you not the authors that write this? For, to this day, I never read, or heard of any, who placed her either about the year 653, or 686, or 904; all the above-named historiographers mention her within the compass of five years. Till you bring forth your proof, there is great reason to suspect your truth.

Pap. Peradventure, you will suspect my truth, if I tell you, that some [691] say, she succeeded Leo the Fourth; some, Leo the Fifth; some, Benedict the Third; some, Martin the First; some, John the Fifth.

Prot. I shall indeed: for I read, in [692] Bellarmine, that *Omnes, qui istum Johannem admittunt, dicunt eum sedisse post Leonem IV. & ante Benedictum III.* 'All who acknowledge such a woman pope, place her after Leo the Fourth, and before Benedict the Third.'

Pap. Yea, but you have little reason to believe Bellarmine therein; for [693] Polonus writes, that she succeeded Leo the Fifth; and so doth [694] Sigebert too.

Prot. That Leo, whom Sigebert placeth next before Joan the woman, is numbered the fifth, it is some error in the print; for [695] he names but three popes of that name before that Leo: wherefore, when Sigebert is corrected, you have no colour of exception from him. No more have you from Polonus; for, though, according to his account, Leo, before this woman-pope, be Leo the Fifth, yet he is the same man, whom others call Leo the Fourth. Polonus reckons one Leo, as pope, in the year 698, whom others reckon not at all; which is the cause of the difference between him and others, in the account of Leos that follow; but, in the persons, all agree. What is the next disagreement?

Pap. Some [696] say, she sat pope one year, one month, and four days; some, two years, two months, and four days; some, two years and a half; some, but two years full. Very many [697] say, she sat one year, five months, and three days; and they are no small number who say, she sat but barely four months.

Prot. If this be true, Bellarmine was far wide; for [698] he writes, that *Omnes, qui istum Johannem admittunt, dicunt eum vixisse in pontificatu duobus annis & quinque mensibus.* 'All, that acknowledge that woman-pope, say, she sat as pope two years and five months.' He knew none (no more than I) that gave her so little time as four months. He knew no such difference herein, as you talk of; yet, among the later writers, I confess there is some difference of some few months: but Marianus and Polonus, which are two of the principal, agree upon the point; they write uniformly, that she sat two years, five months, and four days: and Platina is not far short of that sum, for by his reckoning, she sat two years, one month, and four days. But, suppose the differences in these cir-

[690] *Alii ponunt hoc anno* 853; *alii, anno sequente; alii,* 857; *octavo, alii; quidam* 904; *præter eos qui ponunt eum post Martinum I. anno* 653: *alii post Johannem V. anno* 686. Baron. loco citato, & Florim. c. vii. num. 4. [691] Florimondus, loco citato. [692] Lib. iii. de Rom. Pont. cap. 24.

[693] In Chron. ad Annum 855, collat. cum anno 847.

[694] In Chron. ad Annum 847, collat. cum anno 854.

[695] Sigebert names Leo I. *ad annum* 448, Leo II. *ad annum* 684, Leo III. *ad annum* 796; and the next is that Leo, who sat *ad annum* 847.

[696] *Alii eum sedisse tradunt anno uno, & mense uno, & diebus quatuor. Alii annis duobus, totidemque mensibus, & diebus quatuor. Alii duobus annis cum dimidio; duobus tantùm annis alii; alii verò quatuor tantùm menses.* Baron. loco citato. Florim. cap. 7. num. 4.

[697] This is in Florimondus, and not in Baronius. [698] Lib. iii. de Rom. Pont. cap. 24.

cumstances were great and many. What is that to discredit the substance of the story? We find great difference among them who have written of Pope Lucius: for [699] some say, he was a Roman; [700] some, a Tuscan; some say, he was the son of Lucinus; [701] some, of Porphyry; [702] some say, he was chosen pope in the year 253; [703] some, in the year 254; [704] some, in the year 255; [705] some, in the year 259; [706] some, in the year 275: [707] some say, he sat pope three years, three months, and three days; [708] some, three years and five months; [709] some, three years, seven months, and six days; [710] some, but one year, three months, and thirteen days; [711] some, but eight months, and no longer; and yet there is no man denies that Lucius was pope.

Again, do we not read, that Sergius the Third began his reign in the year 905, as [712] some say? As [713] others, in the year 907? As a [714] third sort, in the year 908? Do not [715] some also write, that he succeeded Benedict the Fourth? [716] Others, that he succeeded Formosus? [717] Others, Christopher? And is not there difference also about the time of his continuance in the popedom? While [718] some say, he sat seven years, three months, and sixteen days; [719] some, three years only; yet who ever denied, that there was such a pope?

We [720] read, that Formosus's carcase was taken up out of his grave by one of his successors, and brought into judgment before a council of bishops; and that it was spoiled of his papal robes, and clad with a layman's garment: that he was indicted, arraigned, and condemned. But, among them that report this, there is great disagreement; for [721] some say, it was taken up by Sergius the Third, of whom I spoke even now; some say, it was taken up by [722] Stephen the Sixth, whom some call Stephen the Seventh; [723] some say, it had two fingers cut off; [724] some, three; [725] some say, the head was chopped off; [726] some seem to deny that: [727] some say, the trunk of the body was cast into Tybur; [728] others say it was allowed layman's burial. I pray you now, dare you deny the truth of this story, by reason of these differences?

Pap. Why not? Doth not [729] Onuphrius upon that reason deny it, saying: *Quæ de Formosi cadavere ex sepulturâ à successoribus eruto dicuntur, proculdubiò fabulæ magis quàm vero similia sunt, quod illorum qui de eâ re scripserunt diversitate & repugnantiâ facilè liquet:* that is, 'The speeches which go touching the digging up of Formosus's body 'out of his grave, by some of his successors, are questionless fabulous, not true: which 'is apparent by the disagreements and disconveniences, which are to be found among 'them, that write of it.'

Prot. Now see you then the disagreement and disconveniences that are among you Papists. For, though [730] Baronius confess, [731] it was such a villainous prank, as was never played before; though he confess, [732] it may seem incredible, by reason of the barbarousness of

[699] Platina, de Vit. Pont. in Vitâ Lucii I. Onuph. in Chron. Rom. Pont. ad Annum 253.
[700] Anastasius in Vitâ Lucii. [701] Idem, ibid. [702] Plat. & Onuph. loco citato.
[703] Matth. Westm. Flores Hist. ad Annum 254.
[704] Marian. Scot. & Polon. in Chron. ad Annum 255. [705] Abbas Ursperg. ad Annum 259.
[706] Compilatio in Chron. ad Annum 257. [707] Polon. & Matth. Westm. locis citatis.
[708] Marian. Scotus, loco citato. [709] Albo Floriacensis, de Vitis Pont. in Lucio.
[710] Onuph. loco citato.
[711] Euseb. lib. vii. Hist. cap. 3; & Abbas Urspergensis, loco citato; & Hermannus contractus, circa Annum 260. [712] Matth. Westm. Flores Hist. ad Annum 905.
[713] Polon. in Chron. ad Annum 907. [714] Baron. Annal. tom. x. ad An. 907. num. 2.
[715] Herman. contract. circa An. 907. [716] Luitprandus, teste Baron. ad An. 908. num. 2.
[717] Baron. ibid. [718] Polon. ad Ann. 907. [719] Baron. tom. x Annal. ad Ann. 910. num. 1.
[720] Baron. Annal. tom. x. ad Annum 897. num. 2.
[721] Luitprand. lib. i. cap. 8; & Abbas Urspergensis, in Chron. ad Annum 897.
[722] Platina in Vitâ Steph. VI. [723] Wernerus Rolenink. in Fascic. Temp. ad Annum 904.
[724] Luitprandus, loco citato. [725] Abbas Urspergensis, loco citato. [726] Luitprandus & alii.
[727] Papyrius Massonus, lib. iii. de Urbis Episcopis, in Bonifacio VI. [728] Platina in Vitâ Steph. VI.
[729] Annot. in Plat. in Vitâ Formosi. [730] *Intentatum hactenùs scelus.*
[731] *Præ sui immanitate omnibus incredibile.* Annal. tom. x. ad An. 897. num. 3.
[732] *Erroris convincuntur qui ista de Formoso negant, & conficta putant.*

it; yet he grants it true, and avows that they err foully, who deny that such things befel Formosus; who hold the reports for fables. Notwithstanding the manifold differences in some circumstances, he durst not cast it off as Onuphrius doth. Neither could he indeed upon Onuphrius's reason. For [733] Bellarmine saith true in this, though he miss the truth often, that *sæpissimè accidit ut constet de re, & non constet de modo, vel aliâ circumstantiâ:* 'It oftentimes falls out, that men are sure such a thing is done, when yet, they are 'not sure of the manner how it was done, or of some other such like circumstance.' The difference among writers, about a circumstance, doth not weaken any man's argument touching the substance. If it do; to give one instance more, blot out, for shame, St. Ursula and her fellows' holiday [734] out of your kalendar; and all the prayers, which you make to them, in your primmers, portesses, and breviaries. For there was never greater disagreement among the relators of one story, than among the relators of that. Some [735] say, that Ursula was the king of Scotland's daughter; but [736] others say, she was the king of Cornwall's daughter. Some [737] say, her father was called Maurus; but others say, he was called [738] Dionethus, or [739] Dionotus, or [740] Dionocus, or [741] Deonotus; for so diversely do they christen him. And, which concerns the husband, to whom she should have been married, [742] some write, that he was king of England: [743] others, that he was king of Little Britain: and [744] one calls him Ætherius, another [745] Holofernes, a third [746] Conanus. Now in her company, as some say, there were only eleven-thousand ladies and gentlewomen, virgins; but, as [747] others say, there were sixty-thousand country-maidens over and above those eleven-thousand of better rank. Besides, [748] there were divers bishops and lords of the temporalty who accompanied them. Yea, Ciriacus the Pope of Rome, like a good fellow, left his papacy, and followed these pilgrims, say [749] some; though others deny it. For [750] some say, that they went in pilgrimage to Rome, though [751] others hold not that probable. [752] Some say they were martyred on the sea-coast: [753] some, before the gates of Cologne. And [754] some say, that all this fell out in the year 238: some in [755] Maximus's time: some, in [756] the year 453. Last of all, [757] some say, that, if any be buried in St. Ursula's church, though they be infants newly baptized, the ground will cast them up again: whereas [758] others say, that that is a tale of a tub.

Pap. I know not what to reply to this. But learneder Catholicks will answer you, I hope: and, in the mean time, I will go on. [759] By the reporters of this story she was carried first to Athens. Now there was no Athens standing at that time.

Prot. Yes, that there was. For [760] Paulus Æmilius writes, that Gotefridus was made duke of Athens, and prince of Achaia, about the year 1220. And [761] afterwards, that certain pirates, invading the country of Græcia, slew the Duke of Athens, who was of the house of Brennus, and took the city. In like manner, we read in [762] Matthew Paris, that Johannes de Basingstocke, archdeacon of [763] Legria, who died in the year 1252, studied at Athens, and that he learned of the learned Grecians many matters unknown to men of the West church; especially of one Constantia, the daughter of the Archbishop of

[733] Lib. ii. de Rom. Pont. cap. 5. [734] Octob. 21.
[735] Pet. de Natal. in Catal. Sanct. lib. ix. c. 87.
[736] Galfridus Monumetens. Hist. Brit. lib. v. cap. 15, 16. [737] Petrus de Natal. loc. cit.
[738] Herman. Flien. in Vitâ S. Ursulæ, Octob. 21. [739] Ponticus Virunius, Hist. Crit. lib. v.
[740] Baron. Annot. in Martyrol. Rom. Octob. 21. b.
[741] Incertus Author, apud Surium, tom. v. de Vitis Sanct. Octob. 2. [742] Pet. de Natal. loc. cit.
[743] Baron. loc. cit. [744] Elisabetha Abbatissa Schonaugien. in Princip. Revelationum.
[745] Frater T. in Revelat. scriptis An. 1185, ut refert Flien. loc. cit. [746] Flien. loc. cit.
[747] Ponticus Virunius & Galfridus, loc. cit. [748] Pet. de Natal. loc. cit.
[749] Vide supr. [750] Harigerus Abbas Lobiensis in Catalog. Episc. Tongerensium in Metropol.
[751] Flien. Annot. in Vitam Ursulæ. [752] Martyr. Rom. & Baron. Annot. in Martyr. Octob. 21.
[753] Flien. loco cit. [754] Author Chron. Colon. fol. 68. & Hanig. Abbas, loco cit. &c.
[755] Baron. in Martyr. Oct. 21. [756] Sigebert. in Chron. ad Ann. 853.
[757] Lindan. apud Baron. Annot. in Martyr. Oct. 21. [758] Flien. loc. citat. *Fabulam anilem esse didici.*
[759] Onuph. Annot. in Platin. in Vit. Joh. VIII. and Hard. Answer to Bp. Jewel's Apology.
[760] Lib. viii. [761] Lib. vi. [762] In Hen. III. ad Ann. 1252. p. 1112.
[763] *Johan. de Legriâ, vir in Trivio et Quadrivio experientissimus.*

Athens. Besides, [764] Æneas Sylvius (who lived since that) doth justify, that in his time, Athens was not quite razed, but carried the show of a pretty town. For, *Civitas Atheniensis* (quoth he) *quondam nobilissima fuit, &c. Eadem nostro tempore parvi oppidi speciem gerit :* 'The noble city of Athens, at this time, carries but the show of a little village.' Wherefore, neither doth this your exception prejudice the truth of this story. Your next had need be better.

Pap. By the reporters of this story she was not only carried to Athens, but to Athens, for learning. Now, it is a plain case, (as [765] Bellarmine writes,) that there were no schools at that time, neither in Athens, nor in any place of Græcia.

Prot. What? No schools in any place of Græcia, at that time? Notes Bellarmine that? and that as a plain case? And doth he prove it too?

Pap. Yea, [766] he proves it by divers writers. And first by [767] Synesius who lived a little after Basil and Nazianzen's time: for Synesius writes unto his brother, that Athens retained only the bare name of an university.

Prot. And doth that import (think you) that, in Synesius's opinion, there was no university at Athens? I, for my part, do rather think the contrary: I think Synesius meant thereby, that Athens was an university, though nothing so flourishing as formerly. Questionless, when [768] Bernard writ, that Peter Abailard had nothing of a monk, saving the name and the cowl, his meaning was not, that Peter was no monk, but rather, that he was a monk, though a sorry monk. And I am the rather persuaded, to understand Synesius's words so, because Athens, in St. Basil's time, about some forty years before Synesius, [769] was held the mother of learning; and, in regard thereof, termed 'Golden Athens' by [770] Gregory Nazianzen. For who can think, in so few years, learning should quite be quenched; and that so famous an university should, in so short time, be utterly decayed? But let us suppose, there was no university at Athens in Synesius's time. What is that to prove, that there was no university at Athens in Pope Joan's time, which was four-hundred years after? That university might get life again in so many years. And indeed it did so: for, a hundred years after Synesius's time, Boethius went to study at Athens, as [771] Baronius confesseth; noting further that the study of philosophy was revived there in those days. And, as we read in Hector Boetius, John Scotus, who lived about the year 850, *complures annos Athenis Græcis literis insudavit,* 'studied Greek at Athens many 'years.'

Pap. Why, but that there were no schools in any part of Græcia in Pope Joan's days, it is proved by [772] Bellarmine out of [773] Cedrenus and Zonaras. For they record, that in the sole reign of Michael the Emperor, which fell to be about the year 856, Bardus Cæsar restored learning: *Cùm usque ad illud tempus per annos plurimos ita fuissent extincta omnia studia sapientiæ in Græciâ, ut ne vestigium quidem ullum extaret.*

Prot. Bellarmine wrongs Cedrenus and Zonaras, in bringing them in, to witness such a point. For they say no more, but that learning was not regarded of a long time before Bardus Cæsar. They say not, it was quite extinct, [774] but almost extinct. Bardus Cæsar added life unto it [775] by setting up schools for every one of the liberal sciences, and appointing public professors, and giving them stipends out of the Exchequer, as Cedrenus and Zonaras write; but he raised it not up simply to life. For, if it had been stark dead, how could he, upon such a sudden, have gotten professors to furnish his schools? Again, do we not read in the same Zonaras, that at the same time, whereof Bellarmine speaks,

[764] Cosmog. de Europâ, cap. 11.

[765] *Constat eo tempore neque Athenis, neque usquam alibi in Græciâ, fuisse ulla gymnasia literarum.* Lib. iii. de Rom. Pontif. cap. 24. [766] Loco citato.

[767] *In Epist. ult. ad fratrem suum Synesius scribit Athenis nihil fuisse nisi nomen academiæ.*

[768] *Petrus Abailardus nihil habens de monacho præter nomen & habitum.* Bern. Epist. 193.

[769] Baron. Annal. tom. iii. ad An. 354. num 25, 26. [770] In Monodiâ in Basilii Magni Vitam.

[771] Annal. tom. vi. ad An. 510. num. 2. [772] Loco citato.

[773] In Vit. Michael. & Theod. Imperat.

[774] *Philosophia neglecta jacebat ac propè omninò extincta erat, ut ne scintilla quidem ejus appareret.*

[775] *Cuique disciplinæ scholas constituit, & doctores designavit, & singulis publica stipendia decrevit.*

there was a [776] matchless philosopher at Constantinople, and many skilful mathematicians, who were his scholars? And do we not read in [777] Cedrenus, that this philosopher was called Leo, and that he [778] was brought up in learning at Constantinople, though afterwards he learned rhetorick, philosophy, arithmetick, and the other liberal sciences, in the Isle of Antro? And doth not this argue, that Cedrenus and Zonaras do not report, that there was no learning in any place of Græcia? Thirdly, Is it not well known, that [779] about the year 680, there was kept a general council at Constantinople, whereat there were many bishops of Greece, and among the rest the [780] bishop of Athens? Is it not well known that there was kept another council at Nice, an hundred years after, *viz.*[781] about the year 780: at which, there were [782] more bishops of Greece, than at the former? Is it not well known, there was a third council holden at Constantinople, which did exceed in number either of the former two, about [783] the year 870? And, how is it credible so many councils consisting of many bishops should be kept in Greece, and yet Greece utterly without learning? Well fare N. D. in comparison of Bellarmine herein; for N. D. durst not, it seemeth, say, with Bellarmine, that about Pope Joan's time, there was no school in any place of Græcia. He was ashamed to run with his master to such excess of lying. He left him in this.

Pap. True. But that Athens, at that time, had no school in it at all, nor many years before, N. D. [784] is as confident, as his master Bellarmine; and that circumstance is that which galls you most; wherefore tell me, what more can you say to it.

Prot. Nay, first tell me how N. D. proves that: for I shall esteem of his position, as I find his proof to be.

Pap. His position is evident (he [785] saith) by Cedrenus and Zonaras, in the places already cited.

Prot. He lies falsely. Cedrenus and Zonaras make as much for Bellarmine's opinion, as for his; for they speak of the decay of learning through Greece generally, and not in Athens particularly: yet, as you have heard, they make nothing for Bellarmine. N. D. might as well have cast off Bellarmine's witnesses, as Bellarmine's opinion, for insufficient. Have you any more exceptions?

Pap. Yea: for [786] these tale-tellers report, that she came to Rome, and there professed learning openly, and had great doctors to her scholars. But this is a notorious untruth; for there was no learning openly professed at Rome, in those days, as the stories declare.

Prot. The stories [787] declare, that Ina, one of our Saxon kings, did build a school in Rome, a little before Pope Joan's days, *viz.* in the year 727; and that to this end, that the kings of England, and their children, the bishops, the priests, and the rest of the clergy, might repair thither, to be instructed in the Catholic faith, and afterwards return home; which school flourished in [788] King Offa's time, *viz.* 795, and continued, at least, till Alfred's time: for we read, that Marinus, the Pope, who sat in the year 883, freed it from all payments, at [789] Alfred's motion. Now is it likely, that such a school was built, and maintained for such a purpose, where no learning was publicly professed? Moreover, we read of many other schools kept in the same city, in Stephen the Sixth's time, which was about the year 885; for all the schools in Rome concurred in a joyful manner, bringing Stephen the Sixth to the palace of Lateran, (saith [790] one of your popish chroniclers,) and Stephen was sorry, with all his heart, he had not wherewith to gratify the schools.

[776] *In philosophicis rationibus incomparabilem*, &c. [777] Loco suprà citato.
[778] *Literis & poetis Leo (ut ipse ferebat) initiatus fuit Byzantii. Rhetoricam, philosophiam, arithmeticam, & reliquas scientias in Antro insulâ didicit.* [779] Bellar. lib. i. de Conc. cap. 5.
[780] Conc. Constantinop. 6. Act. 17. [781] Bellar. lib. de Conc. cap. 5.
[782] 350; teste Bellar. ibid. [783] Bellar. loco citato.
[784] Num. xxxii. pag. 46. [785] Ibid. [786] Onuph. & Harding. locis suprà citatis.
[787] Matth. Westm. Flores Hist. ad An. 727. [788] Idem, ad An. 794. [789] Idem, ad An. 883.
[790] *Omnes sanctæ Romæ ecclesiæ scholæ conjunctæ eundem (Stephan. VI.) ad Lateranense perduxerunt palatium——gravi mœrore affectus est, quia quod erogaret clero & scholis non haberet.* Anastas. in Vitâ Steph. VI.

And is it to be thought, that all these schools were masterless; that they had no professors, nor readers?

Pap. If there had been ever such a Joan Pope [791], which some had forborne to speak of, for reverence to that see; the difference which is found among historians, in numbering of such popes as were called by the name of John, should have risen at that time, and by reason of that occasion: but the difference among historians, about the number of John Popes, arose not from that time, and about that occasion; it arose in Pope John the Twelfth's time, about the year 955; *ergo*, there was never such a Joan Pope. Now answer me this argument, if you can, for this is held [792] a doughty one.

Prot. Is it so? Well, hearken then what I answer to it. I say, first, there is no reason, that historians should have differed in their account of Johns from her time; though some, for reverence of that see, forbore to speak of her; so they, who spoke of her, were not to set any numeral note upon her head, as [793] before I shewed you out of Onuphrius. They were not to reckon one John the more for her; neither, indeed, did any historian, before Platina, reckon her in the number of Johns, though they called her by the name of John.

Pap. Yes, Platina set a numeral note upon her head, and called her John the Seventh; and so did many since his time.

Prot. Many, since his time, have called her so, I grant; being moved thereto, as I suppose, by this, that they saw her so called in Platina. But Platina hath been corrupted by some of your generation, as [794] before I noted; for he neither called her John the Seventh, nor John the Eighth. But secondly, I say, your *minor* is false; for the difference, which is about the number of Johns, arose not from John the Twelfth, but from this woman, Joan; for, since Platina's time, some called her John the Seventh, some John the Eighth, and so disagreed in the total sum.

Pap. Nay [795], herein you are out: for that their disagreement began in John the Twelfth's days, Lambertus, who lived in those days, witnesseth, and your century writers do confess.

Prot. Doth Lambertus witness that? Fie, that you should say so; for he hath not one word sounding that way, no more have the century writers.

Pap. Yes but they have; for they [796] write, that whenas John the Twelfth was deposed by the Cardinals, and Leo the Eighth placed in his room, John the Twelfth got the popedom again, and kept it four months; which some historians not observing, made two popes of one.

Prot. The century writers do not write this. Your Florimondus and Bernartius (from whence you have this stuff) are shameless fellows to report this by them. They say, indeed, that there is great difference in writers about Pope John the Twelfth; meaning, by John the Twelfth, not him, into whose room Leo the Eighth was chosen, of whom you talk at random, but another John, who was son to Sergius, commonly called John the Eleventh; but that historians began to differ in their account, by reason of that difference, they say not. Yea, it is plain, they impute the difference, among the historians, to this, [797] that some called Joan, John the Seventh; some, John the Eighth; wherefore you must cast about for a new argument, for this will not serve your turn.

Pap. I have arguments good store; whereof the first shall be taken from the time wherein, they say, she sat as pope: and [798] I will deal especially with Marianus Scotus, the first reporter of this matter; for, if he be confounded, all the rest must rest confounded.

Prot. Well, fall to your work, and be as good as your word.

[791] Florim. cap. vii. pag. 62. Bernart. lib. ii. pag. 117.
[792] *Omnem hanc de Joannâ confictam fabulam hoc uno dicto damnârunt.* Florim. ibid.
[793] Page 73. [794] Page 74. [795] Florim. loco suprà citato.
[796] Cent. x. cap. 10. as Florim. and Bernart. say.
[797] *Joh. VII. ut Sabellicus vult, aut VIII. ut Platina, vocatus est.* Cent. ix. cap. 10.
[798] Baron. Annal. tom. x. ad An. 353. num. 64.

Pap. If[799] Leo the Fourth lived to the year 855, then Marianus Scotus lyed falsely, in reporting that this Joan was chosen pope in the year 853; for, by his confession, she succeeded Leo the Fourth; but Leo the Fourth lived to the year 855: *Ergo*, Marianus Scotus lyed falsely, in reporting that this Joan was chosen pope in the year 853.

Prot. What is that to the main chance, that Marianus Scotus mistook the year of her entering into the popedom? In histories, a year or two break no square. But how prove you, that Marianus reports, that this Pope Joan was chosen in the year 853?

Pap. By his own words[800]; for thus he writes: *Anno octingentesimo-quinquagesimo-tertio Leo papa obiit kalend. Augusti. Huic successit Joanna mulier annis duobus, mensibus quinque, diebus quatuor:* 'In the year 853, Leo, the pope, died on the kalends of August; 'and Joan, the woman, succeeded after him, for the space of two years, five months, and 'four days.'

Prot. These are not Marianus's words; for he sets not down the year precisely, but in numeral figures, by the side of the text. And[801] it is plain, by conference of years, that he meant to note out the 855th for her entrance, and not the 853d; for Benedict the Third, who succeeded her, entered not, by his account, till the year 857. Now, if she had entered 853, she had been pope four years, or thereabouts; for, between 853 and 857, there run four years; whereas, in plain words, he notes that she was pope but two years, five months, and four days. Secondly, it is plain, by Marianus Scotus, that Sergius the Second began his popedom in the year 844, and sat three years. It is plain, that Leo the Fourth, next successor to Sergius, began his in the year 847, and sat eight years. Now put these odd sums, four, three, and eight, to 840, and they will make 855. So that whosoever succeeded Leo the Fourth, must begin in the year 855, and that was Joan the woman; in Marianus's opinion.

Pap. Why, but right over-against these figures, 853, these words are set: *Leo papa obiit kal. Aug.* 'Leo, the pope, died on the kalends of August.' And doth not that argue, that, in Marianus's opinion, Leo died that year?

Prot. No, no more than the words following, '*Huic successit Joanna mulier*,' &c. which are set just over-against these figures 854, do argue that she began her popedom the next year after; or that Leo the Fourth began his popedom in the year 852, because, right over-against that number, his entrance upon Sergius's death is mentioned. Is not your next argument better?

Pap. The people of Rome, about that time, were evil affected towards the Pope[802]; and so was the greater part of all Italy: for that Charles had subdued them, and given them to the Pope. Now, if such an accident as this had fallen out, it might have given them just cause to have fallen from the Pope again. For they might have pretended, that they would not be subject to a womanish and a whorish government. But we read of no such thing. *Ergo.*

Prot. Charles rescued Italy out of the hands of the Lombards, with the great good liking both of the Romans, and the rest of Italy. But he never turned them over to live under the Pope's government. All his life he kept them in obedience to himself, and by will bequeathed the whole country to his youngest son Pipin; as[803] Baronius sheweth out of the French histories. *Ergo*, this argument is naught. Let me have a new one.

Pap. The Popes, about the time of this your supposed Pope Joan, did take up roundly both kings and emperors for their adulteries[804]. Which is a plain argument, there was no Pope Joan in that see, guilty of any such crime.

Prot. What kings and emperors were these, whom the Popes took up so roundly for their adulteries?

Pap. Ludovicus the Emperor was one. For Gregory the Fifth turned him into a monastery for his adultery with one Judith, that there he might a-part do penance for his sin.

[799] Baron. ibid. [800] Baron. ibid. [801] See Marianus's Chronicle, and the case will appear to be plain.
[802] Florim. cap. 14. num. 6. [803] Annal. tom. ix. ad Ann. 806. num. 19.
[804] Flor. cap. 27. num. 2.

Prot. Gregory the Fifth lived almost one-hundred-and-fifty years after Pope Joan [805]; and besides, there was no emperor called Ludovick in his time. Perhaps Florimondus would have said Gregory the Fourth, for he lived not long before Pope Joan's time; and in his days there was one Ludowick an emperor.

Pap. Indeed, it may be so; for the numeral figure might soon be mistaken. For Gregory the Fourth, a man may easily set down Gregory the Fifth: and what say you to it?

Prot. I say, Florimondus is a palterer: for Ludowick, who lived in Gregory the Fourth's time, was never noted for an adulterer, with any Judith, nor with any woman else. Judith, his wife, was suspected of that sin with others; and thereupon was veiled, and thrust into a monastery by some of the princes of the empire: and Ludowick himself, upon other pretences, was, for a time, deprived of the empire. But Gregory the Fourth had no hand, either in her veiling, or in his deprivation; as you may see by [806] Baronius. Besides, this fell out before Pope Joan's time; and, therefore, doth not hinder, but that there was such a Joan. Methinks you should be drawn dry, you talk so idly.

Pap. If [807] there had been such a Pope Joan, some historian would have written either good or bad of her. But we read nothing of her in any history.

Prot. Do we read nothing of her in any history? Whence have we this of her aspiring to the popedom, and of her lewd behaviour in the time of her popedom? Have I not proved it unto you out of the histories?

Pap. Yea, but my meaning is, that [808] we read nothing in any history of her reforming the church; of her determining of causes and questions, usually proposed by bishops to them that are popes; of any intercourse or affairs, that she had with king or emperor.

Prot. No more do we read in any historian, of any such act done by Anastasius the Third, who sat as pope two years and upward. Anastasius the Third, as [809] Platina witnesseth, did nothing worthy of remembrance. We read nothing of any great acts done by Leo the Seventh: he sat three years and six months; yet he did as [810] little as Anastasius, for any thing we read: he neither reformed the church, nor resolved any bishop his doubts, nor intermeddled with any princes.

Pap. Oh, but that age, wherein you feign this Joan lived, was an age wherein fell out great variety of matter, both in the East and in the West [811]. In it many princes and emperors of great worth reigned. In it many men of great learning lived; and therefore, if there had been any such monster then, we could not but have heard of it on all sides.

Prot. So we have, as before I proved. But what great variety of matter fell there out in that age more than ordinary?

Pap. [812] In that age, there was old holding and drawing between the Eastern and Western churches about images. Many councils were kept by both sides, and many evil words passed on all hands.

Prot. Go, go; I am ashamed of you, and of Florimondus your master. All stories testify, that the difference between the Eastern and Western churches, about images, began in the former ages; and that, though they continued some few years after the year 800, yet there was no talk of that matter for divers years before Pope Joan's days. Yet I am willing to hear you speak on. Wherefore tell me what sort of learned men that age brought out?

Pap. Great store; but it were too long to reckon them.

Prot. It may be so. Yet you must know that [813] they went for learned men in that age,

[805] *Greg. V. Ludovicum Imperatorem adulterii cum Judithâ quâdam perpetrati reum——cujusdam cœnobii claustris addixit.* Florim. ibid. [806] Annal. tom. ix. ad Ann. 833 & 834.
[807] Flor. cap. 25. num. 3. [808] Flor. ibid.
[809] *Ab Anastasio nil memoriâ dignum gestum est.* Plat. in Vitâ Anastasii III.
[810] *Leo VII. nil dignum memoriâ gessit.* Plat. in Vitâ Leonis VII.
[811] Flor. locò suprà citato. [812] Flor. ibid.
[813] *Qui sciret tantùm grammaticam isto seculo rudi, doctissimus habebatur.* Baronius, Annal. tom. ix. ad Ann. 802. num. 12.

who were but bare grammarians: and therefore, were they never so many, Pope Joan's acts might pass unwritten.

Pap. [814] Yea, but I would gladly know of you, what dukes, what princes, what kings, what emperors, this Joan inaugurated and crowned: what ambassadors she entertained, what honours she bestowed upon any persons.

Prot. Indeed, you pose me now; especially in that which concerns the inaugurating and crowning of dukes, and princes, and kings, and emperors: for I remember none inaugurated or crowned by her.

Pap. I thought so: and therefore you do well to confess it. I trust at length you will also confess that there was no Pope Joan.

Prot. Why, I pray you? Did every pope inaugurate and crown either dukes, or princes, or kings, or emperors?

Pap. Nay, I say not so. But in that age the emperors themselves had such a reverend opinion of the Roman Popes, that they would not take upon them to reign, except they gave them their consent, and crowned them.

Prot. How prove you that?

Pap. By this; that Adrian the First baptized the two sons of Charles the Great, and after that anointed them kings [815].

Prot. This proves not your purpose; for this fell out in the year 781, as [816] Baronius notes, and not in that age wherein Pope Joan lived. But do you think, that every pope in that age inaugurated some dukes, or princes, or kings, or emperors? I would gladly know of you, what duke, or prince, or king, or emperor, was inaugurated or crowned by Pope Eugenius the Second, who sat in the year 824; or by Pope Valentinus, who sat in the year 827; or by Pope Gregory the Fourth, who succeeded Valentinus; or by Pope Sergius the Second, who sat in the year 844; or by Pope Leo the Fourth, who sat in the year 847. I am sure never a one of these crowned any emperor: and I remember not, that any one of these anointed any duke or king, save Leo the Fourth, who anointed Alfred the youngest son of Ethelwulfus, king of England: which furthered him nothing to the attaining of the kingdom; for, till the death of his three elder brethren, (for all the pope's anointing him,) he lived like a subject, he lived not like a king. Wherefore, to put you in mind of the main point, though Pope Joan inaugurated, or crowned, no such persons as you speak of, yet you cannot conclude thereupon: *Ergo*, there was no Pope Joan.

Pap. But if she bestowed no honours upon any persons [817]; if she made no bishops; if she gave no bishopricks, it is more than probable there was never any such.

Prot. Oh, but we read, that '*contulit sacros ordines, promovit episcopos, ministravit sacramenta, cæteraque Romanorum pontificum exercuit munera:* 'She gave orders; she 'made bishops; she administered the sacraments, and she performed all other offices 'belonging unto the papacy.'

Pap. Where read you that? I warrant you, you had it out of Bale; of whom I wish you to see at your leisure, what [818] Florimondus's censure is.

Prot. John Bale, for aught I know, is a far honester man than Florimondus. And, to tell you truth, if Florimondus rail upon him, I shall have the better opinion of him. For as [819] Tertullian persuaded himself, that whosoever knew Nero, would easily believe Christianity were good, because it was disliked by Nero: so I persuade myself, that whosoever knows Florimondus, he will the rather be well persuaded of John Bale, because he is reviled by Florimondus. But yet I would have you know, I read not this in Bale only, but in [820] Cornelius Agrippa; a man much commended [821] by Leo X. and in a book of his [822] solemnly privileged by Charles V.

[814] Flor. cap. cit. num. 6. [815] Flor. ibid. [816] Annal. tom. ix. ad Ann. 781. num. 2.
[817] Florim. loco citato. [818] Florim. cap. 3. num. 1 & 2.
[819] *Qui scit illum, intelligere potest, non nisi grande aliquod bonum à Nerone damnatum.* Tertull. Apolog. cap. 5. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. 24. [820] De Vanitate Scientiarum, cap. 62. de Sectis Monasticis.
[821] Lib. i. Epistol. Epist. 38. *Te magnoperè commendamus*, &c. saith Leo the Tenth.
[822] *Lib. de Vanitate Scientiarum*, is mentioned in the Emperor's privilege.

Pap. Well, Sir, since these reasons prevail not with you, I will come a step or two nearer to you. And first, to prove your story a fabulous fiction, I argue thus: [823] If the report of Pope Joan be not a fiction, then Nicholas, the first pope of that name, who at the time of her election was a cardinal, gave her a voice, and so consented to her election. But it is not credible that Nicholas gave her a voice, and consented to her election, *ergo.*

Prot. First, I deny that Nicholas was a cardinal at the time of Pope Joan's election. For he was made [824] subdeacon by Sergius II. and [825] deacon by Leo IV: in which order he continued [826] till the death of Benedict III. who sat after Joan. Secondly, I deny we are bound to believe that he gave Pope Joan his voice, though we should grant he was a cardinal: for it was never required, that all the cardinals should give consent to any pope's election. But principally, I deny your minor proposition, *viz.* that it is not credible Nicholas gave her his voice, and consented to her election: and how can you prove it?

Pap. If [827] Nicholas had given her a voice, and consented to her election, then could he not honestly have reproved Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, for that he suffered himself of a mere layman to be made a patriarch. [828] Neither could he justly have reproved Michael the emperor, for that he gave his consent to Photius's ordination and election. But (no doubt) he reproved them both honestly and justly: *Ergo,* he never gave Pope Joan his voice, he never consented to her election.

Prot. Why might not he, without note of dishonesty, reprove Photius and the Emperor for their dealing, though he himself had a hand in Pope Joan's election?

Pap. Because he should have been guilty of the same fault, if not of a greater; for a woman, you know, is not capable of holy orders.

Prot. Oh, is that it? As though there were not a main difference between Nicholas's fact, to suppose he did it, and the fact of Photius and the Emperor. Photius and the Emperor did that wittingly and willingly, which Nicholas reproves in them. Nicholas chose a woman pope unwittingly. It was with Nicholas, in all likelikood, at the election of Pope Joan, as it was with the [829] two-hundred of Jerusalem who were called by Absalom to Hebron; of whom the Scriptures witness, that they went in their simplicity, knowing nothing. Now ignorance, invincible ignorance, such as this was, excuseth, though not from all fault, yet from so great fault. Wherefore you must come nearer me yet, if you mean to drive me from my opinion.

Pap. Have at you then, and that with a golden argument[830], such as can never be answered[831], and this is it: About [832] one hundred and seventy years after this devised election of Pope Joan; to wit, upon the year of Christ, 1020; the church and patriarch of Constantinople being in some contention with Rome, Pope Leo IX. wrote a long letter to Michael the patriarch of Constantinople, reprehending certain abuses of that church, and among others, that they were said to have promoted eunuchs to priesthood, and thereby also a greater inconvenience fallen out, which was, that a woman was crept to be patriarch. [833] Now, no doubt, Leo would never have durst to write thus, if the patriarch might have returned the matter back upon him again, and said: 'This was but a slanderous report, falsely raised against the church of Constantinople, but that a woman indeed had been promoted in the Roman church.'

Prot. Is this your golden and unanswerable argument? Truly, I am sorry for you, that

[823] *Si ea fabula vera fuisset, ut Romæ hoc tempore sederet fœmina, cui in electione ipse Nicolaus tunc cardinalis suffragium oportuerit contulisse, quâ fronte Photium redarguere potuisset (quod sæpissimè facit) eo nomine quòd cùm esset laicus, ordinari se episcopum passus esset,* &c. Baron. Annal. tom. x. ad Ann. 853. num. 70.

[824] Anastas. Biblioth. in Vitâ Nicolai I. [825] Ibid. [826] Ibid. [827] Baron. loco suprà citato.

[828] *Imperatorem ipsum acerrimâ reprehensione perstringit, quòd id agere præsumpsisset.* Baron. ibid.

[829] 2 Sam. xv. 11.

[830] *O locus Epist. opportunus et auro contra non carus, et quo facilè protelem omnia adversariorum tela!* &c. Bernart. lib. citato, pag. 109.

[831] *Ratio ineluctabilis,* saith Genebrard. Chron. lib. iv. *Maximi ponderis arg.* saith Flor. cap. 25 pag. 209. [832] Leo IX. Epist. ad Michaelem Episc. Constantinop. cap. 23.

[833] N. D. lib. citat. num. 29. pag. 398.

you have no more skill in an argument; for you presume in this, that Leo would never object that against Constantinople, whereof Rome itself might be convinced; and make that the ground of your conclusion. Now that is a slabby ground, as may appear by this; that it is ordinary with you Papists to object that against others, whereof yourselves stand most guilty. It is ordinary with you Papists to call your enemies whores first. Do not you complain with open mouths of us ministers, for want of continency; and yet is it not well known, that your priests and monks, like [834] fed horses, have neighed after their neighbours' wives; and your nuns have opened their feet (to use [835] the prophet's phrase, when he speaketh of such-like light skirts) to every one that passed by, and have multiplied their whoredoms?

Taceo de fornicationibus et adulteriis, à quibus qui alieni sunt, probro cæteris ac ludibrio esse solent, spadonesque aut sodomitæ appellantur; (saith [836] Nicholas Clemangis,) speaking of your priests: 'I say nought of your priests' fornications and adulteries, from which 'crimes, if any man be free, he is made a laughing-stock to the rest, and either called an 'eunuch or a sodomite.'

Laici usque adeò persuasum habent, nullos cælibes esse, ut in plerisque parochiis non alitèr velint presbyterum tolerare, nisi concubinam habeat; quo vel sic suis sit consultum uxoribus; quæ ne sic quidem usquequaque sunt extra periculum; saith [837] the same man: 'The 'lay-people are so conceited of the incontinence of all priests, that willingly they would 'not have a parish priest, unless he have a whore of his own, that so they might keep 'their own wives. And yet, for all that, they are scarce sure of their own by that course.'

Fornicantur complures monialium cum suis prælatis, ac monachis, et conversis, et in monasteriis plures parturiunt filios et filias, quos ab iisdem prælatis, monachis, et conversis fornicariè, seu ex incestuoso coitu conceperunt; saith [838] Theodoricus de Niem, secretary to Pope Urban VI; going on thus: *Et quod miserandum est, nonnullæ ex hujusmodi monialibus aliquos fœtus earum mortificant, et infantes in lucem editos trucidant,* &c. 'Many nuns com-'mit fornication with bishops, and monks, and convents, and are delivered of sons and 'daughters within their monasteries, which were got by those persons, fornicator-like, if 'not incestuously. And, which is most pitiful, very many of these nuns kill, with saberdi-'sauces, the fruit in their wombs; many kill them, after they be born.'

Quid (obsecro) aliud sunt hoc tempore puellarum monasteria, nisi quædam Veneris execranda porstibula, et lascivorum, et impudicorum juvenum ad libidines explendas receptacula? ut idem sit hodiè pucellam velare, quod et publicè ad scortandum exponere; saith [839] Clemangis above-named: 'What are nunneries, I pray you, now, save cursed stews, and places 'for meeting of wanton and shameless youths to satisfy their lusts in? So that now it is 'all one, to make a wench a nun, and to make her a whore.'

Johannes Cremensis[840], one of your Romish cardinals, held a council at London, in the year 1125, wherein he inveighed bitterly against such priests as kept concubines, *dicens summum scelus esse à latere meretricis ad corpus Christi conficiendum surgere;* saying, 'It 'was a damnable sin for a priest to arise from a whore, to go to say mass;' yet he himself loved a whore with all his heart. For as we read in our [841] English stories, *Ipse, cùm eâdem die corpus Christi confecisset, cum meretrice post vesperam interceptus est;* 'He himself 'was taken with a whore the same night after he had said mass.' And, as it seems, he was taken in the manner; for the historiographers note, *Res notissima negari non potuit;* 'The matter was so plain, it could not be denied.'

Again, do you not condemn us of ignorance, [842] reporting by us, that we are afraid to reason with common Catholicks; and that, when we do reason, the common sort of Ca-

[834] Jer. v. 8. [835] Ezech. xvi. 25.
[836] De Præsulibus Simoniacis; in Bibliothecâ Sanctorum Patrum; printed at Paris, 1576; page 655.
[837] Ibid. [838] Nemoris Unionis, tract. vi. cap. 34. [839] De corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu.
[840] Henricus Huntingdon. Hist. lib. vii. ad ann. Christi 1125. Roger. Hoveden. Annal. pars prior, in Hen. I. ann. 1126. Matth. Paris in Hen. I. ad ann. 1125. pag. 93. Matth. Westm. Flores Hist. ad ann. 1125.
[841] Huntingdon. Hoveden. Matth. Paris. locis citat. [842] Bristow, Motive 31.

tholicks are able to answer all our arguments, and to say also more for us, than we can say for ourselves; as though ye were the people only, and wisdom must die with you. And yet are not we able to prove out of your own mouths, that your priests and monks were generally like the [843] six-score thousand Ninivites, who had not so much wit, as to discern between their right-hand and the left?

Videas admitti ad sacerdotium cæterosque sacros ordines homines idiotas et illiteratos, vix morosè ac syllabatim absque ullo intellectu legere scientes, qui Latinum et Arabicum æqualitèr nórunt: saith [844] Clemangis, speaking of the ignorance of your clergy: 'Thou mayest 'see ignorant and unlettered persons advanced to priesthood, and the other holy orders; 'which cannot read without stuttering and stammering, who have as great skill in the Ara- 'bian tongue, as in the Latin.' And in [845] another place:

Quotusquisque hodiè est ad pontificale culmen evectus, qui sacras, vel perfunctoriè, literas legerit, audierit, didicerit; imò qui sacrum codicem nisi tegumento tenùs unquam attigerit? 'How many are now-a-days preferred to bishopricks, who not so much as cursorily, have 'either read, or heard, or learned the Holy Scriptures; yea, who have not so much as 'touched the Bible, except it were on the outside of the covering?'

Hoc seculo episcopatus et sacerdotia indoctissimis hominibus et à religione alienis deferri solent.——Hodiè episcopi nostri (paucis exceptis) sacrarum literarum scientiâ cæteris ex populo longè inferiores sunt; saith [846] Duaren: 'In this age, bishopricks and parsonages are be- 'stowed on most unlearned and irreligious men.——At this day, our bishops (except a 'few) are more unlearned than the common people.'

Pudeat Italiæ sacerdotes, quos ne semel quidem legisse constat novam legem; apud Thaboritas, vix mulierculam invenias, quæ de Novo et Veteri Testamento respondere nescit; saith [847] Æneas Sylvius: 'Fie upon the priests of Italy, who never read over the New Tes- 'tament: [848] a man can hardly find a woman among the Thaborites, who cannot answer 'roundly to any thing out of the Old and New Testament.'

Ecclesiarum regimina minùs dignis, Romæ videlicèt, committuntur, qui ad mulos magis quàm homines pascendos et regendos essent idonei: 'The government of the churches, even 'at Rome, is committed to unworthy persons, who are fitter to look to the keeping of 'mules than men.'

Thirdly, Do not you upbraid us with baseness and vileness: accounting no better of our most reverend bishops, than uncircumcised Philistines; which, as [849] you say, were taken out of the rascality of the whole realm? [850] Do not you give out, that a great part of our clergy resteth in butchers, cooks, catchpoles, coblers, dyers, and daubers; felons, carrying their mark in their hand, instead of a shaven crown; fishermen, gunners, harpers, inn-keepers, merchants, and mariners; net-makers, potters, apothecaries, and porters of Billingsgate; pinners, pedlars, ruffling ruffians, sadlers, shearmen, and shepherds; tanners, tilers, tinkers, trumpeters, weavers, wherrymen, &c.? Do not [851] you report, that so many bankrupts, and infamous and villainous wretches, are admitted to it; that none, almost, except he be driven thereto by beggary, will enter into it? As though ye only were the sons of nobles, and we the children of fools, and the children of villains, which were more vile than the earth. And yet are we not able to prove against you, that you have made Levites, even bishops, and priests, of the blind and the lame, of the flat-nosed, broken-footed, and broken-handed, of the crook-backed, and blear-eyed, of the scurvy and scabbed, of the lowest of the people, tag and rag?

[843] Jonas iv. 11. [844] De Præsulibus Simoniacis, in Biblioth. Sanct. Patr. edit. Paris. 1576.
[845] De corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu. [846] De sac. Eccles. Minist. & Benefic. lib. i. cap. 11.
[847] Comment. de Dict. & Fact. Alfonsi Regis, lib. ii. Apophtheg. 17.
[848] Gravamen VII. Nationis Germanicæ, quod habetur in Fasciculo Rerum expetendarum; impress. Colon. 1535, fol. 167. b. [849] Allen's Answer to the Book of English Justice, chap. 3, page 44.
[850] Staplet. in the fourth Book of the Counterblast, fol. 481; and S. R. in his Answer to Bell's Downfall of Popery, chap. 8. art. 7. num. 4. page 361.
[851] Philopater ad Edictum Reginæ Angliæ, num. 192. sect. 3. pag. 180; *aliàs Stapl.* for he is the Author, *teste Possevino* in Apparat. Sac. tom. i. verbo *Angli.*

Si quis desidiosus est, si quis à labore abhorrens, si quis in ocio luxuriari volens; ad sacerdotium convolat: quo adepto, statim se cæteris sacerdotibus voluptatum sectatoribus adjungit, qui magìs secundùm Epicurum, quàm secundùm Christum viventes, et cauponulas seduli frequentantes, potando, commessando, pransitando, convivando, cum tesseris et pilo ludendo, tempora tota consumunt: crapulati verò et inebriati pugnant, clamant, tumultuantur, nomen Dei et sanctorum suorum pollutissimis labiis execrantur; sicque tandem compositum, ex meretricum suarum complexibus ad divinum altare veniunt; saith [852] Clemangis, speaking of your worthies: 'If there be any lazy fellow, any that cannot away with work, any 'that would wallow in pleasures, he is hasty to be priested: and, when he is made one, 'and hath gotten a benefice, he consorts with his neighbour priests, who are altogether 'given to pleasures: and then both he, and they, live, not like Christians, but like Epi-'cures; drinking, eating, feasting, and revelling, till the cow come home, as the saying 'is; playing at tables, and at stool-ball; and when they are well crammed and tippled, 'then they fall by the ears together, whooping, and yelling, and swearing damnably, by 'God and all the saints in heaven: and, after all matters be somewhat pacified, then, 'arising out of their whores' laps, they go to the mass.'

Asciscuntur nunc (saith [853] Platina) *non modò servi et vulgo concepti, ac nati, verùm etiam flagitiosi omnes ex flagitioso quoque geniti:* 'Now-a-days not only servants, and they which 'are begotten and born under hedges, are admitted to be of the clergy, but every vile fel-'low, and every vile fellow's brat.'

Ex aulicis perditissimis, et quod omni ætate fuit post Christianorum memoriam inauditum, ex militibus deploratissimis, iisque sanguinariis——Dei loco ad ecclesiæ collocantur, imò repentè intruduntur, gubernacula; saith [854] Lindan. *Quid quòd puerulis et adolescentulis creduntur hæc tractanda?* 'Wretched courtiers, forlorn and bloody soldiers, a thing never heard of 'before among Christians, are all upon a sudden thrust in upon the church to manage it 'in God's stead, yea boys and youngsters are made bishops and prelates in the church.'

Bibones, scortatores, aleatores, et qui hæc vitia, vultu, cultu, incessu, totoque habitu præ se ferunt; passim (ad sacerdotium) admittunt.' Erasm. Schol. in Epistolam Hieron. de Veste Sacerdotali ad Fabiolam.

Doth not [855] Bellarmine charge us with that fault, whereof you yourselves stand condemned; to wit, with making a woman a pope, from which all the world, save foul-mouthed Papists, will questionless acquit us? Doth not [856] Parsons avow railing, and foul scurrility, to be proper unto us, and to our ancestors only; as though he and his were answerable to Moses in mildness, and of so temperate carriage, that butter would not melt in their mouths, when yet the contrary appeareth by their own books?

The general consent of all, that ever have thoroughly conversed with Parsons, is this, (saith Watson [857] the *quodlibetting* [858] priest,) that he is of a furious, passionate, hot, choleric, exorbitant working humour, busy-headed, and full of ambition, envy, pride, rancour, malice, and revenge: whereunto may be added, that he is a most diabolical, unnatural, and barbarous, butchery fellow, unworthy the name (nay cursed be the hour, wherein he had the name) of priest, nay of a religious person, nay of a temporal layman Jesuit, nay of a Catholick, nay of a Christian, nay of a creature, but of a beast, or a devil; a violator of all laws, a contemner of all authority, a stain of humanity, an imposthume of all corruption, a corrupter of all honesty, and a monopoly of all mischief:—and is not this railing? Now, if this be thus; to return to the main point, Why may we not think the church of Rome to be faulty in electing Pope Joan, though Leo reproved the church of Constantinople with the same?

Pap. Yea, [859] but how could Leo have answered the patriarch of Constantinople, if

[852] De corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu. [853] In Vitâ Sozimi. [854] Panopliæ, lib. iv. cap. 77. p. 405.
[855] *Jam reipsa Calvinistis in Angliâ; mulier est summus pontifex.* De Notis Ecclesiæ, lib. iv. cap. 11.
[856] In the Defence of the Censure, pag. 13. [857] Quodlibet of Religion and State, page 236.
[858] [So termed, from his polemic tract, intitled 'A Decachordon of Ten Quodlibetical Questions, concerning Religion and the State,' &c. 1600.] [859] N. D. loco suprà citato.

the patriarch might have replied truly upon him, that Rome was guilty of such an oversight?

Prot. Leo might have answered the patriarch's reply, as Ahab, who charged Elias with troubling of Israel, answered Elias, (when [860] he replied: 'I have not troubled Israel, but 'thou and thy father's house;') to wit, with silence. For otherwise I know not how he could have answered him honestly. No more than I know how other of your popes can answer other replies (in other cases) which may be made upon them. [861] Agatho, one of your popes, avoucheth, that the Roman church never swerved from the tradition of the apostles; that she never gave ear to novelties; that the Pope's predecessors had ever boldly strengthened their brethren, according to Christ's commandment unto Peter. For proof thereof, he appeals to all the world. In like manner, Nicholas, another of your popes, speaking of his fellow popes [862], braves it out, that never one of them was so much as suspected to have held an error. Now if a man should have replied upon them, (as any man might have replied truly,) that Victor was suspected to have held, that Christ was a pure man, and not God, which is witnessed by [863] Eusebius: that Zepherinus was suspected of Montanism, which is testified by [864] Tertullian: that Marcellinus sacrificed to idols, which is witnessed by [865] Damasus, and acknowledged by [866] Bellarmine, though denied in some sort [867] by Baronius: that Liberius subscribed to the Arian heresy, which is reported by [868] Damasus, by [869] Athanasius, by [870] Jerom, and by [871] Sozomen: that Felix, as [872] some say, was an Arian; or at least, as [873] others say, communicated with the Arians: that Honorius the First was a Monothelite, and for that condemned by name in the [874] sixth and [875] seventh general councils: How could Agatha and Nicholas have answered this reply, think you?

We read that Tarasius, the patriarch of Constantinople, charged your Pope Adrian the First, with the crime of simony? And do you therefore think that he himself was free from simony? Or, rather, do you not know that he himself was grievously suspected of simony?

Pap. Yes, I [876] know, that though Tarasius was an holy man in his life, and approved so to be by miracles wrought after his death, [877] yet he was very greatly suspected of simony. Wherefore, I rather think, that you never read he charged Pope Adrian with that fault.

Prot. The epistle which Tarasius wrote to Adrian, wherein he reproved him for that, is extant in print; so that you yourself may read it also, if you will.

Pap. I remember, Baronius [878] talks of such an epistle. But he suspects that Balsamon, who first published it, did counterfeit it, to discredit the Roman See: and, indeed, Balsamon loved not Rome.

Prot. Gentian Hervet [879], who translated the epistle into Latin, was nothing suspicious of it: no more was Bignæus [880], who put it into his library of Holy Fathers: nor Possevine, who mentions it in his *Apparatus Sacer*. I see it goeth hard with you, when you are driven to plead, that the evidence I bring is forged. I thought that shift had been proper to us Protestants, for [881] you often upbraid us with it; but now I see it is common to us with you. But why is Baronius suspicious of it?

[860] 1 Kings xviii. 17, 18.
[861] In Epistolâ 1. ad Imperatorem.
[862] Nichol. I. Epist. ad Michaelem.
[863] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. v. cap. 28.
[864] Tertul. Lib. contra Praxeam.
[865] In Pontifical. in Vitâ Marcel.
[866] Lib. iv. de Rom. Pont. cap. 8.
[867] Annal. tom. ii. ad Ann. 302. num. 101, 102.
[868] Lib. citato, in Vitâ Liberii.
[869] In Epist. ad solitariam Vitam agentes.
[870] De Script. Ecclesiast. verb. *Fortunatianus*.
[871] Hist. lib. iv. cap. 15.
[872] Hieron. de Script. Ecclesiast. verbo *Acacius*.
[873] Sozomen. lib. iv. cap. 10.
[874] Act. 16, 17, 18.
[875] Act. 7. in Definit. Synodi.
[876] See Baronius Annal. tom. ix. ad Ann. 806. num. 1 & 2.
[877] Baron. Annal. tom. ix. ad Ann. 787. num. 58 & 59.
[878] Loco proximè citato. *Certè quidem qui eam primus edidit Theod. Balsamo in suspicionem addicitur imposturæ.*
[879] Possevin. in Apparat. Sac. verbo *Tarasius*.
[880] Nor Papyrus Masson. de Urbis Episcop. lib. iii. in Adriano, fol. 131. b.
[881] Rhem. Annot. in Act. Apost. xvii. 34.

Pap. Because it was first set out by Balsamon, who loved not Rome.

Prot. Baronius saith, therein, untruly. For proof whereof, I will use no other witness but himself; his own mouth shall condemn him. For [882] he himself confesseth, that *Tarasii epistola ad Adrianum pontificem de Simoniacâ hæresi profligandâ, ab Anastasio ad finem septimæ synodi posita legitur, necnon apud Theodorum Balsamonem in appendice ad Nomocanonem Photii:* that is, that 'Tharasius's Epistle unto Adrian the Pope, treating 'of the rooting up of the sin of simony, is to be read in the end of the seventh General 'Council, where it was put by Anastasius: and, withal, in Theodorus Balsamon, in his 'appendix unto Photius's Nomocanon.' For, if Anastasius placed it at the end of the seventh General Council, then was not Balsamon the first that published it: for Anastasius lived about three-hundred years before Balsamon. For Anastasius lived about the year 860, and Balsamon lived about the year 1180.

Pap. You speak probably. [883] But methinks, though men at that time had been so far bewitched and distracted of their five wits, as they could not have known a man from a woman; yet God himself, who appointed and ordained the seat of Peter, whereof he would the whole church to be directed, should never have departed so far from his merciful providence, as to suffer the same to be polluted by a woman, which is not of capacity for holy orders.

Prot. And why, I pray you, might not God as well suffer that church to be polluted by a woman, as by so many monstrous men, of whom your own historians write very shamefully? Why might she not sit there, as well as Sabinian, that base and miserable companion, *qui formidabili morte, et culpabili vitâ, notatus est:* 'Who is taxed by your 'writers [884], for his vile life and fearful death?' Why might not she sit there as well as Stephen the Sixth [885], who (as [886] I told you before) took up the carcass of Formosus, his predecessor, out of the grave, brought into judgment before a council of bishops, spoiled it of his papal robes, clad it with a layman's garment, indicted it, arraigned it, condemned it, cut off three fingers of it, and cast it into the stream of Tyber; depriving all them of their orders whom he had ordained, re-ordaining them again? Why might not she sit there as well as Boniface the Seventh [887], who robbed Saint Peter's church, and fled for a time to Constantinople; who, afterwards, by simony and murdering two popes, made himself pope; who, in mischief, outstripped the most notorious robbers and slayers by the high-ways, that ever were; which, in cruelty, went before bloody Sylla and Catiline, and such as sought the ruin of their country, (as your own Baronius [888] confesseth,) and who, at length, died like a beast? Why might she not sit there, as well as Sylvester the Second, that famous conjurer, who gave himself, both body and soul, to the devil; that he might get the popedom, and died thereafter? Why might not she sit there?

Pap. Nay, stay a little. They say it is a sin to belye the devil. Now, [889] I persuade myself, that you belye Pope Sylvester: for I read [890], that he was reputed a notable man, both for his life and learning.

Prot. How notable he was, let Platina speak, who writes [891], that *ambitione et diabolicâ dominandi cupiditate impulsus, largitione primò quidem archiepiscopatum Rhemensem, indè Ravennatem adeptus, pontificatum postremò majore conatu, adjuvante diabolo, consecutus est; hâc tamen lege, ut post mortem totus illius esset, cujus fraudibus tantam dignitatem adeptus erat:* that is, 'Sylvester the Second, being devilishly ambitious, got first, by bribery, the

[882] Annal. tom. ix. ad Ann. 787. num. 49.

[883] Onuph. Annot. in Platinam, in Vitâ Joh. VIII. Harding, in his Answer to Juel's Apology.

[884] Fascicul. Temporum, ad Ann. 614.

[885] Some say it was Sergius. The reason of which diversity, see in Dr. Reynold's Conf. ch. 7. divis. 1. p. 282, edit. 1584, in marg.

[886] Vid. suprà. [887] Platina in Vitâ Bonifacii VII.

[888] *Bonifacius VII. annumerandus inter famosos latrones et potentissimos grassatores atque patriæ proditores, Syllas et Catilinas horumque similes, quos omnes superavit sacrilegus iste turpissimâ nece duorum pontificum.* Annal. tom. x. ad Ann. 985. num. 1. [889] Florim. cap. 24.

[890] Jodocus Coccius in Catechism. Cathol. lib. vii. art. 15.

[891] Platina de Vitis Pont. in Sylvest. II.

'archbishoprick of Rheims, then of Ravenna, and after that, by the devil's help, the 'bishoprick of Rome; yet, upon this condition, that, when he died, he should be wholly 'his; by whose means, he attained to such dignity.' Have you not cause to believe, that this fellow was notable for life and learning? But, perhaps, Platina is singular in this. No, Sigebert[892] confesseth, that Sylvester was thought to have got the popedom[893] ill-favouredly; and that he was suspected[894] of necromancy; and, that some said, the devil brought him to his end. The same, in effect, is reported by[895] Benno Cardinalis, by[896] Martinus Polonus, by[897] Johannes Stella a Venetian, by[898] Philippus Bergomensis, by[899] Ranulphus Cestrensis, by[900] Matthæus Westmonasteriensis, by[901] Fasciculus Temporum, by[902] Charanza, and by[903] Æneas Sylvius: for, *non nos fugit Sylvestrum secundum diabolicâ fraude Romanum pontificatum ascendisse;* saith Æneas: 'We are not ignorant that Sylvester 'the Second got the papacy by devilish subtlety.'

Pap. Tut, all this is to no purpose: Pope Sylvester[904] was learned in the mathematicks; and such was the ignorance of that age, that thereupon they held him for a conjurer.

Prot. Indeed, William of Malmsbury[905] having related the same story in substance, with the above-named writers, supposeth that some might reply so, saying, *Sed hæc vulgata, ficta crederet aliquis.* 'But some men, peradventure, will say, this is but a made 'tale;' *eo quòd solet populus literatorum famam lædere, dicens illum loqui cum dæmone, quem in aliquo viderint excellentem opere:* 'because the common people are wont to say, 'that scholars, who are singular in any thing, do use a familiar:' yet, he concludes, that he believes it for true. For, *mihi verò fidem facit de istius sacrilegio inaudita mortis excogitatio;* saith he[906]: 'I am verily persuaded, Sylvester was such a villain, because of the 'strangeness of his death.' For, *cur se moriens excarnificaret ipse sui corporis horrendus lanista, nisi novi sceleris conscius esset?*' 'For why should the butcherly fellow have torn 'his own flesh, as he did, but that he was guilty of some strange sin?' Do not you think there is reason in this question? Doubtless, your Onuphrius was afraid to answer it. And, therefore, in his notes upon Platina, (where he labours to clear Sylvester of the imputation of a conjurer,)[907] he takes day with his reader, to clear him from so fearful a death.

Pap. Yea, but[908] Sylvester II. is commended by Sergius IV. a very holy pope, who lived within five years after him; wherefore it is not credible[909] that he died such a shameful death.

Prot. Say you so? Doth not Baronius[910] confess, that though Stephen VI. was a wicked fellow; and that as he entered into the popedom like a thief and a murderer; so he died like a thief: yet Sergius III.[911] who succeeded within eight years after him, commended him; yea John IX. his next successor, who in that age was a singular honest pope, commended him, as a man of blessed memory. Upon which later confession, he makes this observation: *Hîc considera, lector, quantâ solerent successores pontifices quantulumcunque reprehensibiles prædecessores reverentiâ persequi, ut Johannes Stephanum suum prædecessorem tum sedis invasione, tum etiam sessione, in omnibus planè execrandis facinoribus detestabilem, piæ tamen recordationis Stephanum appellet.* The effect of which Latin is, 'That 'it is worthy the observation, that the live popes spoke reverently of the dead popes, were

[892] In Chron. ad Ann. 988. [893] *Non per ostium intrâsse creditur.*
[894] *A quibusdam negromantiæ arguîtur.* [895] De Vit. et Gest. Hildebrandi.
[896] In Chron. ad Ann. 1007. [897] De Vit. Pont. in Silvest. II. ad Ann. 995.
[898] Supplem. Chron. ad Ann. 997. [899] In Polychron. lib. vi. cap. 14.
[900] Flores Hist. ann. 998. [901] Ad Ann. 1004. [902] In Summa Conc.
[903] Comment. de Gest. Conc. Basil. lib. i.
[904] Bell. lib. iv. de Rom. Pont. cap. 14. Onuph. Ann. in Plat. in Vit. Sylvest. II.
[905] Lib. ii. de Gestis Regum Angl. cap. 10. fol. 36. [906] Loco citato.
[907] *De morte ejus sive diaboli percussione famam alibi commodiùs convellam.* Onuph. loco suprà citato.
[908] Bell. lib. iv. de Rom. Pont. cap. 12. Baron. Annal. tom. x. ad Ann. 999. num. 7.
[909] *Facinorosus homo, quique ut fur et latro ingressus est in ovile ovium, laqueo vitam adeò infami exitu, vindice Deo, clausit.* Tom. x. Annal. ad Ann. 900. num. 5. [910] Baronius, ibid.
[911] Ad Ann. 904. num. 4.

'they never so naughty.' Wherefore, to go on; why might not Pope Joan sit there as well as Benedict IX. that[912] ugly monster (as Platina[913] calls him), who[914] got the room, when he was but twelve years old; who[915], when he was cast out for his unworthiness, got it again by a strong hand within a few days after; and, for fear that he could not keep it long, sold it to another for money; who after his death[916] appeared partly like an ass, and partly like a bear, confessing that he carried such a shape, because he lived like a beast in his lifetime? Why might not she sit well in St. Peter's chair, as Boniface VIII. who (when[917] he should upon an Ash-Wednesday, as the popish manner is, have laid ashes upon an archbishop's head, and religiously told him, that he was but ashes, and should return to ashes,) cast them in the archbishop's face and eyes; maliciously telling him, that he was a Gibelline, and that he should die with the Gibellines; of whom Celestinus his predecessor, a man famous[918] they say for miracles, prophesied[919]: that, as he entered like a fox, so he should reign like a lion, and die like a dog; which fell out accordingly?

Why might not she sit there as well as Gregory VII. commonly known by the name of Hildebrand[920], who set both the church and commonwealth on fire; who[921] hired a bad fellow to tumble down great stones from the battlements of a church upon the Emperor's head, to squeeze him in pieces, whilst he was at his prayers; who[922] cast the sacrament into the fire; who[923] ordinarily carried about him a conjuring book; who shrewdly benumbed his predecessor Alexander; who wrested the Scriptures to cover his lewdness; who[924] at his death confessed, that the devil set him on work, to provoke God to wrath against the world.

Why might not she sit there as well as John XXIII. who[925] was fitter for the camp, than for the church; for profane things, than for the service of God; as knowing no faith, no religion at all; who[926] taught again and again, and maintained it before many of good place, that there was no life after this, but that it was with men as with beasts; who, in a word, [927] lived so scandalously, that commonly he was called by them who knew him, a plain devil incarnate? Why might not she sit there as well as John XII. who[928] made deacons in a stable, who made a boy of ten years old a bishop, who made the Lateran a plain stews, who drank to the devil; who, when he was at dice, made his prayers unto Jupiter and Venus, and to such idolatrous gods of the heathen; who at length was slain even by the devil himself, while he was committing adultery, as [929] before I noted? If you cannot deny, but God hath suffered these and many as evil as any of these, except the last, to occupy St. Peter's room, you may well wonder, with [930] Antoninus, at the story of Pope Joan, and say, "Oh the depth of the wisdom of God! how incredible be his judgments," &c. But you have no cause in this respect to deny it; you have no cause to cast it off as a fable. But give me leave to ask you a question: How should this tale of Pope Joan's arise, if there was not such a pope? Was there ever such a smoke, and no fire; such a report and no probability?

[912] *Teterrimum monstrum.* [913] In Vitâ Greg. VI.

[914] *Rodolphus Glaber; qui tunc vivebat.* Hist. lib. v. cap. ult. Papyrius Massonius de Urb. Episc. in Benedicto IX. [915] Platina in Benedict. IX. Sigonius de Regno Italiæ, lib. viii. ad Ann. 1042.

[916] *Caput et cauda erant asinina, ut reliquum corpus sicut ursus.* Fascic. Temp. ad Ann. 1034. Plat. in Vitâ Bened. IX. Polonus in Chron. ad Ann. 1042.

[917] Petrus Crinitus, lib. viii. de Honestâ Disciplinâ, cap. 13. ut legimus in Fasciculo Rerum expetendarum, &c. fol. 44.

[918] *Celestinus vir sanctissimus, et tam ante potificatum quàm etiam pòst miraculis plurimis illustris.* Bell. Appendix ad Lib. de Summ. Pont. cap. 14 & 24.

[919] *Celestinus V. prophetavit in hunc modum, ut fertur: Ascendisti ut vulpes, regnabis ut leo, morieris ut canis. Et ita sanè contigit.* Tho. Walsing. in Edu. 1. & Polychron. lib. vii. cap. 40.

[920] *Hildebrand. ecclesiasticum subvertit ordinem Christiani imperii, perturbavit regnum*, &c. Conventus Episcoporum 50. apud Brixian. teste Abbate Urspergensi in Chron. ad Ann. 1080.

[921] Benno Cardinalis, lib. suprà citato. [922] Ibid. [923] Ibid.

[924] Florentinus Vigorniensis in Chron. pag. 641. Matth. Paris in Guil. Conquest. Ann. 1086.

[925] Onuph. Append. in Plat. in Vitâ Joh. XXIV. [926] Conc. Constant. Sess. 11. art. penult.

[927] Ibid. art. 6. &c. [928] Luitprand. Hist. per Europam gestarum, lib. vi. cap. 7, 8, & 10.

[929] Vid. suprà. [930] Part. ii. tit. 16. cap. 1. sect. 7.

Pap. No indeed. [931]Great lies arise always out of some truth: and so did this. For John XII, to confess a truth, was a wenching fellow; and, among other wenches which he kept, there was one called Joan, who was all in all with him, and ruled the roast. Now the people perceiving what hand she had over him, termed her pope, and despised him. Whereupon the church's enemies took occasion to slander the church, as though the church had, indeed, had a woman-pope.

Prot. This is one of Florimondus's reasons, is it not?

Pap. Yes. [932]He mentions this, and likes indifferently well of it: but he mentions it as out of Onuphrius. Wherefore take you it rather as Onuphrius's answer to your question, than as Florimondus's answer.

Prot. Content: provided that you tell me, how Onuphrius proves that John XII. had such a masterful whore called Joan.

Pap. Onuphrius[933] proves that, out of Luitprandus Ticinensis, a writer of that age. For he witnesseth (as Onuphrius saith, and Florimondus believes) that John the Twelfth had three famous whores; of whom the fairest, and therefore the best beloved, was called Joan.

Prot. Luitprandus, [934]in the place cited by Onuphrius, witnesseth, that John the Twelfth kept one famous whore, whom he called Raynera, whom he made governor of many cities, and on whom he bestowed many golden crosses and chalices belonging to St. Peter. In like manner, he witnesseth, that he kept another called Stephana, and that he lay with married wives, with widows, and with maids, who came to visit the apostolical churches. And withal he witnesseth, that he kept a third called Anna (who was a widow) and her niece; making the palace of Lateran no better than a bawdy-house. But he no-where names any Joan, on whom that worthy head of your church, John the Twelfth, doated; Onuphrius, I suppose, mistook Joanna, for Anna: and Florimondus justified the proverb, 'A fool believeth every thing.' Have you not another answer to second this?

Pap. Yes, I have two or three besides this.

Prot. That is well. And what is the first of them, I pray you?

Pap. This John the Ninth was made bishop of Bononia, and afterwards archbishop of Ravenna, and at last pope of Rome; by the means of one Theodora, a famous whore, who swayed all matters at Rome in those days. Now the people perceiving that this Theodora could turn this John which way she would, and lead him whither she list; they held him worthier the name of a woman than of a man, and, therefore, called him Joan, and not John: whereupon arose the report of a Joan-pope.

Prot. And who (I pray you) is the father of this answer?

Pap. Johannes Aventinus[935], who, by reason he was a German born, knew best (no doubt) the original of this fable; as Florimondus[936] sheweth.

Prot. Then Florimondus believes this too?

Pap. He thinks it very probable.

Prot. But so did not his countryman Genebrard. For, *Aventinus, lib. iv. Annalium, fabelesse asserit, à Theodorâ nobili scorto ortam*, (saith [937]Genebrard:) *ego vero è recentioribus adulatoribus in Romanæ sedis odium*, &c. That is, 'Aventinus holdeth that this tale arose 'by reason of a noble whore called Theodora. But I think, some latter clawbacks (of 'the emperors) devised it, to discredit the papal seat.' Thus Genebrard. And is not Genebrard's *No* as good as Florimondus's *Yea?* Especially since Genebrard[938] spent upon his Chronicles ten whole years: whereas Florimondus[939], by reason of his clients, can spare no time for such studies?

[931] *Omnia insignia mendacia ab aliquâ veritate originem habent.* Onuph. Annot. in Plat. in Vit. Joannæ. *Fucis quædam inest veri species.* Florim. cap. 29. num. 2. [932] Loco citato, num. 5
[933] Loco suprà citato. [934] Lib. vi. cap. 6, 7. [935] Annal. lib. iv.
[936] Page 236. [937] Genebrard. Chron. lib. iv. ad Ann. 855.
[938] *Diuturno* 10 *annorum studio.* Geneb. Præfat. Chronograph. ad Pontacum.
[939] Fabula Joannæ, cap. 31. pag. 253. num. 6.

Pap. Genebrard was a worthy man, I[940] know. But I respect no man's person, wherefore give me a reason, why you dislike this conceit of Aventinus, approved by Florimondus.

Prot. I will. Yet first I would have you know, that though I grant that John, who was first bishop of Bononia, then of Ravenna, and lastly, of Rome, came to those bishopricks, by the means of Theodora a famous whore: in respect whereof, your[941] Cardinal historiographer makes question, whether he was a pope or no; and terms him[942] sometimes *pseudopontifex et antipapa;* 'a false-pope and antipope:' [943] sometimes, *intrusor et detentor injustus Apostolicæ sedis;* 'an intruder and an usurper of the Apostolical chair:' yet I deny that this was John the Ninth, for he was John the Tenth. John the Ninth came by good means to the papacy, as your [944] Cardinal saith. [945] He carried himself honestly in it, and died naturally: but so did not this. [946] This confirmed a child under five years old, in the archbishoprick of Rheims: at which fact, [947] Baronius stands aghast. [948] Then this *turpior nullus, cujus sicut ingressus in cathedram Petri infamissimus, ita et exitus nefandissimus:* 'There was never a filthier fellow than this; this entered with infamy, and died fearfully.' [949] This was stifled with a pillow, by the procurement of one as famous for whoredom, as Theodora, who preferred him.

Pap. This, of whom Florimondus speaks, was stifled with a pillow by Theodora's own daughter. But it seems you wrong her in her good name: for she caused him to be stifled, because she could not brook his filthy kind of life, with her mother, as [950] Florimondus notes.

Prot. Florimondus will never be good. The daughter disliked not her mother's and the pope's course of life at all. She herself[951] played the whore with Sergius one of your popes, and had by him John the Eleventh. [952] She married her husband's brother, and lived with him in incest. The only cause, why she procured him to be stifled, was her envy to one Peter, the pope's brother; as [953] Baronius proveth out of Luitprandus.

Pap. But in good earnest, was not this John John the Ninth? Florimondus[954], again and again, calls him John the Ninth: and, methinks, he should not mistake him so often.

Prot. In earnest, this was not John the Ninth. Florimondus was deceived.

Pap. Why; but Benedict the Fourth succeeded John the Ninth, did he not?

Prot. Yes, that is true. But Benedict the Fourth succeeded not this John, John the Eleventh, as [955] Luitprandus writes; or rather Leo the Sixth, as [956] others write, succeeded this John.

Pap. Florimondus[957] writes, that Benedict the Fourth succeeded this John; and observes withal a knack of knavery in those, who report this story, in that they fathered this tale upon a John, whom a Benedict succeeded.

Prot. Observe you then a knack of foolery or knavery, or rather foolish knavery in Florimondus; for I tell you, once again, that Benedict the Fourth succeeded not this John: [958] all histories are against it. But suppose he was John the Ninth, if his loose carriage of himself with Theodora gave occasion of the report of a woman-pope; why was it not recorded, as happening in his time, but above forty years before his time? John the Ninth was made pope in the year 901; yet this story is recorded as happening about the year 854.

Pap. That came to pass by the subtlety of the reporters[959]; for, about the year 800, the Empress, who, in a manner, ruled all the world, was called Theodora. Now these

[940] Possevin. Apparat. Sacr. verbo *Gilbertus Genebrardus.*
[941] Annal. tom. x. ad An. 925. num. 11.—*si ipse Pontifex est dicendus.* [942] Ad An. 912. num. 12.
[943] Ad An. 928. num. 2. [944] Annal. tom. x. ad Ann. 901. num. 1.
[945] Idem, ad Ann. 905. num. 1, 2. [946] Frodoard. Hist. Rhemens. lib. iv. cap. 19.
[947] *Ista nova, turpia, detestanda, solo auditu horrenda atque pudenda.* Ann. tom. x. ad Ann. 925. num. 9. [948] Ibid. num. 11. [949] Idem, ad An. 928. num. 2. [950] Cap. 29. num. 3.
[951] Luitprand. lib. ii. cap. 13. agnoscente Baron. Annal. tom. x. ad An. 908. num. 5.
[952] Baron. ad An. 933. num. 11. [953] Ad An. 928.
[954] Cap. 29, pag. 235, 236; cap. 30, pag. 240, 241. [955] Lib. iii. cap. 12.
[956] Leo Ostiens. lib. i. cap. 57. in fine. Baron. Annal. tom. x. ad An. 928. p. 702. [957] Cap. xxx. p. 242.
[958] Baron. Annal. tom. x. ad An. 901. num. 1. [959] Florim. cap. xxx. num. 1.

trifling tale-tellers, hearing of a Pope Joan in Theodora's time, chopped it into the time of Theodora the Empress, who lived about thirty years before the harlot Theodora.

Prot. This would rather argue simplicity than subtlety in the reporters; for, *cui bono*, whether it happened in the one, or in the other Theodora's time: but it carries no colour of truth with it; for Theodora, the empress, never carried any sway in Rome at all. At Constantinople, for a while, in the time of her son's minority, she could do something; but, in Pope Joan's time, she was turned out of office at Constantinople[960]; she was deposed from her regency, and thrust into a monastery, where she was kept till her death. What is one of your other answers?

Pap. My third answer to your main question is, that, perhaps, this tale arose from John the Eighth; for John the Eighth dealt not like a man in the case of Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, but sheepishly, and like a woman; for John the Eighth received Photius into communion, who was excommunicated by his predecessors. John the Eighth suffered himself to be overcome by half a man; whereupon, in reproach, he was called *non papa, sed papissa;* and, upon that reproachful speech, came this tale of a woman-pope.

Prot. Who devised us this answer, I pray you?

Pap. This is [961] Baronius's answer.

Prot. Baronius's answer! Is that possible? Is not Baronius one of them who holds, that the rumour of the church of Constantinople's oversight, in suffering a woman to creep in to be a patriarch, occasioned this tale against Rome?

Pap. Yes, marry is he; for having set down Pope Leo's words touching that rumour: *Quæ ita erant famâ vulgata de ecclesiâ Constantinopolitanâ, conversâ in Romanam ecclesiam à schismaticis eam odio prosequentibus, et calumniis proscindentibus, quis non intelligat?* saith [962] Baronius; that is, 'Who seeth not, that what was reported of Constantinople, the 'same was turned, by schismaticks, as spoken against Rome?'

Prot. And with what honesty can he say both? [963] N. D. who holds this latter opinion, professeth, that it seemeth most certain, that in Pope Leo's time, *viz.* 1020, there was not so much as any rumour or mention of any woman-pope that ever had been in the Roman church. So doth Baronius himself; for 'verily, (saith [964] he,) if there had been but some 'flying tale of any such accident at Rome, in former days, Pope Leo should first have 'cleared it, before he had charged the church of Constantinople with the like.' Was there not so much as a flying report of a woman-pope before Leo the Ninth's time, in Baronius's opinion? How then did John the Eighth occasion such a report, who lived an 140 years before Leo? But let Baronius go with this escape. What reason have you to think, that the rumour of Constantinople might occasion this tale against Rome?

Pap. Good reason[965]: for every man knows that Constantinople was called New Rome, and Rome simply. Now a man might easily be deceived, in supposing that to be done in Rome in Italy, which was reported to be done in Rome, but in Rome in Græcia.

Prot. That Constantinople was called New Rome[966], I easily yield unto you; but that it was, at any time, called simply Rome, that your Florimondus is not able to make good; that is his own fancy, and, in delivering it, he bewrays his own folly: *Constantinopolis nunquam absolutè dicebatur Roma, sed cum addito, ut est hodiè, Nova Roma.* 'Constantinople 'was never simply called Rome, but with an addition, as we call at this day, New 'Rome;' saith Gretser. Yet, to suppose it true, why did not the relators of it set it down as happening in Leo's time, but 240 years before; if so be it was occasioned by the report that went of Constantinople in Leo's days? If it had thence begun, it should have been registered as then happening.

[960] Baron. Annal. tom. x. ad An. 855. num. 51.
[961] Annal. tom. x. ad An. 879. num. 5.
[962] Annal. tom. x. ad An. 853. num. 58.
[963] Cap. v. num. 29. pag. 399.
[964] *Certè si vel levissimus rumusculus per calumniam de his sparsus esset, utique is ab eo fuisset antea diluendus, quàm ut fama perlatum facinus ejusdem generis objecisset.* Annal. tom. x. ad An. 853. num. 66.
[965] Florim. cap. xxv. num. 3.
[966] *Constantinop. novam Romam jam inde à Constantini tempore Græci vocabant.* Papyr. Masson. Lib. ii. de Urbis Episc. in Simplicio. tom. ii. Defen. Bell. lib. ii. cap. 31. col. 812.

Pap. Well, suppose it were true, what gain you by it; or what is the church prejudiced by her? If Pope Joan had been, she had not prejudiced the church, [967] saith N. D.

Prot. But she had; for, if she was pope, then it will follow thereon necessarily, that the church, according to your learning, once hopped headless. For the [968] church, in your learning, is defined to be a company of Christian men, professing one faith under one head; to wit, the Pope: but she, however she carried the name of Pope, was no pope, for a woman is not capable of holy orders [969]; a woman cannot play the pope. *Ergo*, all the time of Pope Joan, the church hopped headless.

Pap. Indeed, the only inconveniency of such a case is, as [970] N. D confesseth, that the church should lack a true head for the time. But that is not so great a matter; for so she doth, when any pope dieth, till another be chosen.

Prot. What is that you say? Doth the church hop headless, when one pope dieth, till another be chosen? Now, alas! what a pitiful case is the church in then? Since Christ's time, [971] there have been above two-hundred-and-forty popes: and therefore, by your saying, the church hath been headless above two-hundred-and-forty times. Yea, and sometimes, between the death of one pope, and the choosing of another, there have passed many days, many months, some years. As for example: [972] After Cletus, the bishoprick of Rome was void twenty days; [973] after Clemens, twenty-two; after Alexander the First, [974] twenty-five; [975] after Pelagius the First, three months and odd days; [976] after Pelagius the Second, six months and odd days; [977] after John the Third, ten months and odd days; [978] after Sabinian, eleven months and odd days; [979] after Honorius the First, one year and more; [980] after Clemens the Fourth, two years and more; [981] after Marcellinus, seven years and more; after Nicholas the First, [982] as some say, eight years and more; and after Felix, sometimes the Duke of Savoy, St. Peter's chair stood empty ten years, saith [983] Bodin. Whereupon will follow, that the church hath often, and long together, been headless; but that is not so great a matter, you say.—Is it not? Whence, I pray you, should the church have her wit, when she is bereaved of her head? The saying is, 'Great head, little wit;' but, without question, No head, no wit. When the church is headless, she is witless, and, by consequence, helpless; and therefore, I take it, you have good cause to beware that you grant nothing, whereon it may be concluded, that your church was once headless.

Pap. But [984] did not St. Austin hold opinion, upon supposition of a like case, that the church of Christ should not be prejudiced? Did not [985] he, having recited up the Popes of Rome from Christ to his days, make this demand, What, if any Judas, or traitor, had entered among these, or been chosen by error of men? And answereth presently, *Nihil præjudicaret ecclesiæ, et innocentibus Christianis.*

Prot. Yes; but, considering the body of your doctrine, you may not answer so, nor think so. For you hold, that your Pope is head of the church, and that it is necessary unto Salvation to acknowledge him the head; but so did not St. Austin. You hold, that in a true church, one bishop must lawfully succeed another, or all is dashed; but so did not St. Austin. For he puts the case, that some traitor *subrepsisset*, that is, had come in unorderly into the Bishop of Rome's seat; and yet resolves, that that was not prejudicial to God's church. Conform yourselves in these two points, of the Pope's headship and succession, to St. Austin's judgment; and then you may better say, in this case of Pope Joan, that which Austin said in the case proposed, 'That she had not prejudiced the church of Christ.'

Pap. We make more reckoning of St. Austin than you do; but I will not stand wrang-

[967] Part ii. of three Conversions, chap. 5, pag. 389. [968] Bellar. lib. iii. de Ecclesiâ, cap. 2.
[969] Rhem. Annot in 1 Cor. xiv. ver. 34. [970] Loco supr. cit.
[971] Cicarellus, Addit. ad Platinam & Onuph. [972] Anastasius de Vitis Pont. in Cletus.
[973] Idem, in Clemente. [974] Or 35. Idem, in Alex. I. [975] Idem, in Pelagio I.
[976] Idem, in Pelagio II. [977] Idem, in Joh. III. [978] Idem, in Sabiniano.
[979] Idem, in Honorio I. [980] Pontacus Chronogr. lib. ii.
[981] Anastas. lib. citat. in Marcellino, & Polonus in codice manuscripto, & Pontacus Chronogr. lib. ii.
[982] Teste Platinâ in Vit. Nichol. I. [983] De Repub lib. vi. num. 718.
[984] N. D. part. ii. cap. 5. num. 19. [985] Austin. Epist. 165. ad Literas cujusdam Donatistæ.

ling upon his meaning now, [986] because, whatsoever inconvenience can be imagined in this case, is more against you than us; for your church admitteth for lawful and supreme head thereof, either man or woman, which our church doth not.

Prot. Our church admitteth neither man nor woman for lawful and supreme head of the Catholic church, as yours doth. Our church teacheth, that Christ only is the head thereof. Our church admitteth neither man nor woman for lawful and supreme head of a particular church; for our church acknowledgeth the King supreme governor only, not supreme head; and so she [987] styled Queen Elizabeth in her time. Though, if we give our princes more, yet the inconveniences against us are not like the inconveniences against you, because the next in blood is to succeed with us; the greatest simonist, who can make his faction strongest, is to succeed with you.

Pap. What other inconvenience follows upon this accident, to suppose it true?

Prot. If it be true there was such a pope, your church must be discarded as no true church: for thus I argue, [988] That is no true church, which cannot give, in plain authentical writing, the lawful, orderly, entire, without any breach, and sound notorious succession of bishops. But your church, if Joan was pope, cannot give, in plain authentical writing, the lawful, orderly, entire, without any breach, and sound notorious succession of bishops: for, by reason of her, Benedict the Third could not orderly succeed Leo the Fourth; she put in a *caveat*, or rather, was, of herself, a bar to his succession; by her a breach was made in the rank of your Popes; she, no fool, but a whore, marred your play.

Pap. No, no: for all that you can rightly gather upon her popedom is, that the Pope's seat stood empty of a lawful pastor for the space of two years, and a few odd months. Now so it did often, by reason of the differences among the electors, as you yourself shewed. And yet no man durst say, nor could truly say, that succession failed, as [989] Baronius writes.

Prot. As Baronius notes? If Baronius may be judge, there is nothing that can mar your succession; neither vacancy, nor entrance in by the window. Whether the chair be empty or full, by irreption, or by usurpation, it is all one to Baronius. Baronius will not give over his plea of succession. For, though [990] he (not without grief) confesseth, that many ugly monsters have sat in St. Peter's chair; though [991] he confesseth, that many apostates, rather than apostolical persons, have occupied that room; though [992] he confesseth, that there have been many popes, which came irregularly to the papacy, and served for no other purpose than cyphers in arithmetick, to make up the number; yet he holdeth their succession sound. Though [993] Baronius writes, that Boniface the Sixth, who got possession of St. Peter's chair, and kept it fifteen days, was a wicked fellow, and not worthy to be reckoned among Popes, inasmuch as he was condemned by a council held at Rome: though he [994] writes, that Stephen the Seventh, [995] such another as Boniface the Sixth, or rather worse, played at Thrust-out-rotten with Boniface the Sixth, and kept the papacy five years: though [996] he writes, that Pope Christopher shuffled Leo the Fifth out, and by violence installed himself, and kept it seven months; and that Sergius, at the seven months' end, shuffled Christopher out, shearing him a monk, and keeping it to himself, as some say, seven years; (as [997] Baronius himself saith, three years;) yet all this shuffling, in Baronius's opinion, doth nothing stain succession. Yea, though

[986] N. D. loco suprà citato. [987] The Oath of Supremacy, 1 Eliz. [988] Bristow, Motive 22.

[989] *Nihil prætereà ex eâ ter miseri novatores lucri capiunt, nisi ut dici possit duobus illis annis et mensibus sedem pontificiam legitimo vacuam fuisse pastore——quod et aliàs accidit, ut majori temporis spacio sedes pontificia, dilata per discordias eligentium, electione vacârit: nec tamen successionem desiisse, quis unquam ausus est dicere, quod nec dici potuit. Sed tantùm esse dilatam, nullo verò modo sublatam.* Baron. Annal. tom. x. ad Ann. 853. num. 63.

[990] *Quot (proh pudor! proh dolor!) in eandem sedem visu horrenda intrusa sunt monstra;* &c. Tom. x. ad Ann. 900. num. 3. [991] *Non apostolici sed apostatici.* Tom. x. ad Ann. 908. num. 4.

[992] *Qui non sunt nisi ad consignanda tantùm tempora in Catalogo Rom. Pontificum scripti.* Tom. x. ad Ann. 912. num. 8.

[993] *Homo nefarius, jam antea bis gradu depositus,* &c.; *non numerandus inter pontifices, utpote qui damnatus fuit in Rom. synod.* Tom. x. ad Ann. 897. num. 1. [994] Tom. x. ad Ann. 897. num. 1.

[995] *Apostolicæ sedis invasor, et fur et latro——indignus nomine Rom. pontif.* Ibid. Ann. 900. num. 6. [996] Tom. x. ad Ann. 908. num. 1. ibid. [997] Ad Ann. 910. num. 1.

he cannot deny that Boniface the Seventh, who sat as pope one year and one month, was a [998] wicked varlet, a plain tyrant, a savage beast, an usurper, one that had no good property of a pope: though he cannot deny, but that Leo the Eighth, who was a schismatick, and an intruder, and an antipope, [999] in his opinion, kept the place almost two years: though he cannot deny, but that John the Twelfth, [1000] who was but like a pope in a play, kept it nine years; and [1001] John the Eleventh, the bastardly brat of Sergius above-named, (who came to it by evil means, and managed it accordingly,) kept it six years; and [1002] John the Tenth, as false a lad as any of his fellows, (who entered by fraud, and ruled with violence,) kept it fifteen years; yet this lessens nothing the credit of his succession. I warrant you, Baronius was of Genebrard's opinion, who, though he granted that fifty popes together came in unlawfully, and governed as madly, would not yet let his hold of succession go.

Pap. Is there any further inconvenience which may light upon us, if this story be true?

Prot. Yea; for if it be granted there was such a pope, the popish priests among you may well doubt of the lawfulness of their mission; and you lay-papists of the sufficiency of the absolutions, which they give you upon your ear-confessions, and of the truth of the real presence, and transubstantiation. For, [1003] unless the popish priests be priested by a lawful bishop, their priesthood is not worth a rush; [1004] unless you lay-papists be absolved by a lawful priest, your absolution is nought worth; and [1005] unless the words of consecration be uttered by a lawful priest, intent upon his business, there follows no substantial change in the creatures of bread and wine. Now how can your priests be assured, that they were priested by lawful bishops; and how can you lay-papists be assured that you are absolved by lawful priests; or that your masses are said by lawful priests; seeing we read (as [1006] before I shewed) that Pope Joan gave orders, Pope Joan made deacons, and priests, and bishops, and abbots? For it may be well enough, that the priests of this present age are descended from those who were ordained by her; especially seeing we no where read, that they were degraded by succeeding popes, who had their ordination from her. Her successors dealt not with her shavelings, as Pope John the Twelfth did with Leo the Eighth's shavelings. [1007] John the Twelfth degraded them all, and compelled every of them to give him up a paper, wherein it was thus written: *Episcopus meus* (meaning Leo the Eighth) *nihil sibi habuit, nihil mihi dedit*; 'had nought for himself, and gave me nought:' but so did not Benedict the Third with hers. Unless you say, that *communis error facit jus*, as [1008] lawyers said in the case of Barbarius Philippus, I know not what you can reply with probability to this; and yet that will not serve your turn: for, though it may be so in matters of the commonwealth, in matters of the church it cannot be so. For an error in the beginning, in matters touching the church, proves often an heresy in conclusion. In matters of the church, prescription adds no credit to actions of evil beginning.

[998] *Scelestissimus vir*; ad Ann. 974. num. 1. *Nefandissimus parricida, truculentus prædo, qui ne pilum habuisse dici potest Romani pontificis*; ad Ann. 985. num. 1.

[999] Tom. x. ad Ann. 931. num. 38. *Ostensus fuit tanquam in scenâ mimus pontificem agens*; tom. x. ad Ann. 955. num. 4. [1000] Tom. x. ad Ann. 931. num. 1.

[1001] *Invasor et detentor injustus Apostolicæ sedis*; ad Ann. 928. num. 1.

[1002] Chronolog. lib. iv. Seculo 10. ad Ann. 904.

[1003] *In episcopis de jure divino residet ista potestas creandi sacerdotes.* Tolet. Summa Casuum Conscient. lib. i. cap. 1.

[1004] *Anathema sit qui dixerit non solos sacerdotes esse ministros absolutionis.* Conc. Trid. Sess. 14. can. 10.

[1005] *Semper in ecclesiâ pro indubitato habitum est, ita necessariam esse ordinationem sacerdotalem ad eucharistiam conficiendam, ut sine eâ nullo modo confici possit.* Bell. lib. iv. de Euchar. cap. 16.

[1006] Vid. suprà.

[1007] Sigebert. in Chron. ad Ann. 963. Baron. Annal. tom. x. ad Ann. 964. num. 9. Joh. de Turrecrem. Sum. de Eccles. lib. ii. cap. 103. [1008] De Officio Prætoris.

A Scheme for the Foundation of a Royal Hospital, and Raising a Revenue of Five or Six Thousand Pounds a Year, by and for the Maintenance of a Corporation of skilful Midwives, and such Foundlings, or exposed Children, as shall be admitted therein: As it was proposed and addressed to his Majesty King James II. by Mrs. Elizabeth Cellier, in the Month of June, 1687. Now first published from her own MS. found among the said King's Papers.

[Folio, containing Nine Pages.]

To the King's most excellent Majesty, the humble Proposal of Elizabeth Cellier.

Sheweth,

THAT, within the space of twenty years last past, above six-thousand women have died in child-bed, more than thirteen-thousand children have been born abortive, and above five-thousand *chrysome* infants have been buried, within the weekly bills of mortality; above two-thirds of which, amounting to sixteen-thousand souls, have in all probability perished, for want of due skill and care, in those women who practise the art of midwifery.

Besides the great number which are overlaid, and wilfully murdered, by their wicked and cruel mothers, for want of fit ways to conceal their shame, and provide for their children, as also the many executions on the offenders.

To remedy which, it is humbly proposed, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased, by your royal authority, to unite the whole number of skilful midwives, now practising within the limits of the weekly bills of mortality, into a corporation, under the government of a certain number of the most able and matron-like women among them, subject to the visitation of such person or persons, as your Majesty shall appoint; and such rules for their good government, instruction, direction, and administration, as are hereunto annexed, or may, upon more mature consideration, be thought fit to be annexed.

That such number, so to be admitted, shall not exceed a thousand at one time; that every woman, so to be admitted as a skilful midwife, may be obliged to pay, for her admittance, the sum of five pounds, and the like sum annually, by quarterly payments; for and towards the pious and charitable uses hereafter mentioned.

That all women, so admitted into the thousand, shall be capable of being chosen matrons, or assistants to the government.

That such midwives as are found capable of the employment, and cannot be admitted into the first thousand, shall be of the second thousand; paying, for their admittance, the sum of fifty shillings, and fifty shillings a year by quarterly payments, towards the pious and charitable uses hereafter mentioned, and out of these the first thousand are to be supplied, as they die out.

That, out of the first sum arising from the admittance-money, one good, large, and convenient house, or hospital, may be erected, for the receiving and taking in of exposed children, to be subject to the care, conduct, and management of one governess, one female secretary, and twelve matron-assistants; subject to the visitation of such persons, as to your Majesty's wisdom shall be thought necessary.

That such hospital be for ever deemed of your Majesty's royal foundation, and, from time to time, subject to the rules and directions of your Majesty, your heirs and successors.

That the annual five or six thousand pounds, which may arise from the thousand licensed midwives, and second thousand, may be employed towards the maintenance of such exposed children, as may from time to time be brought into the hospital, and for the governess, her secretary, and the twelve assistant-matrons, and for the necessary nurses, and their assistants, and others, fit to be employed for the nourishment and education of such exposed children in proper learning, arts, and mysteries, according to their several capacities.

That for the better maintenance and encouragement of so necessary and royal a foundation of charity, it is humbly proposed that by your Majesty's royal authority, one fifth part of the voluntary charity, collected or bestowed in any of the parishes within the limits of the weekly bills of mortality, may be annexed for ever to the same, other than such money taxed for the maintenance of the parish poor, or collected on briefs by the royal authority, for any particular charitable use.

That likewise, by your Majesty's royal authority, the said hospital may have leave to set up in every church, chapel, or public place of divine service, of any religion whatsoever, within the limits aforesaid, one chest or box, to receive the charity of all well-minded people, who may put money into the same, to be employed for the uses aforesaid.

That such hospital may be allowed to receive the donation of any lands, legacies, or other gifts, that pious and well-minded people may bestow upon them.

That such hospital may be allowed to establish twelve lesser convenient houses, in twelve of the greatest parishes, each to be governed by one of the twelve matrons, assistants to the corporation of midwives; which houses may be for the taking in, delivery, and month's maintenance, at a price certain, of any woman, that any of the parishes within the limits aforesaid, shall by the overseers of the poor place in them; such women being to be subject, with the children born of them, to the future care of that parish, whose overseers place them there to be delivered, notwithstanding such house shall not happen to stand in the proper parish.

All and every of the twelve houses to be members of, and dependants on the Royal Hospital, and subject to the government of the same; and all such children as shall be exposed into them, whose parents and places of abode cannot be found, are to be conveyed thence to the great hospital, there to be bred up and educated, as though they had been exposed into it.

That for the better maintenance and encouraging the government of the said hospital, in the educating such exposed children, in proper learning, arts, and sciences, according to their several capacities, it is humbly proposed, that by your Majesty's royal authority, all the children, so exposed, shall be deemed members of, and apprentices to the said society, till they attain the full age of twenty-one years, to be reckoned from their first admittance into the same; unless, by consent of the government thereof, they should happen to be married, or otherwise licensed to depart, under the public seal of the same.

That likewise, by your Majesty's royal authority, the children exposed and educated, as aforesaid, may be privileged to take to themselves surnames, from the several arts, or mysteries, they shall be excellent in, or from the remarkable days they were exposed on, or from their complexions, shapes, &c. and be made capable, by such names, of any honour or employment, without being liable to reproach, for their innocent misfortune.

That by your Majesty's royal charter, the children so educated may be free members of every city and corporation, within your Majesty's kingdom of England, and dominion of Wales.

That for the better providing sure ways and means, for the instructing all present and future midwives, who shall be admitted into the said corporation; fit care ought to be taken to induce that person, who shall be found most able in the art, and most fit for that

employment, to instruct them in the most perfect rules of skill by reading lectures, and discoursing to them.

That on the lecture-days, or other times appointed for that purpose, such midwife, in whose practice any extraordinary occurrence shall happen, shall report the same to the governess, and such of her assistants, as shall then happen to be present, and they to be free in his or their instructions.

And it is humbly proposed, in the first years before the charge of the said hospital can be great, that out of the annual duties arising from the licensed midwives, the sum of.... may be paid to the proposer to enable her to provide for her children; that nothing may divert her from employing all her industry for the good of those poor exposed children.

And that all admittance-money which shall be paid, after the first thousands are settled, shall be divided between the governess and the man-midwife or director of the house for the time being, by even and equal proportions.

That upon the admitting any woman to be deputy to any midwife, the sum of thirty shillings shall be paid, and the like sum annually, by quarterly payments; twenty shillings whereof shall be as a fee to the governess, and ten shillings to her secretary, besides their necessary lodging and other conveniencies in the said hospital.

That after this first settlement, no married woman be admitted to be either governess, secretary, or any of the twelve principal assistants to the government; and that no married person, of either sex, shall be suffered to inhabit within the said hospital, to avoid such inconveniences as may arise, as the children grow to maturity; and that, as soon as any of them be found fit and capable of such employment, the governess, secretary, under-governesses, governors, treasurer, register, and all other offices of the house shall be chosen, as they become capable thereof, and have entered themselves to continue members of the said society, during their natural lives; and if any of these persons do marry afterwards, then to clear their accounts and depart the house, by being expelled the society.

Rules for Governing the Hospital of found Children.

THAT the governess be appointed by his Majesty, as likewise her secretary, and twelve assistants, who are to name twenty-four to be of the government.

That, upon the death of the governess, her place be supplied by her secretary, or such person as shall be chosen by the twelve principal assistants, or the major part of them, and the approbation of his Majesty; that the secretary be chosen by the governess, and approved of by his Majesty, his heirs and successors.

That, upon the vacancy of one of the twelve principal assistants, by death or otherwise, one of the four-and-twenty shall succeed, by election of the governess, secretary, and the other eleven; as also, the number of four-and-twenty shall be supplied, by election of the governess, female secretary, and twelve principal assistants, or the major part of them; and, in all cases, the governess to have three, and the secretary, two voices.

That all rules for governing the children, under five years of age, shall be made by the governess, her secretary, and their assistants; that the government of the whole, under such rules, be in the governess.

That all female children shall continue under the sole government and direction of the governess, until they attain the full age of twenty-one years, or are married by her consent.

That all male children, at the age of five years, shall be separated from the female, and put under government of the several masters, to be appointed to instruct them in learning arts and trades, according to their several capacities, and the rules of the house.

That the principal chaplain be governor of the male children above five years of age,

according to such rules as shall be made from time to time, for well ordering the said hospital.

That all parish-found children, under the age of three years, shall be admitted into the said hospital, as soon as it is built, for two shillings per week, or the sum of fifteen pounds, to be paid at the election of the overseers, or vestry of the parish, that send them; to continue there twenty-one years.

That there shall be appointed proper mistresses, to instruct all the children, under five years of age, in reading and arts, according to their capacities, who are to have salaries and subsistence from the house, by such rules as shall be made from time to time, as occasion happens; which mistresses are all to be subject to the governess.

That like mistresses be appointed, for instructing the female children in plain-work, lace-making, point-embroidery, and all other female arts, according to their several capacities, and under the like government.

That masters, in several mysteries, arts, and handicrafts, be appointed, to teach the male children; as painters, engravers, carvers, watchmakers, smiths, and carpenters, of all sorts; sailmakers, taylors, shoemakers, and many other trades, according to their geniuses, strengths, and several capacities.

That an able register be appointed, to set down, and keep a due account of the day of the entrance of every child into the hospital, with the proper marks of its body, colour of its clothes, and other things about it, with its hospital-name, and where it was found, with its own name, if a note be left thereof; to the end that any one may recover their lost child, if they please: that the register take care to cause all children to be instructed in fair writing and accounts, according to their several capacities.

That all names are to be given by the governess, and that every child, upon its being brought into the hospital, shall be marked with a cross of blue under the brawn of the arm, with the day and year of its admittance; to the end they may be found out and recovered, if they should chance to convey themselves out of the hospital before the age of twenty-one years, to defraud it of the benefit of the mystery, art, or trade, they have learned.

That a woman, sufficiently skilled in writing and accounts, be appointed secretary to the governess and company of midwives, to be present at all controversies about the art of midwifery, to register all the extraordinary accidents happening in the practice, which all licensed midwives are, from time to time, to report to the society; that the female secretary be reckoned an assistant to the government, next to the governess, and capable of succeeding in her stead, if chosen thereunto by the governess, in her life-time, with the approbation of his Majesty, his heirs, and successors.

That the principal physician, or man-midwife, examine all extraordinary accidents, and, once a month at least, read a public lecture to the whole society of licensed midwives, who are all obliged to be present at it, if not employed in their practice; and he shall deliver a copy of such reading, to be entered into the book to be kept for that purpose: a copy of which shall be made out to any person, demanding the same, for such reasonable fee, as shall be appointed by the government, and shall be free, for any licensed midwife, at all convenient times, to have recourse to the said book, and to read any part of the same *gratis*.

That no men shall be present at such public lectures, on any pretence whatsoever, except such able doctors and surgeons, as shall enter themselves students in the said art, and pay, for such their admittance, ten pounds, and ten pounds a year; five pounds to the house, and the other five to be divided equally between the governess and the chief doctor, or surgeon, that shall be director of the house for the time being.

That all physicians and surgeons, so admitted students and practitioners in the art of midwifery, shall be of council with the principal man-midwife, and be capable of succeeding him, by election of the governess, her secretary, twelve assistants, and the twenty-four lower assistants, or the major part of them all: elections to be made by balloting, the governess three balls, and the secretary two balls.

That the man-register, and secretary of the house, be under the command and direction of the whole government thereof for all business, except the art of midwifery, which is to be meddled with by none, but the governess, female secretary, man-midwife, and their assistants.

That any child, under the age of one year, whose parents are known, or not known, shall be admitted into the house, under the rules of being there twenty-one years; provided there be paid into the stock of the hospital the sum of thirty pounds, at the sending in of the said child.

That any person, or persons, who would have a child out of the said society, shall have power to examine the register, whether the child, by its marks, be living or dead, and may redeem the same, being under the age of five years, for twenty-five pounds, or being of that age, or under the age of seven years, for forty pounds; and from seven to ten, for fifty pounds; but, after the age of ten years, every year it continues in the house, shall advance ten pounds in the price of the redemption, till such time as they attain the age of fifteen; after which time, no increase of the price of redemption shall be upon any child; any one being, at any time, to be free for a hundred pounds or less, if the governess of the house, her secretary, twelve assistants, or the major part of them, consent to the same; the governess hath three, and the female secretary two voices, which are to be given by the chaplain, register, and treasurer, if it be a male child that is to be redeemed; but, if it be a female, then the power to rest in themselves.

That all the money coming to the said hospital, either by annual payments, charity, redemption, or any other ways whatsoever, shall be placed into one common treasury, to be kept in one, or more iron chests; not to be opened, but by the consent of the governess, her secretary, the chief chaplain, or him that shall be governor of the male children, the register, and treasurer; who shall each of them have a key to so many several locks; and the said monies, other than the constant salaries of the officers, and daily maintenance of the children, shall not be applied to any extraordinary use, but such as shall be appointed by the whole government of the hospital; in which number the keepers of those keys, for such purposes, are to be accounted part.

The accounts whereof, and of all monies coming into, or going out from the same, shall be kept by the register; and free access shall be had, at all times, to the same, *gratis*, by the governors, or any of the visitors of the said hospital; and that, once a month, all comings in, and goings out, and all other transactions on that account, shall be, by the register, fairly entered into a book for that purpose, which shall always remain with the governess, and not be taken out upon any pretence whatsoever; and that any person may search the register's book, for the fee of sixpence for one year's search.

That rules shall be made, from time to time, by the government, for trying the geniuses of the children, and dividing them into several classes and employments, according to their several capacities, and for entering them under proper mistresses and masters, upon certain salaries, or, otherwise, binding them apprentices to the said mistresses and masters within the house, or for clothing them, during their residence in, or at their going out of, the said hospital. As likewise for all other accidents, as lunaticks, idiots, and other infirmities, diseases, and sicknesses; and for separating the infirm from the healthful, and the infectious diseases from the other sick; and for all other contingencies, as there shall be occasion.

That none shall be detained, against their wills, above the time of twenty-one years, nor turned out at that time, if they desire to stay; it being in the power of any of them, at that age, to enter him or herself, subject to the rules and duties of the house, for their natural lives; nor are any of them incapacitated to get their livings abroad, nor, being within the house, at any time to be turned out, but are to be maintained by them in necessary meat, drink, clothes, and lodging, during their natural lives, or till they recover of their distempers, so as to be able and willing to leave the same.

But no person, once discharged, and out of the care of the house for six months, shall be capable of demanding entrance into the same again, or of maintenance from it,

but by the consent of the government thereof; and that such as return to the house, shall give good testimony, that they have spent their time well, and without scandal, or be for ever expelled the society.

That further rules, for the establishment and foundation of the said community, or hospital, and for visiting the same, may be appointed in the charter for endowing the same; and such penalties imposed, on such as practise without licence from the corporation, as to your Majesty's wisdom shall seem meet:

To which all is humbly submitted.

Four for a Penny: Or, poor Robin's Character of an unconscionable Pawn-broker, and Ear-mark of an oppressing Tally-Man: With a friendly Description of a Bum-Bailey, and his merciless Setting-Cur, or Follower. With Allowance.

London; printed for L. C. 1678.

[Quarto, containing Eight Pages.]

WE here present you, Gentlemen, with a parcel of beasts of prey, worse than ever Africk bred; and more unclean than any that entered into Noah's ark; yet cloven-footed, in imitation of their sire; and all so superlative in their kinds, that each may dispute for precedency: only, for method-sake, we shall begin with the most sly and dangerous.

An unconscionable Pawn-broker, (for there are conscionable dealers in that way, that are a relief and comfort to the poor; and those are not concerned in this character:) an unconscionable Pawn-broker, I say, is Pluto's factor, Old Nick's warehouse-keeper, an English Jew that lives and grows fat on fraud and oppression, as toads, on filth and venom; whose practice outvies usury, as much as incest simple fornication: and to call him a tradesman, must be by the same figure, that pickpockets style their legerdemain, an art and mystery. His shop, like hell-gates, is always open, where he sits at the receipt of custom, like Cacus in his den, ready to devour all that is brought him; and, having gotten your spoils, hangs them up in rank and file, as so many trophies of victory. Hither all sorts of garments resort in pilgrimage, whilst he, playing the pimp, lodges the tabby-petticoat and russet-breeches together in the same bed of lavender.

He is the treasurer of the thieves' exchequer, the common fender[1] of all bulkers and shop-lifts in the town. To this purpose, he keeps a private ware-house, and ships away the ill-gotten goods by wholesale; dreading nothing so much, as that a convict should honestly confess how he disposed the moveables. He is a kind of disease quite contrary to the gout; for as that haunts the rich, so this mainly torments the poor, and scarce leaves them so much as a primitive fig-leaf to cover their nakedness. Mrs. Joan, when she is minded to see her sweet-heart, and gammer Blue-bottle, going to a christening, muster up the pence, on the Saturday night, to redeem their best riggings out of captivity; but, on Monday morning, infallibly bring them back (like thieves that had only made an escape) to the old limbus; and this so often, till, at last, they know the way, and can go to pawn alone by themselves. Thus they are forced to purchase the same clothes seven times over; and, for want of a chest to keep them in at home, it costs thrice as much as they are worth,

[1] [i. e. defender.]

for their lodging in his custody. When they come in, like other prisoners, they first pay garnish, the two-pences for entrance-money; after this, six-pence a month for every twenty shillings lent, which yet indeed is but nineteen shillings and six-pence; that is, according to their reckoning of thirteen months to the year, six shillings and six-pence interest, for one pound for a year; which makes thirty-three pounds, six shillings, and eight-pence in the hundred, *viz.* one-third part of the principal, and just twenty-seven pounds, six shillings, and eight-pence, more than the statute allows; besides twelve-pence for a bill of sale, if the matter be considerable. So that, since they never lend half the value on any thing that is brought them, if a pawn-broker lay out a hundred pounds, he first makes near forty pounds *per annum*, advantage certain, as aforesaid: and then considering how many thieves, &c. (their chief customers that bring the lumping bargains) never intend to redeem, and how many poor are not able, especially since, as soon as the year and day expire, they presently dispose their pawns, or pretend to do so; we may reasonably conclude that these horse-leeches make *cent. per cent.* at least of their money in a year. And all this, by a course tending only to the encouragement of thieves, and ruin of those that are honest, but indigent.

Near of kin to these caterpillars is the unconscionable Tally-man, but a little more adventurous, and dealing so much in wood, that it is supposed his deserts may entitle him to die on a leafless tree. He is one that eateth up the poor (to use a sacred phrase) even as bread; and yet under a charitable pretence of serving and accommodating them: for he lets them have ten-shillings-worth of sorry commodities, or scarce so much, on security given to pay him twenty shillings by twelve-pence a week. Then his wandering Mephistophilus, with the bundle of rattles, whom we may call the devil's rent-gatherer, haunts them more diligently, than a revengeful ghost does a murderer, or a tormenting conscience, a traitor: and if they happen to fail the first or second week, snaps them or their security, and makes them, forthwith, pay the utmost farthing; alleging, now their former agreement was void. We have nothing to do with those, that deal according to conscience.

There is yet another pack of the charitable vermin, that make it their business to lend money by the week. This crafty extortioner commonly keeps a blind ale-house; and you must first, besides a world of compliments, spend two or three shillings at several times, before he be at leisure, or money comes in, or that you can persuade him to like your security: at least you get but eighteen shillings for every twenty shillings; but must give bond (and him twelve-pence for making it) to repay full twenty shillings at two shillings, *per* week; who, in case of failure, takes the first advantage to be as kind to you, as the last gentleman. And so by these subtleties, and continual returns, they likewise make much more than double of their money, in a year's time, as by exact calculation may appear.

These are the Nimrods, the private hunters, in this vast forest of chimneys, that draw the poor into their nets, and pick them to the very bone. But the bandogs, that they make use of, are the Bum-bailey and his Setting-cur: the first a kind of excrescence of the law, like our nails, made only to scratch and claw; a sort of birdlime, where he lays hold, he hangs; a raven that pecks not out men's eyes, as others do, but all his spite is at their shoulders; and you had better have the night-mare ride you, than this incubus. He is one of Deucalion's by-blows, begotten of a stone; and has taken an oath never to pity widow or orphan. His first business is to bait you for money for his confounded civility; next, to call for drink, as fast as men for buckets of water in a conflagration: after which, becoming grave and serious, he advises you, in revenge, to arrest the plaintiff, and offers to do it, with or without cause; it is all one to him, if he perceive you have money. His follower is an hanger, that he wears by his side; a false dye of the same bale, but not the same cut; for it runs somewhat higher, inflames the reckoning, and so does more mischief. He is a tumbler that drives in the conies; but is yet but a bungler, and knows not how to cut up a man without tearing, unless by a pattern. This is the hook, that hangs under water to choak the fish; and his officer, the quill above, which pops down as soon as ever

the bait s swallowed. Though differing in degree, they are both much of a complexion; only the teeth of this latter are more sharp, and he more hungry, because he does but snap, and hath not his full half-share of the booty. A main part of his office is to swear and bluster at their trembling prisoners, and cry, "Confound us, why do we wait? Let us shop him:" whilst the other meekly replies, "Jack, be patient, it is a civil gentleman, and I know will consider us:" which species of wheedling, in terms of their art, is called *sweeten* and *pinch*. The eyes of these wolves are as quick in their head, as a cutpurse's in a throng; and as nimble are they at their business, as an hangman at an execution. They will court a broken pate, to heal it with a plaister of green-wax, and suck more silver out of a wound, than a surgeon. Yet, as these eels are generally bred out of the mud of a bankrupt, so they commonly die with their guts ripped up, or are decently run through the lungs; and, as they lived hated, die unpitied.—We speak here of those only that abuse the intentions of the law, and act oppression under the colour of serving common justice.

The Cloud opened[1]: Or, The English Hero[2]. By a loyal and impartial Pen.

Quàm facile fit cæcus dux vitæ, et obscura lux temporum Historia? Si non amentiæ, rarus est qui non ineptiæ litavit; unicus sit qui Deo et veritati obtulit.

London, printed A. D. 1670.

[Quarto, containing Forty-eight Pages.]

ONOGYROS is an herb worthy of asses, a lactuce like their lips, rough and prickly; yet, if herbalists are to be credited, a counter-poison. Adulation, though smooth as oil, is no alexipharmick. The tame beast, a flatterer, is more spotted, nor less cruel than the leopard or a tiger. And with the gaiety of a serpent, the rich enamelling of an adder's skin hath no unequal poison.

In the late tyranny, when reason seemed the most extravagant freak, and religion and loyalty had the repute of such grand malignants, as a plague might be supposed to harbour less of contagion, a mercenary trifler would have the usurper *Oliver*, an *olive;* sure after an happy revolution, no one can be master of more sense than the clenching panegyrist, or voluminous, nothing wanted; as much a stranger to wit, as to our nation; his appetite only sharpened invention, and the hungry gut-vented oracles. Where the Scripture on the rack was only taught to patronize impiety, by making bloody and blasphemous confessions; it can be no wonder, if Gotham's parable was forgot by an exotic whiffler, where the olive could yield no fatness to usurp, and out of a bramble only could come the fire to destroy the cedars of Lebanon; such an unhappy land, as made a forest, was inhabited by wild beasts.

In an age of lying wonders, where a more than ordinary antichrist brought fire down from heaven, it could be none of the least of the miracles, that a *fisher* could, by *pagan*[3] worship, translate the brazen image of a tyrant into gold, and make it equal an hundred Jacobusses, or more pure Carolines in value.

[1] See Oldys' Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 212.

[2] [George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, who died the year before this tract was printed.]

[3] [Payne Fisher is here adverted to, who wrote various poems in praise of Cromwell, and sometimes signed himself *Paganus Piscator.*]

A doubly blind bard[4], first in his own, and (as some fancy) since by God's judgment, would have him equalled by a kingfisher. But to have had such a king for his subject, in whose cause, Christianity might seem engaged, sure could not need the temptation of a bribe, to him who had not renounced the Christian profession; though pedantically florid and less significant pens, served but as foils to his portraiture and sufferings[5]; which were only to be taken from his own writings.

Virtue, which is content with her own reward, and loyalty, which expects no recompence below heaven, know not how to descend to that truckling and servile assentation, which has no better hieroglyphick, than the most impure of creatures, the sometimes fawning, and at others, snarling and biting cur.

The deceased General may merit some grateful epicediums, above such dismal ditties as attend upon executions, which seem more merciless than the extremities of the law; while the executioner in metre is more barbarous than the hangman. The Muses have little to do with Mars; yet they must not permit a praise-worthy person to die, if they have any faith for their arch-priest, the prince[6] of lyricks. It is a tribute due to allegiance to commend him whom a king would honour. Commands, strong as mustard, may seem unnecessary to make the nation's eyes water into elegies for his loss, who was the supposed restorer of their sight; the blessed instrument of returning a king, who may be truly called, 'The light of our eyes.' Who would not melt by a compassion, if obdurate for lesser losses, for the Muses' Helicon, what the poets might call, 'Showers of tears,' might seem expedient when it is grown so muddy, as it cannot furnish out so much clear wit as can sprinkle an hearse. Foolish versifiers, like to schismatical pulpiteers, by racked hyperboles and tentered allegories, make the most sober truths discredited; folly dispraises those she would commend, and diminishes glory, by seeking to multiply it.

Who would not believe that a fable, which must have all the heathen gods brought into the scene for the delivery? He who ariseth early, and praiseth his friend aloud, it shall be reputed to him for a curse, if the wisest of men is to be believed. That a too early and inconsiderate commendation can irritate envy and contradiction, which might have slept, if not awaked by rash and untimely bawling, may be easily now demonstrated from the discourses of folly.

Whether design or chance renders more famous, is uncertain. History can furnish us with a coward, who by the loss of his head, grew victorious; by a virtue inherent in the spurs of honour, the more generous beast, which is intitled to want of brains, transporting to noble achievements: a defect in the noddle hath rendered not few strangely supereminent, whose excelling disposition, like that of an enraged horse, hath qualified for the rushing into a battle. The Psalmist will have an horse a vain thing to save a man; to raise one to a fair mount of honour, some can instance H. B. who for a knighthood and lordship would cry God-a-mercy to his beast.

Thomas Anello, is not the only example of a brutish valour attaining to a mushroom grandeur: nor was the puny thief Du Val[7], the first robber who lay in state, by pompous folly to be made more inglorious.

The aërian stalking nag (on whom the subtle fowlers of fanaticism set their aim to shoot at game royal) had his image ordered to be made by the grand bogglers at ceremonies, and decryers of superstition; which intended for an honour, made him to suffer in effigy for a traitor; while a freak-inspired sectary cut off an head equally stupid, with that which he had devoted to the vain idol of a foolish reformation.

The protector of flies, carried in state like to a pagan deity, might seem worshipped by an heathenish idolatry; while our gentiles, schism's fly-blows, having gained wings by the warmth of his bounty, with buzzing acclamations attended on their Beëlzebub.

[4] [Milton; who is here stigmatized for what Anthony Wood terms his 'villainous defence of the murder of Charles the First.']

[5] [These were depicted in a small volume intitled, '*Iter Carolinum*,' printed in 1660.]

[6] [Horace: in Carm. lib. IV. od. viii. *Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori.*]

[7] [See his Memoir, in Vol. III. p. 308.]

Zisca would have a drum made of his skin: and our glorious Edward would have his victorious corpse carried for a terror to his enemies: but nothing can be more vain than to take a pleasure in the hovering of those dire vapours above ground, who might seem to have cleft it for contagion.

Vainly the dead are embalmed with spices, whose lives can contribute no odours, in good works, to perfume their memories.

The survivors' worship of the dead was the wild superstition of heathen. A commemoration of saints and benefactors deceased, has been neither the irreligious nor impolitice custom of sober Christians. The honour given to good men is a tribute rendered to God, who will be honoured in his saints; the praises of the bad are so many acknowledgments to Satan, who is thus worshipped in his images.

The mysterious riddle of loyal grandeur, whom some will have a parent to his mother, and his father's father, a prince the father of his country, the supererogating *Monk*, G. Duke of Albemarle, may worthily challenge that surviving honour, by which he seems triumphant over fate; if not a principal, an adjuvant, or such a cause without which our felicity could not be effected: if to vast piles of living honours were superadded mountains of wealth, and after death he is placed among kings, who seemed the restorer of kingdoms; no wise or good man can repine, but rather congratulate the felicity of that age, in which a servant, esteemed faithful, found a master truly royal. Honour was not made dishonourable in our General's superadditional titles; the achievements of his ancestors, if not superior to most, inferior to few coats-of-arms borne by our English nobility; what might give a supereminence, and fools will be always the most apt to blazon, the only blot in the escutcheon. Honour must be fair written; even the fountain of it, a prince, cannot wash away the blemishes of his own making.

The generous Hero, who disdained to bring in a king fettered like a royal slave, or such a beast as must not be allowed the use of reason, whose crowning is in relation to the making of him a sacrifice, by not attending to that rigid zeal, which, inseparable from envy of any greatness, which might exceed her own, would have kings bound in chains, and their nobles in fetters of iron; the intolerable gives[8] of a Scottish league, by making princes parties, can dethrone, not only level with a peasant, but equal to a brute; if giddy fame was only constant to this report, none could think honour or riches misplaced with our General, except such who can believe cruelties exceeding these of the Goths, Huns, and Vandals, conferred on the preserver of his country, recompence worthy of a Bellizarius. The devouring of a serpent would be thus thought to produce a dragon. Our *George* might not have seemed to conquer a monster, but to have introduced one; in ingratitude equalling that most monstrous piece of barbarism, the mischief-brooding part, which vented nothing but noise and stench, in the opinion of buffoons, could be esteemed more honourable than the head.

Him, who restored the fountain of honour untainted, none can justly envy a liberal benefit of the streams; or, who would deny some larger clusters of grapes to him, by whose beneficence they seem to have the uninterrupted enjoyments of their vines?

Necessity renders the proudest titles contemptible. When an emperor became a soldier to our Eighth Henry, it might seem a timely magnificence, which made a prince's bounties shine in a tent made with cloth of gold. The prince who undervalues himself, or benefactors, by becoming cheap, his kingdoms and armies rarely want purchasers.

The drums must beat, trumpets sound, and images of gold be reared, to make the people fall down and worship; yet, where worldly pelf is the only motive, wise men can rather suffer the fiery furnace of affliction, than pay a devotion to such foolish idols.

Speede's Chronicle hath a remark, that he who thought himself a match for princes, the Low-country prince, or truer king of gypsies, the arch-canter and chief idol of the aërians, who patronized holy hypocrites as sure friends to religion, as he was to the most bosom-friend, whose neck they could, well contented, break, to make way for the espou-

[8] [Gyves, fetters.]

sing of a whimsy, the great Earl of Leicester, the so much celebrated favourite living, unmasked by death, could want a commendation.

Death only makes true confessions: a little loss of air (or as much breath as can furnish out a bubble vanished) leaves the most wind-imposthumed bladder shrivelled. What equals all men, lends an impartial view, and unlearns the mannerly distinctions betwixt a prince and peasant. Homer, though the father of fictions, may gain a sober belief, while he will have hares to insult over dead lions; but envy cannot blast just actions, which (as a minor poet) 'in the dust, can smell sweet and blossom.'

Who undervalued life in his country's cause, lilies and roses may be said to spring from the tomb of a no less renowned Hero, who dared to do as much in the sea, as Curtius in the land, for his country.

Some will have the first degree of revived loyalty commenced at the Three-Tuns, and can dare publicly to aver, that there is a knight, who, being inspired by the same spirit of loyal sack, will swear himself the author of our so happy restoration, and that loyalty or ruin were the only choice left to the General.

The serpent, which gave us the sting, must afford us the cure. Some will not be persuaded, that the juncto, which made him a cypher in commission, contributed no vote to their own ruin, by putting a period to his, gave a date to their own supereminent power; and thus the cunning were catched in their own snare. Yet he, who infatuates the counsel of the worldly-wise, hath the least returns of honour or praise; where those, forgetting God, can suppose a sacrifice due to every foolish net.

The Lord F.[9] (anagrammed by *Hei! fax fato Mars,)* if not the greatest, no slender persuasion will allow, none of the meanest instruments, by rising on the back of Lambert; and thus to have nobly expiated that brutish folly (not to give it a worse name) which suffered us to be deprived of the best of princes.

I have been no infrequent, though, for the most part, an incredulous auditor of a baronet, who would have the General, at his enlargement from the Tower, crave a benediction from Bishop Wren; and assured him, when opportunity was propitious, he should not be averse to the royal service. Neither was this a single tradition which he had received from his loyal father, but another must be attendant on it equally irrefragable, a promise to his loyal comrades, *viz.* never to bear arms in England against his prince. This not a few will have most exactly to be performed, and, hence, by no action of his loyalty to be impeached. What he acted in the first Dutch engagement, and what was performed in the Caledonian war, must, by a milder gloss, be interpreted a zeal for his country, and no disaffection to his king; but the more rigid censors will not allow him, who wounds in hands and feet, no enemy, though not equally mortal with him who transpierces the heart.

A superintendant lord would be a privado to those proceedings, which might call the wisest brains into question to imagine; but, coming from so supereminently knowing a statist, and told in parliament; he may seem wanting to all reason, who could be deficient in the belief of our General's intention, for a restoration. I have heard a kinsman and retainer to his lordship aver the sight of the letter.

Whether O. C. L.[10] &c. have not complimented with vain hopes such as they never intended should reap any benefit above that of a deluded imagination, is the discourse of no unwary, if none of the wisest heads.

The supplement of a chronicle (which some can think might want a stout Peter Heylin, who, blind, might best guess at dark intrigues) must be incontrollable to evince the truth of those intents. A chronicle's name passes with some graver noddles, for an authority equalling that which the vulgar creed hath for a ballad, which their wisdoms conceive as authentic as the divinest writ.

There are vast disproportions (if not a gulf equalling that which separated the rich man from an Abraham's bosom) betwixt such who write to give God the honour, and those who

[9] [Thomas Fairefax.] [10] [Oliver Cromwell.]

arrogate divine honour to their foolish imaginations. The hero, in the romance, must pass strange dangers, encounter monsters, magicians, and giants in difficulties, and be at a precipice for ruin, before miracles are called in for his deliverance.

Cæsar, who writ commentaries on his own actions, though none of the worst, might not be the truest of historians. Opinion puts false spectacles on our eyes; both self-interest and self-conceit not rarely disease our sights, and make us resemble ictericks, who can apprehend no colour beside their own.

Some will have it to be numbered among those rarely numerable infelicities of loyalty, to be huffed by every braggart, not only out of the tributes which should be inseparable from virtue, but must be ever incapable of worldly compassion, unless lost to that reason which should difference from brutes. The foolish things of this world, thus, (in no Christian sense) may seem to confound the wise; but they, who with a grain of salt have only a mite of charity, may pity, not envy, giddiness, advanced to slippery precipices.

Though a sober doctor, in the languishing state of the body-politic, might not be useless, some will not allow the metamorphosed apothecary, by the addition of honour, lost to one, while he provided sauce, with sippets of his own, to make an harsh parcel of chronicle be more easily digested. A merry transformed surgeon, who pretends an equal intimacy in transactions about state-ulcers (if truth is in wine) might be believed, who would have a broomstick, with a rag at the end of it, to have been of sufficient efficacy for the miracle of a revolution.

The Fanatick O.[11] whose name might imply his doctrine fit for lighter grounds, having been baffled about a misquoted piece of the Apocalypse, was sarcastically asked by a lord at the General's table, "Whether he was converted out of the Revelations?" To which he boldly replied to the grandee, equally through all times giddy, "That it was not the *Revelation*, but the happy *Revolution*, to which they all owed their conversions."

That nature should produce nothing more reserved, than our English Hero, will seem not the least of our nation's wonders, when some can impute that crime to him, which makes all things more perlucid than glass; and others will have such not infrequent perturbations impetuously moving in giddy passions, as not to permit the greatest secrets inconspicuous.

The marrying of a niece to a regicide's son might call loyalty in question, did we not live in such an age of wonders, where nothing can seem strange: some can cast away, what others can think a foolish pity, on a lady born of loyal parents, who apprehend not the mysteries of flesh and blood, or rather those transcendant ones of the late times.

It is not the least piece of charity (if some may be credited) to believe he never intended that restoration, of which he was made an happy instrument. His own pristine loyalty, and that of his untainted brothers (by consanguinity, not alliance) might predispose the re-imbibing of so long estranged allegiance. But many swim with the stream, who dare not oppose an adverse torrent.

Report will have the E. of L., drolling, to have told the D. that "he could never have heartily cursed him in his life, except once; and that was when he beat down the city-gates." To whom he merrily replied, "That, while he was doing the work of his masters, they turned him out of commission; but he conceived himself to have been even with them." *Ridentem dicere verum, quid vetat?* can be the question of more than a single Horace.

A person of great and sober honour (who rarely could find a peer in that unhappy juncture, either in estate, or loyally engaged relations) assured with voice and gesture expressing horror and indignation, that nothing of good could be expected from this man; neither by his agents in Scotland, by home-bred or exotic intelligence, the least glimpse of hopes could arise. But a sudden revolution taught a palinode: he had long expected nothing less from so worthy a person. The shepherd, who would be reputed weather-wise, by telling one it would be fair, and another foul, in all weathers kept his reputation.

[11] [Dr. Owen.]

Our late times can shew no few successful imitators of this trifling impostor, who to this foolish craft owe the opinion of their grand wisdom.

In the so much celebrated march from the North, nigh Dunstable, having an opportunity of treating some of his commanders, one of them, a person neither unsociable, nor of that rigidly morose humour, which is inseparable from faction, informed me he could not sufficiently admire at the universal kindness which they encountered in the march from Scotland. If a King was in the design, nothing could be more vain than the people's imaginations; since neither the General, nor his followers, could think of it without horror; and, that I might relinquish vain and fruitless hopes, thought himself obliged in civility and conscience to inform of the oath taken in Scotland, nothing differing from that which, since put by Fanaticks, I have perused in print, not without a new impression of horror.

Christianity will induce us to believe, that neither the General, nor his army, were guilty of that atheistical policy, which calls God in for a witness to a lye. Success instils new thoughts: men have the changes of mind with the vicissitudes of fortune. Factions, like all other traders, enriched by unexpected returns, disdain all partnership; divide and drive different interests. How easily do those speculations, which seemed as high as heaven, stoop to the lure of every fancied profit?

Cromwell, though he snatched at a crown in the comedy [12], could not expect to gain one by the tragedies acted over three nations. The Earl of Essex, who would seem clear from the suspicion of treason against Queen Elizabeth, would not deny that success might have made a traitor.

They, who feared not man, might suppose it in vain to contest with the Deity. The General and his army heard, in their expedition, the voice of the people, like that of God: they found the sinews of war were wanting; and though the chains, gates, and posts of the city were cast down, the spirits of the citizens were indejected: who had engaged to restore a parliament to freedom and honour, it had been perjury not to have performed it, though some will have the act a high violation of faith, deserted first to relinquish the patched piece of folly with the appellative.

The Army introduced no king; but having settled a more rationally-supposed parliament in freedom, acquiesced in the determinations of their superiors: and, thus, the true soldiers of King and Parliament finished, without their cruel aid, the war so long protracted by perjury, rapine, and blood.

It may seem a cruel piece of charity to deprive of Christianity, for the better entitling to grace and excellency. Who came, at the last hour, in the Gospel, was allotted a reward equalling that of the first-comers. Such converts as are the joy of angels, should not be the envy of men.

Some will have the Low-country a nursery for soldiers, but the most unsuccessful academy for religion and loyalty; who exposed their souls and bodies mercenaries in the cause of a rebellious commonwealth, were vainly expected good subjects to a prince.

Generous persons, that are apt to entertain their title in their beliefs, can suppose our General no ignoble soldier of fortune, who, fighting long under her colours, attained the giddy idol for his constant mistress. He deserted no masters, till they deserted him: a Low-country religion both obliged him to a party, and disobliged; when he wanted an exchange for loyalty, he exchanged it; and, when giddy patriots of the then espoused cause were returned fairly to take away his commission, he as honourably relinquished the deserters of themselves and him.

It is a blasphemy to affirm him a deity, though we may justly allow him an Hannibal, a Fabius, an Hercules, a worth equalling, if not superexcelling all the antient heroes. Some foolish sycophants will entitle to more wisdom, than God ever entrusted to mere human nature; yet, while they strive to deify, make him the fool that said in his heart,

[12] [See Vol. I. p. 280.]

'There is no God.' He who can take oaths, with an intention to violate them, it must be a strange excess of charity which can allow him a God in his creed.

General Lesly told Potter a trumpeter, sent to him by the Royal Martyr, "That he would serve his Majesty as faithfully as he had done the Parliament." The Scot gained an easy belief, and, in charity, we may believe intended what he promised: he served them for money, and for gain (which was his religion) would have exposed to sale his masters. But, while a necessitated prince could not go to the price, a king, not to be equalled by millions, is passed in exchange for two-hundred thousand pounds.

Nothing is more pleasant than the junior story of this bonny Jocky, who ran away with blithe Jenny; stealing sixteen shillings sterling from an old mistress at Edinburgh, to defray charges; yet, by temptation of so vast a sum, though much mowing, and many bearns, she reaped not matrimony, till her fingers being as light as her heels, a plundered portion made up the match; which was a muckle day of joy, as the good Countess told the Right Honourable Lady of Oxford, when her husband from a common soldier arrived to be a Scotch general, and, by heading a rebellion, became an earl, to give a reputation to his future villainies. Snakes, though warmed in the most royal bosoms, will requite their entertainment with a sting. Though factions may seem to lose their heads, which are taken off by honour, yet they are rarely wanting to fresh opportunities for mischief.

Our generous Champion, when he had espoused loyalty, and acquired deserved honour, by the evil principle of no mercenary spirit, made conscience a prostitute to the lusts of faction.

Who would wound our Hero, in the weakest part, find him there most impregnable. Honour, conscience, and gratitude, appear in his vindication; and that cruel necessity which can make batteries on the strongest resolutions: none will fancy it brutish sottishness, or that the most daring of men would be affrighted out of reason, by an inconsiderate huffer; the great tie of Christianity which enjoins satisfaction, and the preserving of a generous family, famous through a long series of ancestors, might be no lesser inducements to marriage. If in some things he resembled an Alexander the Great, in others he exceeded the more victorious Julius Cæsar, an husband for all men's wives; excellent above his famed ancestor a Fourth Edward, or a Philip, who, surnamed 'the Good,' wanted his virtue. Our Hero was not captivated by that which enslaves the proudest victors; and made him, whose labours filled all the world, ridiculously to truckle to a distaff. In this a more than Hercules, who, by an invincible fortitude, endured a confinement, which might entitle to a quotidian encountering of monsters, and not less frequent triumphs over wild beasts in passions.

In requital, if he found a wife not rich, she made herself so: some can fancy the riches accruing to her husband, and heir, by this frugal woman's means, made the proudest dowry in three nations scarce a parallel for a match. It was a rare felicity in ages, when the parent's virtue was the child's dowry: who neither gain by inheritance nor acquisition, are only reputed contemptibly poor. Where money answers all things, riches; where worth, virtue may seem the best portion, and most acquirable of perfections.

Though Lycurgus's dogs seem to make an infallible demonstration, they are too uncharitable in their censures, who can believe that no temptation either of gain or profit could intervene, in which, with the transformed cat in the fable, the humour of mousing not returned.

It is reported of Theophilus, that he burnt a rich ship of his wife's, disdaining that the covetous folly of a woman should exchange the title of an Emperor to that of a merchant. Some can hope a more cruel traffick found no acceptation from our induperator [13]; others can fear an harpy's talons laden, were never an ungrateful oblation.

He who plucked the thorns out of the crown, it is charity to believe he would plant no new pricks, or Canaanites resembling them, in his side, whom he had returned to a land of promise.

[13] [Or emperor.]

Who moved in so high a sphere of glory, as our Hero, could not but attract clouds of envy, which, by their blacker interposure, might veil that lustre which they could not obscure. Envious folly, the most obnoxious to mistakes, rarely makes not more bright what she intends most to darken. A sober scrutinist may find our General the least conscious of what the rabble's idol, Report (the common lyar) broaches from frothing hogsheads, either for advantage or impairing of glory. The giddy strumpet, Fame, which is every idiot's prostitute, makes no stop betwixt the extremes of honour or infamy; she cherishes that which we intend to blast by the cold wind of an envious displeasure; and, while active as fire, she would gratify grandeur, consumes what she intends only to enliven by a warmer commendation.

The selling of a prince was a fatal prognostick: may the sale of loyalty be more propitious! The god of this world did so dazzle foolish eyes, that nothing was to be seen in the most execrabe traitor, beside unparalleled excellence. Treason was only a subtle reservedness, or a pious fraud for royal advantage. The mammon of unrighteousness was not employed to provide heavenly places, but to promote earthly interests. Some can think the greatest Judas, here, might have found no cause of desperation, where so many pieces might have entitled to honour and office. M.'s case may serve out of many centuries of observations, who (a constant servant to his royal master through all changes) proved a setter of Oliver's, perched high by Mammon, in this last and more happy revolution defaming him for disloyalty; to have been so grand a virtuoso on record, as might evidence to have received no lesser stipends for annual courses of treason.

Though he who makes haste to be rich, cannot be innocent; yet who would guess the greatness of guilt, by the vastness of a contracted treasure, may be mistaken in their arithmetick. The General's offices of profit, and places of honour, none can justly deny him, nor a wise man the frugal improvement; his retinue was rather beneficial than chargeable, who put neither to the expences of wages or diet.

The courtiers, and his own servants, who revenge, by their tongues, the loss which they have sustained by their teeth, rarely speak well of him, whom they will have the author of board-wages at court, and to have saved half in his own daily allowance: the poulterer's ware, as sacred, must be untouched; if it met no maim at his table, was enjoined, new-roasted, to revisit it next day in company. All excesses are equally dangerous: if he observed the truly golden mean to enrich a family, it could not be dishonourable. The story of Actæon may seem no fable, where the blood of families hath been swallowed for their healths, and the merciless teeth of a fawning retinue have devoured their masters. But, among giddy reports, none can be more incredible, than the menacing of an only child, with disinheriting, for expending five shillings at supper; in which sum, a capon, a bottle of wine, beer, ale, rolls, must be included: though, perhaps, wine might lend the only occasion to the passion, which he who allows to children, adds fire to fire; and, by a fond indulgence, contributes to the ruin of a name, when debauched nature, to quench the preternatural heat, renders them such sponges, as, overcharged by liquor, serve only to expunge their own and ancestors' glory. The philosopher would have cracked his spleen, to have seen vast piles of muck provided, and the ground left unmanured, where nothing could be wanting, that, well employed, might have rendered it fertile. I knew a pedant, of so strangely scrupulous a conscience, that he could number it amongst his sins, to make a boy more learned than his father, which he could suppose might unlearn him that duty which hath the promise of long life. It must be a larger portion of knowledge, which can edify for perfection; the traders in small parcels, gain only some windy inflations, which can puff up: some will not allow it above a windy distemper, which so long discomposed our body-politic, and made that duty forgot, which is a just tribute to the parent of a country.

Not a few think of learning, what Machiavel says of religion, 'That it is an impedi-
'ment to great actions.' Blindness begets boldness, and folly must be entitled to fat and fortunate; or else the plump schismatick could not gain so great an harvest of foolish ears,

which every blast of false doctrine can teach to bow in compliance to the most pernicious ignorance.

Folly may be perched high, like the fabler's crow, yet not secure from a fox's craft: our schismatical reynards, by provoking fools to cant, make the meat in their mouths a purchase, or fail not thus to gain themselves food.

Though the General had a mighty spirit, (as I heard one phrase it,) the woman was not so narrow-souled as her husband; if of any religion, she was a Presbyterian; in the time of the plague, she sent five pounds to a Non-conformist sermon-maker; bestowed twelvepence a-piece on fifty poor widows; caused her son to send two broad-pieces for plaisters, to the gouty versifier of the gang, whose feet were more deservingly nimble for her lord's honour in the Northern expedition. They will not allow him a dram of charity, who cast no mite into the treasury of the saints; but we can hope, though a soldier, he needed not the hypocrite's trumpets, and the alms he gave in secret, will be rewarded openly. However, while there are churches, colleges, hospitals, or any public monuments of charity, he will be acknowledged a benefactor, who seemed to rescue them from the jaws of that sacrilegious wolf, who would have glibly swallowed all things sacred, under the pretence of zeal and reformation.

He could not be ignorant of the six-thousand pounds his wife had, intentionally, devoted to an alms-house, which he made his own act, by an approbation; it may be imputed to an improved religion and loyalty, if he, grown wiser by time, was a less zealous patron of those pernicious house-creepers, who lead silly females captive; to whom a paradise would be displeasing, without the taste of prohibited fruit. If he took no care of what some can call 'the household of faith,' none can deny, worse than an infidel, by taking no care of his own family; what some can call sordidness, if equally considered, may be found a noble frugality, which would not leave so vast a pudding contemptible, for want of suet.

Some will affix to a greater statist than our General, the maxim on which the Indians ground the neglect of God, and the worshipping of the devil; but evil counsel is ever worst to the counsellor: the cunning are rarely not catched in their own snare, and he who digs a pit for loyalty, may fall so deeply in, as the most loyal may find no resurrection.

There are, who will not allow the greatest pretenders to loyalty, to have had an equally obliging nature with that of the pikes, who devour their own kind last. Where the proverb will have a dog loved for his master's sake, he who could but snarl and bark in the cause, and knew never how to fawn on his enemies, to be lost to all respect, might call the grand monopolizers of loyalty's truth into question. Many could have been content to have died, that others might enjoy that right, to whose enjoyment they owed a cruel death. It can be no paradox to aver, that sincere loyalty can never want either a friend or reward; and yet what is most strange, that contradictory assertion may seem equally true, that to no fucated [14] loyalists, the most wished-for of restorations by the extirpation of more loyal families, hath proved a more fatal enemy than the war. In a baptismal vow, we renounced the world, the flesh, and the devil: Engaged in the royal cause, we might seem to fight against those three grand antagonists; if the younger brothers in loyalty, who had wasted their patrimonies on the harlots of schism, and could be content, like the swine, to be fed with the husks of every false doctrine; if the returned prodigals are received into favour, why should the elder brothers repine, having the assurance of a promise? No wise man would trifle away time to gather cockles on the shore, when he may set sail to another country, where are no fickle joys, hopes, or fears, but an *euge, beate!* is made the prologue to an eternal felicity.

Nothing is more comical, than to see our apes of loyal grandeur. How stately are the deportments of foolish mimicks, till the scrambling for nuts exposes ridiculous? Lucretius would have it no lesser pleasure, secure on the shore, to contemplate afar off men tossed

[14] [Disguised.]

on the sea. Who will be laden with this world's merchandise, are the subjects of winds and waves, which seem to sing and sport in their ruins; they are the objects of a fool's envy, but the wise man's pity, who expose frail barks to encounter all storms.

Some can fancy our Hero, the wheel to which we owe all the vicissitudes of giddy greatness, say alternately, he was an enemy to the two supereminently loyal statists; and will have a third, with the loss of land which he ever valued, like to itself, dirt, purchase, with a place, the delusion of a pleasing dream.

The Gordian-knot, which none could untie, an Alexander could cut: it is reported of an angry Lord, E. of P. that, being in office, he made it his business to break wiser heads than his own. Though some praise our General's conduct, to the making of hyperboles modest; others will have his head-piece the worst part of his armour. Who pretend to be most knowing in those affairs, to think that Oliver either could fear there, or be ignorant how to remove him from his command in Scotland, is accounted the most ridiculous part in his story. To C. he must have been like one of the centurion's servants: a mutinous seaman must have found it true, by the experiment of a lost nose, which to patch up, cost him and Oliver ten pieces.

Our Hero never wanted resolution, which is the best sword in war. Had his head been as good as his heart, the nick-named Protector told C.[15] Okey, England would have been too little to have contained a Nol and a Jack; but, heads and hearts holding so unequal a correspondence, the secure tyrant might domineer over three distracted nations. Some, like chymists, by the advantage of other men's heads, may do miracles, who are useless with their own; not above tunnels for smoke, yet by fumes inspired pretend to all things.

Whom not a few have called a delaying Fabius, many can think he would have fought with a daring Hannibal, upon any disadvantage; when neither the odds of number, nor a contradictory commission, could hinder from the disadvantageous engagement with the Dutch. *Militemus*, was an emperor's motto: 'Let us fight, boys;' our more undaunted General's; war was his element, and, out of it, he might seem like a fish out of water.

The opinion of the Stoïcks can animate Turks to brave death in war, and, in peace, intrepid to converse with the most fatal contagion. Our Hero, by stranger revolutions, might be easily induced to embrace the doctrine of an inevitable wheel, who could, dreadless, look down on dangers, fear neither of those bug-bears to mankind, a plague, or war; so much a proselyte to the predestinarian principle, as to think it most ridiculous to fly that fate which is unavoidable.

A knight, related to our G., dehorted him from the Belgick war, as having done already enough for the immortality of a name. To whom he replied, "He was sent into the world upon an errand which must be performed; and, whether it might end at the bottom of the sea, as it was uncertain, so it should not find him concerned." Some will have our Hero, like the poet's Ajax, who disdained to be vincible by any except himself; and will have it so near the finishing his errand in the sea, as guns were placed to sink so great a weight of glory.

Who conquered the world, could not subdue his passions; those mutinying rebels can domineer over the reputed invincible. Some will have thunder and lightning in our incensed Hero's breath; and that he was least, what he persuaded others to be, in his journey from the North, of a sedate temper. Rather than peace should be with the Dutch, he said he would never wear a sword. A more sober statesman is reported to have replied, He had rather lay aside his gown, than that so unnecessary a war should be commenced; informed him of our want of allies abroad, and moneys, war's sinews, which can give strength to the most enfeebled arms, make firm friends at home, and as sure foreign alliances. The wise man knew, (though God and a good cause makes a great sound,) it is the tinkling noise of coin doth the soldier's business; and, however justice is pretended in all

[15] [Colonel.]

engagements, it is to gold, the world's great idol, men are content not only to make the sacrifice of fools themselves, but even their nearest relations.

War is not only sweet to them who never tried it, but to such who have reaped a benefit by it: a soldier can love his harvest. Some cannot arrive to his wisdom, who went out of the world with a 'Thou fool;' with full barns he would have been contented, his soul should have took her ease.

We have had the war, by which the kingdom is so many millions in debt; our Hero, in probability, might have lost his sword, and, if he had been a Dutchman, might have forfeited his head, which renounced not only reason, but even loyalty, by rashly exceeding of his commission; yet the extremity of law might thus have proved the supreme injury. If it was treason in our General (as in the case of an Earl of Essex), it was a venial delinquency; if a traitor, he was the best-meaning; whose superabundant or zeal or valour concluded of an engagement, by the mistaken proposition of the accruing honour and safety to his prince and country, in whose cause his noble, though here not best informed spirit, could have been content to have finished an errand in waves; the best emblems of inconstant greatness, and giddy fortune's favours. The method by which he seemed to restore, he might have secured his country. Here a Fabius, he might have effected by delays, what he could not by fighting, and have seemed a double restorer of this nation, whose rashness might have intitled the demolisher.

It cannot be the least wisdom not to think to do always the same things. Empirical, or valour, or medicine, not rarely successless.

Storms succeed the clearest sun; which a wise man foreseeing, (like to the victorious Charles the Fifth,) quits the stage.

When Cromwell had fallen from his coach, a confident of his was overheard to complain, that he who had raised would ruin them, if a timely care was not taken to preven, the exposure of his wild freaks [16]. Death was a timely friend, nigh to the end of his witts was near to the end of his life; and thus finished what Mazarine called the most fortunate piece of folly.

Some will have him who would be content to resign his gown, rather than there should have been a war, to be forced to resign, because it proved successless.

Men rarely can be pleased with his company, whose looks may upbraid their miscarriages. The incensed rabble, like to heathen idols, must have human blood for a sacrifice, though the foolish overflowings of their gall can be pacified by no more grateful oblation than that, by which they express all ills, ingratitude: seldom not gratified by his ruin, who might most seek their preservation.

Though Strafford was allowed to be no precedent, yet some will ever propose him for an example; and no act of oblivion will make us so lost to our memories, that the most unfortunate Earl will be forgot, who (incomparably loyal) was impeached by such arch-rebels, as, by introducing the Scots, were guilty of the highest treason; and the most implacable enemy of traitors fell their sacrifice.

When putrid members were to be cut off, the body-politic was deprived of the sounder part, which might have secured it from incroaching mischiefs; while an unparalleled prince's clemency, which gave fears to none, and left not the greatest villainies destitute of hopes, administered, in the grand Statesman's ruin, if not a just, an unhappy cause of his own untimely period.

The gratifying of the weakest heads, with the loss of the wisest; as a most bloody, so is rarely not a most successless policy.

The Athenians might be thought to have a veneration for an owl only, who could estrange worth by an ostracism.

Some will have the greatest of English statists to have perished by their own weapons. One wise head, like Galba's wit, not ill placed, may exceed in value not only many millions of money, but armies of men.

[16] [See Vol. I. p. 280.]

Good intelligence and bold truth (some say) could unfix a no undeserving relation of the General's, whom nothing, except his displeasure, unriveted from the greatest office of trust; in which the successor may seem not the least of state riddles: but mysterious grandeur is such an abyss, as fools will fondly guess at the depth of that, which the plummets of the most comprehensive reasons can never fathom.

Some who are uncapable of the diviner mysteries, can put themselves to the troublesome admiration, how the extemporary trash of a canting and long-winded schismatick, in a chamber, can be preparatory to the more sober devotion of the chapel-royal? Or how the true loyal and religious grandees, our incomparable converts, can keep chaplains to assert with paper pellets that schism to which they must be greatest strangers, if not estranged to their allegiance; and to defile their new honours have not licked up their old vomits? The actors on the world's theatre, by shifting cloaks and beards, act different parts, and interchangeably fill up the play of life with calamitous scenes of misery, or ridiculous interludes.

Nothing is more pleasant in our revolutions than to hear the grand enemies of the prerogative, and the lordly branches, the most confident assertors of the privileges which the King and Lords may most justly challenge; and the same persons formerly could most unjustly impugn; who deprived the throne of supporters, will ever stand in need of one to cleave to, and secured by the unicorn can be dreadless of the lion. The least friends of the loyal clergy will ever want the benefit of it in a psalm of mercy. How appositely is the Prince's prerogative pleaded in the favour of schism by the protosticklers of it, which would allow him none in religion? And yet thus they can hope a privilege for such as, void both of tenderness and conscience to a prince, could deny him a liberty they would have indulged to the meanest subjects.

There may be no improbable conjecture, as well as other grandees, a confident ignorance might easily impose on our Hero. The entrusting so valued a body with such an illiterate quack, as some would have disdained to have made the farrier to a beloved or generous beast, can lend no small suspicion; the patronage of the Stroaker some will have a too pregnant example.

Age, in itself an invincible disease, might assure no easy conquest of a concomitant distemper, which might be intitled Old; yet twenty years of superannuation, and twelve of deafness, were esteemed inconsiderable in a nonagerian woman, when a wonder-working hand could appear for the recovery, the Stroaker G.,[17] sent by the General to restore her so long estranged hearing.

Simon Magus, Apollonius, Peregrinus Philosophus, and Alexander Paphlago, who appeared with lying wonders to give a disrepute to primitive Christianity, could not be more confident than this gracious babe of the Presbyterian reformation. While the Puritans accuse the Papists for their holy maid of Kent, Elizabeth Barton, they forget Elizabeth Crofts, their wench in the wall: as if stroaking could secure the wildest adversaries, every party hath been provided by a thus trifling impostor.

Men in power should not make themselves conscious, by such a brutish connivance as calls God's and his vicegerents' honours into question.

The bold folly of Stroakers may seem a mocking of majesty, and the intrenching on that prerogative, which conferred by a St. Edward the Confessor and a St. Lewis, on the Kings of England and France, to cure by touch, must be reputed sacred; such a jewel as cannot be alienated from a crown.

Miracles need not be called into the scene, where natural causes can be ascribed. Stronger frictions can cure some intercutaneous maladies, should the balsam of a sweating palm be denied conducive by the effluviums of wonder-working atoms.

A knight, a relation to the Duke, and son to the grandeve patient of the Stroaker, gratifying my curiosity with the converse of the trifler, I heard him as confidently propose Moses an example for his doing of miracles, as if he had been to lead the Jewish tribes of

[17] [Greatrakes. See Oldys' Catalogue of Harleian Pamphlets, No. 211.]

pharisaical Presbyterians through a Red Sea into a Land of Promise; and the invasion of France being then noised, the English by a cunning man, might hope the recovery of what they had lost by a wise woman. If the braggart or a vouching comrade, were to be believed, the General was so endeared by the recovery of his kinswoman's eye, that he would not allow him a night's absence to gratify the importunity of relations.

Sinking men will take hold of reeds. Stroaking, which could hear abominable superstition and jesuitical contrivance in the Papists, must give a reputation to the declining cause of Presbyterians. The wonder-working lieutenant was the most affecting discourse of that party, which had he been of a different fancy, for his lying wonders they would have intitled him an Antichrist.

Whom some would have a candidate for a cardinal's cap, others will have probationer for a fool's; while he could countenance a stroaking friar to enter contest with a prince, and shew a chapel less efficacious for miracles than a banqueting-house.

It not a little perplexed Sir K. D.[18] and made not a few merry, that an eminent churchman, with an honourable title, and the not disingenuous son of a grand virtuoso, exposed an innocent to danger, and themselves to be ridiculous. The solemn pageantry, which attended the simple Irish priest's stroaking, to wiser heads of their own profession, seemed a discretion rivalling theirs, who with kettles afford their tinkling charity to the moon in an eclipse.

Who, since the restoration, gained to his right-honourable title a blue ribband, and, in some opinions, was entitled to a refined wit, and grand politician; the late times report the patient and admirer of a stroaking lunatick, the unhappy stroaker, whose disturbed brains for their recovery might want more drugs than an Anticyra could furnish, which so long deluded the most active endeavours of medicine, attended by the severest discipline of Bedlam.

Who can wonder if nature's rude draught, a soldier polished by no art, imposed on by proud ignorance and giddy fame, might give a stroaker's folly a commendamus? where the wisest heads might have their judgments called in question by their hands. Desert is not only unattended on by a mandamus, but rarely encounters an unbribed commendation. Empty heads make the greatest sound, and full purses the most significant noise for preferment. A Fanatic trooper, who might be lost to all knowledge, if he had not plundered it from loyalty, whose library was not above a Barrow's method, and an almanack, two doctors' hands required for the granting of a licence to practise physick, he produced an obsolete mandamus from the grand protector of ignorance, Cromwell, which, in the worst of times, had not the confidence to visit Oxford; in the best durst encounter the most learned Bishop Saunderson, who in vain could resist it: ten angels, powerfully appearing to his chancellor, were satisfactory motives to make by the golden rule of practice a true licentiate.

The schools can make it disputable, whether what was intended the greatest encourager of virtue, hath not been the least acquainted with merit. Learning and loyalty put beyond all dispute, brought to the test, would be rarely found above in the fees and mandamus of not a few booted fishermen for degrees: (as they call them which are catched by a golden hook.) Losers may have a prating licence. If a few complain, many have cause to praise this golden age. He must be wise who is rich; or some whose mercenary spirits can give so glib a commendation to the most deplorable pieces of folly, may be questioned for that wisdom which makes fools and themselves equally fortunate.

Worldly grandeur, with the not misbecoming attributes of Right Honourable and Right Worshipful, sometimes can have a too unhappy resemblance to pagan idols, which, having eyes and ears, neither hear nor see.

[18] [Kenelm Digby: who wrote 'Of the cure of wounds by the powder of sympathy,' &c. &c. See Wood's Athenæ.]

Whose wisdom lies in another man's head, (who can be blind and deaf for interest,) may make a comment on that text, which will have 'a man, being in honour, compared to the 'beasts which perish without understanding.'

Some will have our English Solomon in pain, to have listened to a woman for a remedy. There are who guess by the touchstone of physick, whose ignorance might exceed a Fanatick's sermon, not the only empirick who attended our Hero. France, France, often repeated in the opinion of a Francis, could equal the titles of an emperor. To excuse his mistakes, and make a parallel for all worthies, we may repeat the 'Soldier, Soldier.' Some think they honour most in making no soldier, but an uncommissioned and peaceable spectator to the most happy of revolutions.

When the stinking part, offensive to most nostrils, had her presbyterian appurtenances adjoined, which (long laid aside for sweetening) had not deposited their rankness to clear noses, one of their prime votes was, That no man should be capable of office, who would not subscribe rebellion lawful: for by a necessary illation it is deducible, if a war against the King was just. I have heard some, not of so ill-informed judgments, as to believe the levelling of a war against a prince not treason; yet so loose-principled in religion, that they would assert all oaths and subscriptions lawful, which might render capable of serving the royal interest; such tools were as profitable to loyalty, as the Gnosticks to Christianity. He, who dares not trust God, in vain may be credited by man. 'To play the devil for 'God's sake,' hath been a common proverb, but was never entered for an article in a sober belief.

Who could glory in being confessors, and could think to suffer in the cause of God, their king, and country, martyrdom; air and dirt, life and fortune, were contemptible trifles to them, proposing white robes in confession, and purple in their sufferings, which might be prologues to crowns and immortality; but such, who followed deserted loyalty, as the people our Saviour into the wilderness for the miracle of loaves, seeking worldly advantages, might pawn their souls for trash, and sin for a morsel of bread.

It is an atheistical piece of folly to disown Omnipotency, that we may gratify weak surmisers.

The custom of swearing and forswearing hath, in our unhappy land, took away the sense of perjury: by the no unfrequent use of poison, it went into the opinion of such nutriment, as might seem necessary for their constitutions. In a wilderness of apes and monkeys, none could dread, by an oath, to take in a spider.

That oaths may make a land mourn, we have religion to assure, and reason to instruct us; but, how they can be instruments to our rejoicing, may be an article of that creed only, which could exchange a Christ for an Adonis, and make religion truckle to every darling folly.

In such an apostasy, as might make an unhappy land sigh, and wonder at herself so soon turned leper, some believe a thundering legion to have secured our Theodosius; we received a Charles by the grace of God, not favour of men. No quirks nor intrigues of giddy politicians, but He alone who rules the wheel of human vicissitudes, produced this happier revolution; the best of physicians, and no worm-brained mountebank of state, subvened to our distractions; when the twisting of sand by foolish combinations was found a successless folly, and the brain-sick hopes of fondest royalists might pass for phrensy. God derided from heaven, and by dividing their councils, who were enemies to our David, turned the wisdom of our Achithophels into a rope.

When the bricks were doubled, a Moses came: our task-masters grown intolerable, God raised us up deliverers. The stars in their courses, which fought against, fight for us; the most inauspicious planets, by happier conjunctions, deposit their malevolence, and seem to have friendly aspects for loyalty, by a more propitious revolution. Sure this was 'the Lord's doing, and should be marvellous in our eyes.' God scattered the men who took delight in war, and, by a bloodless victory, gave us peace; the prayers and tears of a poor and distressed party, the weapons of the church militant, prevailed over the loud-crying blasphemy and perjuries of their enemies.

The war begun from Scotland; a nation fatal to princes; a region of darkness can give light: and the North, infamous for ill, must be celebrated for good, since from that place we received the first part of our cure, to which we owed the beginning of mischief.

The Lord, who, being a general, gave way to a prince's ruin, without which it could not have been effected; now a private man opens a way for a general, which led for a king's restoration, without which it might have been vainly hoped.

The dragon's tail, which gave royalty the fatal wound, cures it by an antimonarchical note; by seeking to introduce a plurality of generals, brings in one king.

The members which an army secluded, an army restores. Now better restored to their senses, than to believe a king, though entitled to the name of a Solomon, when he called them all Princes, they could not now fancy the members eternal, (who, by the loss of that unhappy head, which, entrusted with power for its own ruin, might find themselves mortal:) they could no longer dream of being omnipotent, when, as a debt due to vengeance for denying the just tribute of allegiance, they had encountered the curse of curses, been servants of servants; and, what might be the highest aggravation, enslaved by their own vassals.

An antesignane of schism seems a precursor of loyalty. He, who by imposing on factious ears, had justly lost his own, now might seem worthy of the reserved head, which, in its lucid intervals, could be so beneficially sober.

Loyal reason was such a miracle from the self-contradicting author, as could produce a self-denying ordinance, which might be as instrumental to a happy restoration, as that was to the utter extinguishing of faint and glimmering loyalty.

The Sampsons, who had been bound and blinded by deceitful Dalilahs, false oaths and foolish engagements; though with their own dissolution; can be content to pluck down the house of the Philistines so long devoted to the idol's folly.

A sober council met; the heart of the kingdom votes for an head, that it might be no longer a senseless nation; by whose returned command a loyal body is legally summoned, which may truly hear patriots, restorers, an healing senate, sanctuaries, not slaughter-houses of innocents; who by contributing religious and loyal votes, have expiated there the cruel follies, where irreligious and disloyal suffrages changed an happy land into a field of blood.

The merry Dr. Collins desired his taking of the covenant might be deferred till the Day of Judgment, when it would be clearly known what became of Covenanters.

Wise men will suspend rash censures; while the curtain is drawn, the best of prophets are but probable conjecturers.

Nothing of earthly glory hath been wanting to grace our Hero, even to the apotheosis of an emperor.

Our patron George interred, a solemnity was intended to a tutelar saint of the name; which had it been performed, an hot-brained zealot, who had perused a Tertullian, or a St. Cyprian *de Spectaculis*, might be more dangerously troublesome, to the discomposure of weak and scrupulous noddles, than the polypragmatic lawyer, in his less significant and more ridiculous misquoting of them against stage-plays. That, which is not evil in itself, may be sometimes not well advised.

The order of the Garter may defend itself by its motto, 'Evil to him who evil thinketh.'

Theognis will have Jupiter neither with rain, nor without it, to please all men. Neither a close fist, nor an open hand, can want a misconstruction: what was wanting to nearest relations, was conferred on the General, without whom all might seem unavailable for a crown.

Wise men can be pleased with the most excellent gratitude, and fools can be gratified with the gaiety of the sight.

It was the custom of heathens to destroy the living, under pretence of honouring the dead; not a few, made close mourners by a civil death, seemed to follow the corpse of an usurper.

Some can fancy, that an Essex, Ireton, and a Cromwell, lay in their beds of blas-

phemed honour with more fond state; none are supposed to have equalled his funeral-pomp, inferior alone to that of princes by a diadem: the defects of earth may heaven supply, by changing a fickle coronet into a never-fading crown.

Mars, in most opinions, is best pictured reeking in blood; a general rendered inglorious, if not exposed in the purple of war: to bring in our Hero with the white robes of a confessor, and disengaged from the bloody camps of a rebellious schism, to make a soldier of the church militant, which can only lead to the truly triumphant paths of glory, if an error is more venial than by entitling to the craft to bestow on him the prey of foxes; a great, rather than a good renown, unworthy of a Christian champion. Let Mahometans glory in praises common to wolves, bears, and tigers, who expect in paradise no pleasure above that of goats, by the enjoyment of brutish sensuality.

Foolish historians, like fond heralds, make the most savage of beasts supporters to the arms of the highest grandeur; butcheries and debaucheries, the prime parts in the tragedies of their heroes. What, but named, might turn Christians' blood into a congealed cake of ice, is affixed to the story to make a more horrible Polyphemus.

Discretion should lay aside the bloody shirt. The famed Conqueror of the East, who, instead of all the vain pomp of proud funerals, would have a shirt carried aloft in triumph, to shew how small a portion was left a Saladine, after his mighty acquisitions; surely had a cleanly shift, and no bloody emblem, exposed of human inconstancy. The cruel piece of duty, which sacrificed a man to revenge, for an injured father, (though some can fancy generous, heroic, and a prophetic action, which first made the soldier, who was to restore the common parent,) may it ever be forgot; whilst the bloodless conquest, for a country's father, never wants a grateful commemoration.

May the bloody achievements in a Belgick, Irish, Scottish war, be ever silenced, and after so honourable a death, be introduced by no puny historian, who while he fancies the erecting of trophies, by accumulating the dangerously acquired conquests of an hero, exposes a brutish valour, and baffled reason, for marks of honour; by a mistake of objects, affixes indelible notes of infamy. While the lion is forgot, may the triumphs of the lamb be celebrated, who unlearned us the fierceness of savages, and by attending to the voice of peace, became a *gratioso* to a most peaceable prince on earth; and hath the promise of the blessing which attends upon peace-makers, and thus may be intitled a favourite to the King of kings, who disdains not the title of 'the Prince of Peace.'

It was no cruel victory to which our Hero owed his honours, and three nations their preservation. God appeared not in the thunder and lightning of war, but in the soft whisperings of peace, for the most happy of restorations.

The General can never want the encomium of a Fabius, who will be ever intitled, by delays, the Restorer. To attribute our restoration to the church's prayers, though an heterodox, can be no culpable opinion; which cannot dishonour God by ascribing all to his mercies; nor the King to have his cause owned by Heaven; nor the General, by being made an instrument in the hand of the Almighty; when his own arm was withered by the loss of strength in a commission.

The Psalmist's fool said in his heart 'there was no God;' and he said that 'all men 'were lyars:' may wars, plagues, nor fires, be the cruel remembrancers to instruct that truth, which we are so apt to forget, 'To God only belongeth salvation.'

'Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to thy name be the glory.' Who would rob God of his glory on earth, may fall short of being glorified in heaven.

To God alone, as ever due, be ever glory; whose fame only can make an history everlasting.

A Letter to a Person of Honour, concerning the King's Disavowing the having been married to the Duke of Monmouth's Mother.[1] [1681.]

[Quarto, containing Twenty-four Pages.]

My Lord,

AS you cannot but have seen his Majesty's declaration[2], wherein he renounceth the having been married to the Duke of Monmouth's mother[3]; so I believe you will not be displeased to have an account of the sense of the thinking-men about the town concerning it: and this (without either disguising, or concealing what is publicly discoursed,) I shall, as becomes your Lordship's servant, address myself to give you.

And in the first place, 'They say it is no surprise to them, that seeing the Duke of 'York hath gotten the ascendant of the King, he should hector him into, or at least extort 'from him, the foresaid declaration. For, can any imagine, that he who for some time 'renounced his own wife[4], and had provided persons to swear a familiarity with her, 'which made her unworthy of being duchess; should scruple to importune the King, to 'do as much by Mrs. Walters, though it were never so demonstrable that he was married 'unto her? The course he practised himself, he may without any breach of charity be 'thought ready to prescribe to others. And it may be, he thinks it will be some extenuation of what he did himself, if people can be brought to believe that it is a disease natural 'to the family, and which runs in a blood.' Now we all know, not only with what asseverations the Duke disclaimed his marriage with Mrs. Hyde, but with what reflections upon her chastity he did it. And yet the proofs of the said marriage were so evident, that he was necessitated at last to acknowledge it; and to own her for his wife; after he had by himself, and many others, proclaimed her for no better than a common whore. And I am sure it left this impression upon most persons, that his faith to men was not very far to be relied on; seeing he made so slight of that faith, which he had plighted in an ordinance of God to a harmless lady.

Secondly, Most men do observe this difference between the King's renouncing Mrs. Walters, and the Duke's disclaiming Mrs. Hyde: that what the Duke did, was an act of inclination and choice, whereas it is apparent, that what the King hath done, is the result of dread and fear. For, to use his Majesty's own expression, not long ago, 'He was ha'rassed out of his life, by the importunity of his brother,' &c. as he added, 'He could 'rather choose to die than live so uneasily as he did, while he withstood their daily solicita'tions in this matter.' And as nothing made the Duke honest to Mrs. Hyde, but the interposition of his Majesty's authority, from a sense of the justness of the lady's complaint; so they believe the King is only injurious, through the influence of others, and that when rescued out of ill hands, and left to himself, he will return to be just. For though his Majesty be a prince of that clearness of understanding, that they cannot baffle him by false

[1] See Oldys' Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 63.

[2] [Published in the Gazette, after being made openly in council, in consequence of Monmouth's arrival in England from Holland, without leave of the King.]

[3] [Mrs. Lucy Walters, otherwise called Barlow, a beautiful woman, of a good family in Wales. This person bore to Charles the Second, the most distinguished of his numerous progeny, James Stuart, duke of Monmouth and Buccleuch, who, in the result of a quarrel with his uncle, the Duke of York, was excluded from the King's favour; and this daring pamphlet was put forth by some of his partisans, to assert the legitimacy of Monmouth, against the express and solemn declaration of his father. See Mr. Scott's Dryden, ix. 253.]

[4] [Ann Hyde, daughter of the Earl of Clarendon, to whom James II. when duke of York, had conducted himself with time-serving treachery.]

reasonings, yet he hath so much of James's timidness, that they can huff and over-awe him to things most opposite to his judgment, as well as cross to his interest. And let me upon this occasion remind your Lordship of a story of a Scots nobleman to my Lord Burleigh, upon that wise statesman's desiring a character of King James, long before he ascended the English throne: "If your Lordship (saith the blunt Scotsman) know a jackanapes, you cannot but understand, that if I have him in my hands, I can make him bite you; whereas, if you get him into your hands, you may make him bite me."

Thirdly, The whole town is apprehensive, that the King, through endeavouring by this act to secure himself in the grace, at least forbearance of the Duke, and popish party, will find in the issue, that instead thereof, he hath left himself naked and exposed to their wrath and malice. Nor is there any thing more probable than that what the King calls and intends only, for a declaration to serve his present occasions, they will transform into his last will and testament, to accommodate theirs. If Queen Elizabeth, when tempted to declare her successor, declined it with this saying, that 'such an act would be the digging 'her grave, before she were dead:' have we not great cause to apprehend, that the King having by this act digged his own grave, his brother (or the Jesuits, under whose government he is,) will find hands to bring and put him into it; lest through delay, something should intervene that would fill it up again? It is a pity, that none would call to his Majesty's memory that saying of Tacitus, *Suspectus semper invisusque dominanti qui proximus destinatur.* Which, by varying a little from the Latin, I will English thus: 'That he 'ought to be always suspected, and carefully watched against by the ruler, who most ar-'dently hopes, and thinks himself in likelihood to succeed him.' Statesmen in old times reckoned it for a maxime in politicks, that *Ne mentio fieret hæredis, vivo adhuc principe:* 'That while the prince liveth, there ought not to be so much as a mentioning of any 'whose right it was to come after.' For as subtle Tiberius upbraided Macro, that he forsook the setting sun, to worship the rising; so King Charles may have in time, if he have not already, cause to object the same to some about him. That crafty Emperor knew more of the art of self-preservation, than crowned heads in our days seem to do. For though he had adopted Germanicus, at the command of Augustus, of whom he received the empire; yet having a son of his own, namely Drusus, he would never declare in favour of either so long as they lived; but judged his own safety to consist in leaving it doubtful, whose title to the universal monarchy was best. However, say most of his Majesty's subjects, though we have not been able to prevent the King from this unwary act, by which he hath staked his life to the pleasure of his enemies; yet we will be kinder to him than he hath been to himself, and contribute all we can to his security; and that is, by letting the world know, that we will revenge his death, by sacrificing the whole popish party upon his grave, in case he should come to an untimely end.

Fourthly, This declaration would be received with less hesitation in the minds of people, if kings and princes were not made of the same mould with other men, and liable to the like failures, and moral prevarications, that the rest of the sons of Adam are. And therefore, observing how common it is for persons upon a lower ground to renounce their wives, and most sacredly disclaim their marriages; they conceive it is not impossible, but that these, who move in higher spheres, may upon strong temptations do the like. Yea, our own history furnisheth us with an instance of a great king, and one who swayed the English sceptre, who is transmitted to us, with this blot in his escutcheon. The person I mean is Edward the Fourth, who being a sprightly and amorous prince, was suddenly contracted and married to Elinor Talbot, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and that not only without any witnesses, save Dr. Thomas Stillington, bishop of Bath, (into whose hands the contract was made, and who officiated at, and celebrated the marriage,) but besides the poor Doctor was strictly enjoined by the King to conceal it; and you may easily suppose the timorous prelate would not fail in his duty to majesty, at least so long as he knew the King in a condition to punish and avenge the discovery. Now Edward the Fourth, finding thereupon admission into the embraces of the lady, and having satiated himself awhile by secret enjoyments, and withal reckoning that none could, or at least

durst detect by what holy ties he was bound unto her; he did some years after (notwithstanding the person to whom he was affianced still survived) both deny what was so solemnly transacted in the presence of Almighty God between them, and withal married another woman, namely my lady Elizabeth Gray. Your Lordship may see the story both in Buck's 'Life of Richard the Third,' pag. 16, &c. and in Comines's 'History of Lewis the Eleventh.' And without making any application of it to the present case, I shall crave liberty to make these remarks upon it.

1. That it is possible for princes, especially such as have accompanied with many women, to have weak memories, and to forget upon what terms they contracted their first friendships with them. For, finding how their familiarity arose with others of that sex, they may grow, by degrees, into a kind of persuasion, that their interest, in all, was established upon no better terms. Or, if they should not be supposed so forgetful as this amounts unto; yet the love of change may make them stifle their knowledge, especially when the objects of their fresh amours cannot be otherwise brought to entertain their flame, but with a provision for their own honour.

2. That the denials of kings are not to be subscribed unto with an implicit faith; but that we ought to use the same discretion in believing or not believing what they say, that we esteem ourselves privileged to use towards others, in the credit which they require we should give unto them. For though princes be not liable to be impleaded in our courts, nor be subject to penalties, that transgressing subjects are; yet, seeing they may be guilty of the same facts, which would both leave a reproach upon common men, and make them obnoxious to punishments; it cannot rationally be expected, that their bare words should restrain the freedom of our thoughts, or give law to our understandings, in the judgment that we are to make of cases and things.

3. I would observe, that though the judicial courts could not, and the parliaments, during Edward's reign, would not, take cognisance of that King's contemning and violating the ordinance of God, by disclaiming his lawful wife; yet the righteous Judge of heaven and earth, in a little while after, animadverted severely on the offence: for not only his two sons, whom he had by the Lady Gray, were murdered by their uncle; but the kingdom was translated from his family, and not only bestowed upon the chiefest enemy of his house, but upon one, who, among all that, for a long series before, had been rivals for the crown, had the weakest title.

4. It is not unworthy also of our notice, that, notwithstanding King Edward's denying his first marriage, and assuming another lady unto his conjugal bed, yet all this could neither prevent the future enquiry into this matter, nor the parliament's recognizing the marriage with Elinor Talbot, 1 Rich. III. and besides the imputation of a bigamist, which is thereby stamped upon him to all ages, his children, by the second venter, were bastardized by statute; and an occasion, from thence taken, to place the sceptre in the hand of Richard.

Fifthly, Nothing, in this declaration, can preclude the Duke of Monmouth, or any other true Englishman, from enquiring (when time serveth, by legal and due ways) into the truth or falsehood of the King's marriage with Mrs. Walters; for the Duke cannot be denied the same right, which appertains to every person in the kingdom, namely, the justifying his own legitimacy in due course and form. And should he choose to sit down with the imputation of a bastard, with all the other losses which attend it; yet there are those in the nation, who (preferring their duty to God, their country, themselves, and an injured gentleman, before a reverence to one man, especially acting under the influence of a popish brother) will bring that whole business into an impartial examination, before such, where a single negative will not be allowed as a sufficient proof to invalidate affirmative testimonies, providing such can be had. And, should that marriage hereafter be authentically proved; how ill will they be found to have deserved both of the King and kingdom, that have either surprized, cajoled, or threatened his Majesty, to bring such a slur upon his honour and reputation, as this declaration will, to all ages, entail? And, my Lord, is it not strange, if there was never any such marriage, that Mrs. Walters

should not only, when in travail with the said D. but at many other times, particularly in her last hours, when in the prospect of approaching death, and ensuing judgment, affirm it with that positiveness which she did? And is it not more surprizing, if there had been no such marriage, that Dr. Fuller, late bishop of Lincoln, should so often, and *in verbo sacerdotis*, declare to divers worthy persons, "That he married them." Nay, what should bias the innkeeper at Liege, to make it the great mystery with which he entertained his English guests, "That the marriage was celebrated and consummated in his house; and that both he and his wife were eye and ear witnesses of it?" Moreover, if it were such an idle story, as the declaration represents it; how came it to pass, that when some persons, lately examined about the black box, declared, "That they had heard of such a thing, as the King's being married to that gentlewoman," they should be immediately commanded to withdraw, and told, "That this was not the business they were interrogated about?" Besides, my Lord, as all who were abroad with his Majesty at that time, knew the passion the King had for that person; so some of us can remember, how, through immoderate love to her, being reduced to a condition that his life was despaired of, and the late Queen, his mother, receiving intelligence both of his disease and the cause of it, she consented to his espousing of her, rather than that he should consume and perish in his otherwise unquenchable flames. Moreover, as there were few had better opportunities of being acquainted with this whole affair, than my late Lord-Chancellor Hyde, so I am sure the advantages likely to accrue to his off-spring, by the seclusion of the Duke of Monmouth from all title to the crown, may be judged sufficient inducements to have prevailed with him, if not to have asserted the said Duke's bastardy, yet to have been silent in the case, and not to have proclaimed the legitimacy. And yet that very lord (being in danger of an impeachment in parliament, for advising and persuading the King to a marriage with Queen Catharine) excused himself from all sinistrous ends in that affair, by affirming, that his Majesty had a lawful son of his own by a former marriage (specifying by name the Duke of Monmouth) to succeed to his crown and dignity. Now, though it may be supposed that a person may sometimes lye for his interest, yet no man can be thought to do so, in order to the prejudice, as well of himself, as his whole posterity: and if we believe men speaking falsehoods, in subserviency to their honour and profit, shall we not give credit to them, when they speak truth to their own damage, and that of all those who are dear unto them? Certainly, the positive confession and testimony of this one person, being against the interest of his whole family, is of more weight, than the denials of any number whatsoever, when merely to promote their safety and advantage, or to serve the exaltation of the Papal cause. These are but few of the many particulars I could acquaint your Lordship with, relating to the confirmation of a marriage between the King and Mrs. Walters: but it is a piece of necessary wisdom, at this juncture, to know what not to say, as well as to understand what to say. And, to tell you plainly, I am more a servant and a friend to my country, than by pretending to plead the Duke's cause, and to be useful to the nation, to discover the witnesses which are in reserve, or betray the farther evidences, which are to be produced, when this matter shall come before a competent judicature.

Sixthly, It is matter of no small trouble, to such as truly love his Majesty, that the King's integrity and honour should be brought to stake, in a matter, wherein both the present age, and the succeeding, may take occasion to question, and bring into examination, his truth and sincerity. For though it is not impossible, but that princes, considering the temptations with which they are surrounded, may (sometimes, through inadvertency, and at other times, upon state-motives,) endeavour to impose upon the credulity, if not abuse the faith of their people: yet, the veracity of a supreme governor is of that importance to himself, and so necessary to the veneration which his people ought to maintain for him, that he is not to bring his credit to pawn, unless it be in such cases wherein his people may, if not apologize for, yet connive at the indiscretion and weakness of their ruler, should he be found to delude them. Nor hath any thing obstructed the affairs of princes more, and pre-

vented their people's believing them, when they spoke their most inward thoughts, than the forfeiture of their credit in matters wherein their subjects relied upon the honour and truth of their word. For they who do not mean as they speak, when people are prepared to hear them, must not expect that their words should be much relied upon, when their tongues are the true interpreters of their minds. And let me tell your Lordship, that this last declaration hath caused multitudes of his Majesty's best subjects to reflect upon, and take a view of many of his former declarations, that from them they may be furnished with reasons for justifying themselves in the suspension of their assent to this. And I wish there had not been that cause administered by foregoing ones, which may, with too many, lessen the value of the royal word, in that bearing date the second of June.

The first of this kind he ever published, after he came in view of being restored to the sovereignty over these kingdoms, was that dated at Breda, the fourth of April, 1660, wherein he promised liberty to all tender consciences, and engaged the sacred word of a king, 'That no man should be disquieted, or called in question, for differences in matter 'of religion, provided they did not disturb the peace of the kingdom.' Now, though I will not dispute about the sense wherein this declaration was meant, nor concerning the end for which it was calculated and framed; yet this I may be allowed to say, that there are a great many of his Majesty's liege people, who have tasted dealings directly repugnant unto it, and may justly complain of some failure in the accomplishment of it.

It is true, his Majesty is not originally to be blamed, that it had not the hoped-for effects; but, withal, that prince that can be over-ruled to recede from a promise which contributed so much to his happy and peaceable restoration, may be supposed capable of such impressions, from men of ill minds, as may make him venture his royal word, in other cases, beyond the measures of justice. But seeing it were a business of too much fatigue, to call over all the declarations since his Majesty actually occupied the British throne, I shall therefore remind your Lordship only of two more: whereof, the first is that of January the second, 1671, wherein the King, upon shutting up the exchequer, declares, on the word of a prince, 'That the restraint, put upon payments out of the 'treasury, should continue no longer than till the last of December, 1672;' and yet the fulfilling of this is still prorogued, though it be now above nine years since the royal word was pledged for making it good. The other, that I shall refresh your memory with, is that of the twentieth of April, 1679, wherein his Majesty, having shrived himself, and craved absolution for all past matters, solemnly declareth, 'That he would, for 'time to come, lay aside the use of any single ministry, or private advices, or foreign 'committees, for the general direction of his affairs; and that he would afterwards 'govern his kingdoms by the advice of that council which he had then chosen, together 'with the frequent use of his great council of parliament, as being the true and ancient 'constitution of this state and government.' Far be it from me to blame his Majesty for the disappointment of those hopes which the people had so universally conceived upon that declaration, which was so full of ingenuity and candour, and so adapted to the honour, safety, and interest both of king and kingdom: but this may be said without the least umbrage of irreverence, that the same pestilent men, who were able to cause his Majesty to violate such a declaration, (wherein he spoke the most like a wise and good prince that ever he did,) may be also able by the same ascendant influence, to wrest an unadvised and bad one from him. The same councils which prevailed upon him to go against both his royal word, and all the maxims of policy with which he is so richly endowed; may they not likewise be conceived to have over-ruled him in this, to speak against his knowledge and those moral principles of truth and justice, with which, when left to himself, he appears to be imbued? Nor do I doubt, but that, among other things they had in prospect to compass by this declaration, they hoped to shut his Majesty out of the love of his best Protestant subjects; so that, when brought to fall by their traitorous conspiracies, his death may be at once unlamented and unrevenged. But let them not flatter themselves: for if there be any thing false or unjust in it, we ascribe it all to their

rage against our laws and our religion, and do only complain of the King's facility in suffering himself to be so openly abused.

Seventhly, But whereas there is one thing in the declaration by which men of honest and easy minds, being unacquainted with the practices of the world, are apt to be somewhat startled; namely, 'the King's calling Almighty God to witness, and affirming '(upon the faith of a Christian), that there was never any marriage, or contract of mar-'riage, had or made between him and Mrs. Walters;' I think myself obliged to lay before you, the sense and apprehensions which wisest heads have, of that protestation and solemn appeal.

If, say they, neither the eye nor dread of God, nor the faith of a Christian, are effectual to restrain a person from adulteries and promiscuous scatterings; can we have any security that they will prevent such a one from the guilt of other crimes? He who neither trembleth, nor blusheth to proclaim his uncleannesses to all the world, will he forbear sins of any kind or hue, out of principle; though he may possibly omit them by accident, and in compliance with interest?

It was a maxim of an ancient ruler, that as children are to be cozened with nuts, so men are to be deluded with asseverations and oaths. And upon this occasion they call to mind the character fastened upon Charles the Ninth of France, namely, that the surest symptoms, by which it was known when he spoke falsely, was the endeavouring to confirm what he said by the most dreadful imprecations, and execrable oaths. And what our own historians leave upon the memory of his royal Majesty's own grandfather, in this point, I had rather you should learn from 'Wilson's History of King James,' than be told by me. Besides, say others, Who knoweth but that the King, through the like impression of fear, under which he lifted up his hand to the Most High God at Scone, when crowned in Scotland, may have been influenced and over-awed to make this late appeal and protestation?

He who hath done one such thing, and especially with that solemnity and profession of sincerity wherewith he took the covenant; can it be otherwise apprehended, but that he may do the like again, if there be sufficient cause for the same passion which biassed him against knowledge and conscience then? Nay, the utmost inducement that swayed and determined him, contrary to his judgment and light, to swear by the Great God, in terms so august and aweful in Scotland, was merely an apprehension of being otherwise secluded from his right over that kingdom; but it is more than probable, that no less than a dread of losing his life, as well as three kingdoms, hath necessitated him to this which he hath now done. Now it is but considering the seasons when the several declarations pronounced in council, and at last published to the world, were made; and you will be soon convinced that they were extorted from him, partly by the necessity of his affairs, and partly by the frightful ascendancy which his brother hath obtained over him. For the first, which we are here in the print told of, was that made the sixth of January, 1678, when the condition and posture, wherein things then stood, made it indispensably needful that the King should oblige his brother to withdraw, and which the Duke of York, (though he knew that his stay here, at that time, would have, in all likelihood, involved his Majesty under inextricable difficulties) refused to comply with, till he had wrested that declaration from him.

And for the second, which was made also in council, March 3, 1678, it is obvious to every considering man, and demonstrable to all the world, that it was the effect of that necessity which his Majesty's affairs had reduced him unto. For the parliament being to meet the sixth of that month, and it appearing by the several returns of the persons elected to sit, that we were like to have a house of true English gentlemen, who would not only inspect the late Popish plot, but enquire into the miscarriages of public ministers: hereupon, as the Duke threatened to return, unless the King would make some fresh declaration, whereby, being pronounced and represented as next heir, he might be screened from the angry but just resentments of the nation; so divers persons at home, who knew themselves unpardonably criminal, applied their thoughts to find out a method, by which a

misunderstanding might, in a short time, arise between the King and his parliament. And apprehending that the Duke of York could not possibly escape the animadversion of the House, all the treasons and crimes, whereof others were only guilty in their respective parts and proportions, meeting in him as so many lines in their centre; they accordingly by threatening to make their own compositions, and to lay open all those matters which they conceived his Majesty to be most solicitous to have concealed, brought the King to make that declaration. Whereby, having in effect signified the Duke of York to be the next in right to succeed, they reckoned they had wrought him to such an espousal of his brother, as must needs break all measures of fair correspondency with his parliament. And, as this was the principal thing they aimed at, so by denouncing still to provide for their own security, in detecting whatsoever they knew, they kept him to an adhesion to the declaration which he had made, and thereby not only embarrassed all his affairs, but so embroiled him with the House of Commons, as that in a few weeks they compassed the dissolution of the parliament.

Having thus briefly represented unto your Lordship, under what influence of necessity and fear, these declarations were at first made in council, I need not tell you through what impressions by the incessant importunity, and daily hectoring of his Majesty by the Duke, now at Windsor, they come at last to be printed and proclaimed to the world. The King, poor gentleman, is willing to buy his peace at any rates, and hath here staked his honour, not to say his conscience, for it! But as you know that neither concessions, declarations, nor alienations, made by a person in duress, or under threatenings, or swayed by apprehensions of the hazard of his life, can oblige others, though they be such as are wrapped up in or concluded by him, in all cases where he is supposed free; so, in plain English, the generality of the people, and those of the best sense, hold themselves no ways affected or prescribed unto by these declarations. For we, who knew the tenour of them when they lay concealed in the council-books, and yet thought ourselves at liberty to believe as our judgments conducted us, are not likely to have our minds altered by the bare printing of them. But, how far the conscience of the King is concerned or defiled, I leave to those of the theologic faculty to resolve; only I judge, that the same casuistical divinity whereby they salved the conscience and vindicated the honour of the King in the case of the covenant; and withal discharged him from the obligation which it was supposed to have put upon him; may, whensoever he thinks meet, stand him in good stead, and afford him the same relief in the case of the late declarations.

Eighthly, There is one thing farther that must not be omitted, because it gives us amazement, and yet affords us pleasant diversion; namely, the motive they have brought his Majesty to allege for his making and publishing this declaration. I confess I could not read it without surprise and wonderful emotion. And I dare say, when you think seriously of it, you will find pity stir in your heart to your abused Prince, and your blood swell in your veins through indignation at some about him. For, after the care they have suffered him to take for preserving our religion, lives, and liberties, from the designs of the Papists, by dissolving two parliaments, and so often proroguing a third; they bring him now to publish this declaration to relieve the minds of his loving subjects from their fears, and to prevent the ill consequences, which a belief of his having been married to the Duke of Monmouth's mother may have in future times upon the peace of these kingdoms. A most proper way to extinguish our fears, by doing all that he can, to subject us hereafter to one, who is the professed enemy of our established religion and legal government.

But that your Lordship may the better comprehend how highly we are obliged to his Majesty for his love and tenderness to his people in all that they judge dear and valuable, by designing so hopeful a successor over them; I shall recount some of those many particulars from which we esteem ourselves capable of judging what a gracious and desirable Prince this dear and beloved brother is like to prove.

1. He is a gentleman that hath renounced the religion wherein he was not only educated, and which these nations profess, but which he had consigned unto him sealed with the

blood of his father, and entailed upon him and the whole line by no less than his grandfather's curse, in case any of old James's offspring should depart from it.

2. He hath made it his business to seduce his Majesty's subjects to the Papal faith, and to enslave them to a foreign jurisdiction: and by his addresses, solicitations, and preferments, (wherewith he is able to reward such mercenary souls, as are ready to make sale of their religion,) he hath made more converts to the church of Rome, than all the English missionaries have been able to do.

3. Through the power which he hath obtained over the King, he hath procured the chiefest places of strength in the nation, and some of the greatest trusts, as well civil and religious as military, to be conferred upon known Papists, and sworn enemies to the Protestant cause, and English liberties.

4. He hath been the principal promoter of arbitrary government, and of making the King's interest both distinct from, and opposite to, that of his people: and this he hath done in pursuance of papal advice, and in subserviency to the Romish interest. For where the monarch is absolute, and the lives and fortunes of whole nations are enslaved to the will and pleasure of one person; the mere wheedling of a lustful, weak, or inconsiderate prince, will go a great length in the gaining vast multitudes to adore the triple crown. And, for such as shall prove stubborn and refractory, it is but meritorious to kill them, and then convert their lands to the use of the Holy-See.

5. It was this darling and beloved one, that authorized the burning of London; and not only made his own palace a sanctuary to the villains, who were suspected as instruments of that dreadful conflagration; but rescued and discharged divers, who were apprehended in the very fact. And this he did partly in revenge; forasmuch as London had been both the magazine of strength and treasure, during the war with the late King; and partly to gratify his popish friends, by destroying the bulwark of the Protestant religion, and the chief receptacle of the hereticks.

6. It was this presumptive heir, that all along obliged his Majesty to neglect the concerning himself in favour of the Protestants abroad; and did so order it, through his power over the King, that never any foreign alliance was made, but was abused to the betraying of them. And here let me call over a story, and perhaps a more tragical one, and accompanied with baser treachery than any history is able to acquaint you with: One Monsieur Rohux, a French gentleman, coming into England, to treat with the King concerning an alliance between his Majesty and foreign Protestants, merely for the preservation of their religion; and having acquainted the Duke of York with his errand, after he had, in a private conference or two, transacted with the King about it; this royal Prince, out of his wonted kindness to the Protestants, and the Reformed religion, caused Rouveny (liegerambassador from France at this court) to stand behind the hangings at St. James's while he made this innocent gentleman discourse over the whole business. Upon which, Monsieur Rouveny being obliged to acquaint his master with it, Monsieur Rohux, who (upon some intimation that the Duke had betrayed him) had withdrawn hence to Switzerland, was there seized by a party of French horse, and brought to the Bastile; whence, after some time's imprisonment, he was carried to the place of execution, and broken upon the wheel.

7. It was through the Duke of York's means, that both the first and second wars were commenced against the Dutch; and that in order, not only to weaken the Protestants, by their mutual destroying of each other, but in hopes to have turned the victorious arms of the King upon the hereticks at home, and the patrons of English liberty.

8. It was this zealous Prince (for the honour and safety of Britain) that advised the breaking of the Triple-league; which was the wisest conjunction, and most for the glory of the King's reign, and the preservation of his dominions, that ever he entered into. And this he did, not only to gratify France, whose pensioner, as well as whose confederate he hath been; but to leave the Protestants here naked to the attempts of the Papists. For he knew, that, while that league continued firm, the King of Sweden, and the States of Holland, would have construed all designs upon the Protestants in England, as done against

those of the same religion with themselves, and in favour of whose profession they had entered into that alliance.

9. He hath not only maintained correspondence with foreign princes, to the betraying the King's counsels, but hath confederated with them for the extirpation of our religion, and overthrowing our legal government. And besides many other evidences of this, which it is not convenient to mention at present: the depositions which arrived with the committee of secrecy during the session of the late parliament, together with Coleman's[5] letters, and that which he wrote in the Duke's name, and indeed by his command, do uncontrollably demonstrate it.

10. He was consenting to, and hath co-operated in, the whole Popish plot; for both his confessor and his secretary did, with his knowledge and approbation, seal the resolves for the King's death.

11. It was the Duke, who when the King had revealed the first discovery of the hellish Romish plot to him, immediately communicated it to Father Bedingfield; that so the conspirators might know how to secure their papers, and abscond themselves.

12. It was he, who through his command over the Post-office, prevented the intercepting the letters from St. Omers, and other foreign seminaries; whereby that whole damnable conspiracy would have been more fully detected.

13. He employed his own Duchess to transport several of the traitors to Holland, that so they might escape the search that was made for them, and the punishment they had deserved.

14. It was he who suborned, encouraged, and rewarded the vilest miscreants to frame and swear a plot against the Protestants; and this he did to beget a disbelief of the Popish conspiracy, and in order to destroy such of the nobility and gentry as were the chief assertors of the Reformed religion, and English liberty.

15. It was he who advised the several prorogations and dissolutions of parliaments; whensoever they were either considering the bleeding condition of the Protestant interest abroad, or supplicating the King to an alliance with Protestant princes for its protection and preservation.

16. It was he, in whose favour the dissolution of the last parliament was procured, and who hath prevented the sitting of this, after eight several times appointed for their meeting. And all to hinder the trial of the traitorous lords in the Tower, and to obstruct the further search into the many hellish plots, wherein himself and the rest of the Papists are engaged, for the subversion of our religion and laws, and the destruction of the lives of his Majesty and people. And how much he hath lessened his Majesty's interest in the hearts of his subjects, and weakened their confidence in his royal word, by obliging him to treat this parliament as he hath done, seeing, in his speech to both Houses, March 6, 1678, he had so solemnly declared his resolution to meet his people frequently in parliaments; and into what straits and wants they have thereby also reduced him, I shall rather leave your Lordship silently to consider, than take upon me at this time to unfold.

17. It was he, who after he had for so many years promoted the aiding and succouring of France with English forces, till that aspiring Prince was ascending to a power and greatness, not to be in any probability withstood or controlled, did at last engage his Majesty in making the general peace; which is a thing so highly prejudicial to all Europe, in the unavoidable consequences of it.

18. It was he who countenanced and enlivened the late traitorous combination of apprentices and ruffians, and who, together with the lords in the Tower, issued out the money, both for the expences of their entertainments, and for the providing them with arms, to disturb the peace of the city and kingdom, and assault the houses and lives of his Majesty's liege people.

19. It is he who hath inrolled and secretly mustered men in all counties of England, and who (besides the English Papists, whom, at this time, he hath called from all parts of

[5] [Secretary to the Duke of York, and a Roman Catholic of romantic zeal.]

the nation to London) is also provided of a great number of Irish, who formerly washed their hands in the blood of Protestants, or are the genuine offspring of those that did. Now, being thus furnished and environed, he is resolved (unless God in his providence miraculously interpose) to put all to a venture, and play over the same game in England, that was, heretofore, acted in Ireland.

20. It is he who cherisheth in his bosom, and exalteth to the highest trusts, such as Colonel Worden, who betrayed his Majesty's secrets to the usurping powers, particularly to Mr. Scot. Nay, himself may be charged with many things, in those times, whereby we may apparently discover both his treachery to his Majesty, and his ambition to have usurped the crown from him. For, when a loyal party of the English fleet had espoused his Majesty's right and title, against the enemies of his crown and person, the Duke, who being then aboard, should have encouraged, and ventured his life in conjunction with them, did (instead thereof) by a most shameful and disloyal deserting of them, both discourage them in their fidelity, and so far as in him lay, oblige them to compound for themselves, with a seclusion of his Majesty's interest. Yea, besides this, when the Scots were treating with the King at Breda, in order to the establishing him in the throne of that kingdom; the Duke of York was, at that very time, transacting with such as remained faithful to the King's title here, that they would renounce his elder brother, and choose him for their sovereign. Nor do I believe, that his Majesty can forget the occasion and design upon which the Duke forsook him at Bruges, and withdrew to Holland; so that the King was necessitated not only to command him, upon his allegiance, to return; but was forced to send the Duke of Ormond, and some other persons of quality, to threaten, as well as persuade him, before he would go back.

21. It is he, who not thinking the declaration enough to facilitate his ascension to the throne, or to secure him from resistance in the attempts he purposeth upon our lives and liberties, hath been, and still is endeavouring to be admitted, and let further into the government; and, accordingly, hath accosted the King, by my Lord Durass, in that matter. This is the more surprizing, forasmuch as one would think, that it is not possible he should be further let into the government, having Berwick, Hull, Langer-point, Sheerness, Portsmouth, and the Magazine of the Tower, (Legg being now master of the ordnance,) in the hands of his sworn vassals and creatures; and having also the superintendency of all civil affairs in him, unless, by taking the sceptre actually into his hand, he should confine the King to a country-house and an annual pension. And his partisans about the town talk of no less, than the having the Duke crowned, during the King's life, as Henry the Second (though upon far different reasons) was crowned, in conjunction with King Stephen. And I wish that what the brother of the King of Portugal hath, of late years, effected against his prince, did not awaken our jealousy; to fear that the same may be attempted, by a dispensation from the infallible Chair elsewhere. However, they have taken care, should they accomplish this design, that they may not be obliged to entertain our Catharine, as they, in Portugal, did the French madam, married to Alphonso; forasmuch as the best part of the portion with our Princess, namely Tangier, is, through the courage and conduct of my Lord Inchequine, one of the Duke's greatest confidents, as good as disposed of. But should they proceed in this design against his Majesty, it becomes all his Majesty's good subjects to endeavour, as one man, the rescuing him from under their power, seeing the very designment of such thing is a treason of so high a nature against the King, that we should be wanting in our allegiance, should we not apply ourselves in the use of all possible ways and means to punish and avenge, as well as prevent the execution of it. Now, my Lord, these are but few of the many particulars, by which we are sufficiently enlightened concerning the Duke of York; and we may abundantly learn from these, how much we are indebted to his Majesty for his grace, favour, and care, in appointing such a one after him to succeed over us. Do not all our fears hereupon immediately vanish and die; and hope, joy, and gladness revive in our hearts, on this prospect which the King hath given us of so good an heir? But, poor Prince, we at once compassionate and forgive him, knowing that this proceeds not from his inclination, but that he hath been

hurried and forced to it. Nor do we need any further assurance of the inward propensions of his Majesty's heart, and the dislike his breast is filled with for what he hath done; but the endeavours which he used, under daily and manifold importunities to the contrary, to have avoided it, and the sadness which appears in his countenance, since over-awed to publish this declaration. And as for the Duke of York, let him not deceive himself; for as he may perceive by this, that we fully understand him, and know the kindness he entertains for us; so we are prepared for him, and resolved to return unto him and his, in the kind they intend to bring. For, having both divine and human laws on our side, we are resolved neither to be Papists nor slaves; and, consequently, not to be subjects to him, who hath vowed either utterly to extirpate us, or to reduce and compel us to be both the one and the other.

Lastly, For the issuing of all this controversy, concerning whose right it is to succeed next after his Majesty, men (here about the town, accustomed to discourse) think that there need but two proposals, and those very rational ones, to be made. The first is, That the parliament being admitted to sit, they may examine this affair, whereof they alone are competent judges. Whatsoever *declarations* may otherwise signify, yet it is a principle which can never be obliterated out of the minds of Englishmen, 'That they are 'neither binding laws, nor can alienate or extinguish the rights of any.' Shall the son of a common person be allowed the liberty to justify his legitimacy, in case his father prove so forgetful, or so unnatural, as to disclaim him? And shall the Duke of Monmouth, merely by being the son of a King, forfeit this just and universal privilege? If his Majesty was indeed married to that discountenanced gentleman's mother; he is, by our laws, the son of the kingdom, as well as the son of King Charles. And therefore it is necessary as well as fit, that the people should, in all due and legal ways, understand whether they have any interest or not in him, before they be commanded to renounce him, or resign it. All therefore we desire is, that this matter may be impartially and fairly heard; and that before those, who alone have right to be judges of it: and as no other course but this can satisfy the minds of people, so it cannot be expected, that upon the authority of a declaration, especially gotten as this was, they should sacrifice the share, which (for any thing yet appears) they have in him, as their apparent prince and next heir to the throne. And unless this be obtained; the people will, undoubtedly, think their own rights invaded, whatsoever the said Duke judgeth of his.

The second thing we would humbly beg as well as propose, is, That the parliament being called to sit, the Duke of York may be legally tried for his manifold treasons and conspiracies against the King and kingdom. For, if he be innocent, and that the right of succession be his, all men will quietly acquiesce under him; but, if he should prove guilty, (as we no wise question but that he will,) shall his treasons, when a subject, qualify him to be a king; and pave the way for his rising to the throne? According to all equity, as well as law, he ought first to justify himself from all traitorous attempts and acts against the King and the people, before he be allowed to have his claim heard, concerning any title that, in time to come, he may have to rule over these nations. I shall subjoin no more at present, save that I am,

My Lord,

London, June the 10th, 1681.

Your most obedient Servant.

A most learned, conscientious, and devout Exercise, or Sermon, held forth, the last Lord's-day of April, in the Year 1649, at Sir P. T.'s[1] House in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, by Lieutenant-General Oliver Cromwell; as it was faithfully taken in Characters by Aaron Guerdon.[2]

London, printed in the Year 1680.

[Quarto, containing Seventeen Pages.]

ROM. xiii. 1.

'Let every Soul be subject unto the higher Powers; for there is no Power, but of God: 'the Powers, that be, are ordained of God.'

DEARLY beloved brethren and sisters, it is true, this text is a malignant one; the wicked and ungodly have abused it very frequently, but (thanks be to God) it was to their own ruin: yet their abuse shall not hinder us from making a right use of it. Every thing is subject to be abused, be it never so holy or good: the men of God, the creatures of God, all are subject to injuries and abuse; the Council of State, the Parliament, the Army, the General, have been, and daily are abused; nay, even myself have not escaped the violence of those seducers, whose tongues are sharper than a two-edged sword. My very face and nose are weekly maligned and scandalized by those scribbling mercuries, Elencticus and Pragmaticus[3]; insomuch that, were it possible, they would raise a faction in my forehead, and make mutinies amongst my very teeth. It is true, I have a hot liver, and that is the cause my face and nose are red; for my valour lies in my liver, not in my heart, as other men's; never any man could say my heart was stout: indeed the General's lies there, and that is the reason his face is pale. You all know, I never was a drunkard, although, when I was at the lowest, I had beer enough; for you know I had near relation to a beer-brewer; and I had always money to buy wine with, if I pleased, so that I might have been a drunkard, if I would; yet, you know, I am a temperate sober man, else I had never been so good a soldier. But, what is it the Malignants will not abuse, who let not to abuse themselves? I will warrant you, they would abuse our very wives too, if they durst; and I fear some of them do—— you know what I mean; —— but no more of that, at present.

My text, you see, is scripture; and Scripture must be believed, next to our diviner revelations, be it what it will; but the Malignants, they would interpret it one way, and we, the Saints, interpret it another. Now let any body judge, whether they, or we, are to be

[1] [Sir Peter Temple.]

[2] [Upon the authority of this tract, Granger has placed Cromwell in his class of lay-preachers; at the same time observing, that as it abounds with low ribaldry and egregious nonsense, it carries with it no internal evidence of being genuine. Dr. Kippis suggests, that it was probably a fabrication to serve party purposes; fictions of this kind not having been so uncommon as to excite surprise. Appendix to Life of Oliver Cromwell in Biog. Brit.——If the Chronicle of Heath, however, is to be depended on, its authenticity was sufficiently acknowledged. For, when in the Humble Petition, there was inserted an article against public preachers being members of parliament, Oliver Cromwell is said to have excepted against it expressly, 'because *he* was one, 'and divers officers of the army by whom much good had been done.']

[3] [*Mercurius Pragmaticus*, was published in September 1647, by Marchamont Nedham; and *Mercurius Elencticus*, in January 1648, by Samuel Sheppard. Both of these writers were scribbled into confinement by their licentious pens.]

believed: whether, I say, those ungodly Cavaliers, that sought to uphold tyranny and Antichrist; or we, that in the uprightness of our hearts, fought for liberty and freedom, and for establishing the kingdom of King Jesus. Surely, beloved, it is we that are in the right of it: I think none of you will deny it.

But now, that I spoke of kings, the main question is, 'Whether, by Higher Powers, are 'meant Kings, or the Commoners?' Truly, beloved, it is a very great question amongst those that say they are learned; but, I think verily, they make more stir about it, than needs: for may not every body, that can read, observe, that Paul speaks in the plural number, 'the higher powers?' Now, had he meant subjection to a king, he would have said, 'Let every soul be subject to the higher power;' that is, if he had meant one man: but, by this, you see, he intended more than one; for he bids us 'be subject to the higher 'powers,' that is, the Council of State, the House of Commons, and the Army. I hope I have cleared this point: so now then I will come closer to the words themselves, and shew you truly and plainly, without any gaudy rhetorick, what they signify unto us, that you be not deceived: and I tell you, this is not to be done by every spirit, but only by such, who are more than ordinarily endowed with the spirit of discerning. I confess there are many good men and women amongst you, that intend well, and speak well, and understand well; but yet cannot apprehend well all things that lurk in scripture-language, for lack of a sufficient measure of the spirit. They must be inwardly called thereunto, or else they are subject to errors and misconstructions.

Well then, you see who are fittest to interpret, and I presume, you believe God hath abundantly supplied me: I do not boast of it, but I speak it to his glory, that hath vouchsafed to take up his lodging in so vile, contemptible, unswept, unwashed, ungarnished a room, as is this unworthy cottage of mine: but it was his will, and I am thankful for it.

Now the words offer themselves very naturally: they are plain, not difficult, but prostrate their sense in a most perspicuous manner.

For, first, beloved, by these words, 'Let every soul,' &c. we may understand, that every one of us have souls; whence I raise this doctrine: that it is an ungodly, irreligious, profane, and idle tenet amongst the wicked, to think, or say, that women have no souls. Mark, my beloved, to think, or say, &c. for there are many now-a-days, that think, and will not speak what they think; and others, that speak, and will not think what they speak: but we are none such —— Dear sisters, it is a great abuse to your honourable sex.——And now, truly, I will turn to you only; for you have been our daily and nightly comforters: indeed, la, ye have! You have raised our drooping spirits, though never so much dejected; you have got us stomachs, when we had none, and furnished us with flesh, on all occasions; we never found you unwilling, or unready to help us, when we were the farthest from home. Believe it: when I lay before Pembroke-castle, my landlady, where I quartered, who had once been a Malignant, and then but newly crept into the state of grace; she, I say, had a good soul within her; she was brim-full of the spirit, and yet she was very handsome; which is strange: for seldom we find a perfection without an imperfection.—Commonly, women that are fair without, are either false or foul within; but to me she was neither. And yet I do not speak this to condemn beauty, for it is of a singular comfort and good use, and those that be fair, may be true and good. But this is *secundum majus & minus*, as the logicians cant; some are better than other some; that is, the English of the Latin: and, indeed, I have found great difference in women. Then again, when I came into Yorkshire, I met with Mrs. Lambert, the espoused of that honourable and valiant saint, Mr. G. Lambert: she, I say, is a woman, not very fair, I confess, but of as large a soul, and as full of the spirit, as any I ever yet met with. I profess, I never knew a woman more endowed with those heavenly blessings of love, meekness, gentleness, patience, and long-suffering; nay, even with all things that may speak her every way deserving the name of a saint: and yet, I say, she was not very beauteous, or comely, for she is something foggy and sun-burnt, which is strange in that cold country. But what nature had denied her of ornament without, I found she had within her, a soul, a devout, sweet soul: and (God knows) I loved her for it.

Thus we find then both by scripture and experience, that all of us have souls, men and women. But then again, beloved, some have good souls, and some have bad; Mrs. Lambert hath a good soul, and no doubt, (nay, I know,) many of you that be here, are and have good souls within you. The Cavaliers and their queans are the bad souls; they serve, and are subject to bad and ungodly men: men did I call them? nay devils that would devour us, and drink themselves drunk with the blood of the saints.

By this then it is evident who have, and who are the good souls. Whence I raise this doctrine, or rather point of faith, That we are not to believe, or account any to have, or to be souls, but those that are of the family of *Saints*. (I would have said *Love*, but that it is a particular sect, something differing from ours.)

Come on then: 'Let every soul be subject,' &c. Whereby we see, all souls, good and bad, are bound to be *subject*. All-Souls College in Oxford must be subject to the visitors; All-Souls day, though a superstitious holy-day, and strictly kept by the Papists, must be subject to labour and toil: your souls (brethren and sisters) must be subject to persuasion, to love, familiarity, and friendship; to all things that may increase or elevate the spirit; to kindle and take fire, like tinder, upon every spark and glance of our affections. O my dear brethren and sisters, Love! it is the fulfilling of the Law; what need we more then? It covers a multitude of sins; lo you there! it hides all our infirmities. Had one of us loved another, these differences and blood-shed had never happened. But some will object, and say, 'There is a lust, as well as love; and sometimes lust is falsely termed love.' I tell you, beloved, these nice and critical distinctions, are things that once had like to have undone us. Lust is nothing but a desire of any thing; and if, my beloved, we desire to enjoy one another, God forbid but we should help and comfort each other, and lay out ourselves, as far and freely as may be, to assist each other, in the embraces of the spirit: the laws of reason and nature require it of us.

But let us look yet a little further: 'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers,' &c. What those higher powers are, I have told you before; they are the Council of State, the House of Commons, and the Army; and God forbid but all men should obey them: that is, that the people be subject to the Council of State, the Council of State to the House of Commons, they to the Army, the Army to the General, and the General to me. To me, I say, who have plotted, advised, counselled, and fought for both you and them these seven years; and now at last purchased your freedom and liberty. Dear brethren and sisters, I speak it not in ostentation, but with thankfulness and glory to him, who made me so useful an instrument in this blessed work of reformation. For, beloved, it was I that juggled the late King into the Isle of Wight: it was I dissolved the treaty: it was I that seized upon, and hurried him to Hurst-castle: it was I that set petitions a-foot throughout the kingdom, against the personal treaty, and for bringing the King and other capital offenders to justice: it was I that contrived, with the help of my son Ireton, the large remonstrance of the Army: it was I that prescribed the erecting of the high court of justice, and which brought the King to his trial: in a word, it was I that cut off his head, and with it all the shackles and fetters of the Norman slavery and bondage: it was I that cut off the heads of Hamilton, Capel, and Holland: it was I that surprized the Levellers at Burford, and in Northamptonshire: it was I that broke their design, destroyed Thompson, &c. dispersed and appeased the rest; and which have healed the late distempers of the Army, whereby the land is now restored to this blessed peace, tranquillity, and plenty. And therefore, I say, I may justly, and without ambition, style myself the author of all the kingdom's present and future happiness.

It is true, beloved, the General is a stout and valiant man, and he hath great appearance of God in him; but fitter far to be passive than active in the affairs of state; he is fitter for a charge than a council: and the truth is, (as I may tell you under the rose) he wants brains to do any thing of moment. But indeed, this I may say for him, he is a man doth not seek himself; I never found him wilful, but willing always to submit to better judgments than his own. For when Sedgwick (that fast and loose priest) of Covent-garden, upon the King's trial, had writ to his lady to advise him to remit the execution of that sentence, and to wash his hands of his death; he, honest man, presently acquainted me

with the business, and shewed me the arguments, given to persuade him against it; and freely referred all to my judgment. And the twenty-eighth of January, being the Lord's-day, at night I went to him in Queen's-street, attended with two troops of my own regiment, to remove the scruples he made upon that rascally priest's letter, or to secure him by force, in case he had contracted more, and would not be satisfied: but he, good man, gave me thanks for my pains, and told me I had fully resolved him. All this, beloved, I speak in honour of the man; but truly he is too great, to be so good as we must have a general, for you know he is a lord, and unless he be a lord, and no gentleman, (as I fear he will not acknowledge himself,) he is not for our turns: the rather, for that he is easily seduced, I have experience of him, and led away by every wind of doctrine; by mere appearances and shadows of reason. Truly, beloved, I think myself and my son Ireton may prove of greater use to the republick, than any other; and if we be but once the acknowledged governors thereof by the people, we believe we shall answer their expectations to a hair's-breadth; which if ever we be, then, beloved, it is I and my son who are the higher powers meant in my text, to whom subjection is commanded. For (as I told you before) it cannot be to one single man, must be to two or more; and truly, if the people shall think us (as we think ourselves) worthy of that trust, we shall discharge it faithfully, and study to merit it at their hands. But mistake me not; I do not mean by merit as the Papists do, that is, to deserve it at their hands, for the good works we have done: no, no, we will acknowledge it to be merely out of the free grace and mercy of the people; for when we have done all we can for them, we confess we are but unprofitable servants.

I thank them, they have made me general for Ireland; and you know I am upon the point of going thither, in great hopes of reducing those rebellious traitors to our obedience. But then, beloved, so many of you as go along with me, must be mindful of my text; that is, you must be *subject* to me, and my lieutenant-general. Whensoever we bid you go, you must run; when we bid you storm, you must do it, though it be against nothing but stone-walls. You owe us your lives and your limbs, and all that you have; whensoever we demand them, you ought to surrender, and that freely, not grumbling; for you must submit to the higher powers, &c.

The verity is, this expedition against Ireland is like to prove a very hard task, unless I can in policy engage Owen Roe, if not to join with Jones, Monk, and Coot, yet to keep off at a distance with Ormond. I am, beloved, about it; and I shall do my endeavour too, to set Inchequeen and him at variance; and yet at that very instant will I lose no opportunity to re-oblige him to the Parliament: for you all know what Inchequeen is—— I have him——I will not say how——but it is very probable an act of indemnity, tied in the strings of a five-thousand-pounds bag, may work a miracle. For he, good man, is but misguided; he stands not upon such punctilios of honour as Ormond doth.——In truth, beloved, this Ormond is a shrewd fellow, and were he not one of the wicked, a man highly deserving; not so much for his knowledge and experience in military affairs (which yet may challenge some proportion of honour), as for his diligence and faithfulness in the trust committed to him. Valour I will not allow him any; it is only desperateness, and that he wants not: but, remember we not how politicly he carried himself in the business of Dublin, after we had subdued the common enemy here the first time? How dexterously he avoided the messages and commands of the late King, which we extorted from him, for the surrender of that city? How shamefully he baffled our commissioners which were sent to treat with him about it; at what distance he kept them, still urging the captivity of the King to excuse his disobedience; and how often, and on what sleeveless errands, he sent them back to re-inforce their instructions; whilst all the while he was underhand endeavouring to know the King's pleasure, by the hands of his own messenger? And when he was satisfied with the reality of the King's desires and condition, how notably he trucked with us, for his own security and satisfaction?——Nay more, when he stood upon the receipt of some thousands, before he would surrender, you shall hear how he there served us.——For notwithstanding that I caused the Parliament, by their letters, voluntarily to assure him the full double of the sum he demanded, upon condition he would quit

the King's, and declare for our interest; and that hereunto he had returned a fine silver-tongued response in answer to the Parliament, and had thereupon returned him the authority of the Parliament, to indemnify him and his followers, for all things said or done in relation to the English or Irish wars, and four-thousand pounds in recompence for his losses; with this additional assurance, that he should, soon after the surrender, be re-invested with full power and government of Dublin, by commission from the Parliament: yet no sooner was Dublin delivered to us, upon the King's letters, and his passport sent him; but in contempt of all our fair and civil proffers, he transports himself for France, abruptly waving both our proffers and protection.——This, beloved, I instance not to justify him in his rebellious courses against the nation, (those I will use my utmost to destroy him for,) but, to let you see how gloriously even a wicked and ungodly man, as this Ormond is, appears in the eyes of the world, who but approves himself true to his trust, that scorns to be corrupted with gold, and continues so to the last; whereunto, beloved, you are all of you enjoined by the words of my text:——'Be subject to the powers,' &c.

Nor will I let to acknowledge him less formidable than faithful; for doubtless he hath gone very near to pacify all interests, and picked out of them a numerous army; over whom, he hath placed good officers. Good, said I? I do not mean, beloved, godly officers, for they are all of them prelatical or popishly affected; but tried soldiers: such as will not easily turn their backs on an enemy.——I must ingenuously confess too, they have a great strength by sea, and a number of wilful fellows for mariners; who are in great heart, by reason of the many and great prizes they have taken from us, and so forth. But, what of all this? Shall we therefore be discouraged? God forbid! The more numerous the enemy is, the greater shall be the victory over them; the more difficult the work is, the more our honour; the fuller their pockets are, the worse they will fight. You know, by experience, the plunder of Leicester gave us the victory at Naseby; there you saw the Cavaliers choose rather to leave their King to his shifts, than shift from behind them their cloke-bags.—Believe it, brethren, we shall meet with many advantages against them—— R. himself, I know, will do us some good, though it be but in crossing of proverbs: and hear I but once that Culpepper or Hyde is there,———doubt it not, all is our own.—— I cannot recount a tithe of them. But this I am sure, the honest citizens have feasted us to good purpose; for, upon that occasion, we had their promise to advance monies a-fresh for Ireland.——*San nombre ou mesure:* that is French, beloved; the English whereof is, 'Without weight or measure.'——Verily, they are of a stiff-necked generation, become very tractable and obedient servants; of a turbulent and mutinous, an exceeding meek and humble people.

And indeed, my beloved, it was no small work we had, to subdue those malignant spirits of the city; considering, how audaciously they once withstood our authority, and despised our government; how peremptorily they petitioned for a personal treaty with the King, and sent their servants into Colchester, Surry, and Kent, to force us thereunto; how bitterly they inveighed and railed against the honourable proceedings of the Parliament and Army; how largely they contributed to bring in a foreign nation to invade us, whilst, yet, they denied us the payment of our arrears, or to continue the necessary taxes, or excise, for our future maintenance; who had preserved them and their families, from the rapine and cruelty of a barbarous enemy. But, beloved brethren, I mean not to rip up all old matters. Let it suffice, that being thus warned by their mishap, you fall not into the like sin of disobedience to higher powers; there being no powers but of God; the powers that be, being ordained of God.

Object. But it may be, some here may object, and say, how shall we be secured, in your absence, from the malicious plots and contrivances of the Presbyterians, Malignants, and Levellers; since we cannot but expect, they will be complotting our ruin, especially Lilburn, and the rest with him in durance, whose spirits can never be quelled, but by a Cromwell; they being so implacable and desperate?

Answ. Truly, beloved, you that do, do very well to make these doubts: I like these doubting Christians, above all Christians, provided they be not jealous. And yet, my

beloved, a man or woman may be jealous without cause, as that holy man of God, Major-general Lambert, is of his wife; which truly proceeds, not so much out of any corruption of judgment, as manners: yet the man was well bred, though not educated so well as we are in the South. But, as to this point, you shall hear how careful I have been to provide for your safety, and the peace of the nation, in my absence. For supposing that Lilburn and his faction, and the rest of our enemies (as God knows we have too many), will strive to alienate the hearts of the people from me, and to usurp the rule and dominion to themselves, if a convenient strength, and some one or other were not left, fitted with policy and courage to restrain them; I have taken care, that my son Ireton shall stay amongst you, and that my corrival, noble Lambert, shall go in his stead, as my lieutenant-general, into Ireland: and my son, you all know, wants no spirit; if he did, he should never have married my daughter, that you may well think. As for his policy, I suppose you have as little reason to doubt of it, as I have of his fidelity. The large remonstrance renders him, as I take it, very clean-handed and subtle; and, with him, I will see a sufficient strength both of horse and foot be left; which, together with the city forces which we have engaged, and are ascertained, will stick to us: the General, so popular and valiant a man, staying here also to oversee them, shall (I warrant you) suppress all insurrections and tumults whatsoever. However, I have given such orders to my son Ireton, concerning Lilburn and the rest (if ever hereafter he observe him or them) to stir up the people to sedition, or scribble any thing, as formerly, against our lawful proceedings; that, forthwith, he shall execute justice upon them: and I think, dear brethren, you will judge it but necessary, since neither our mercy, nor the sense they have of the uprightness of our cause, will invite them to forbear bespattering the innocent robes of this infant state.

And now, beloved, as we must not conceal any thing from one another, I shall make bold to requite your ingenuity by the instancing one other doubt, with a danger, at the end of it; which although it may startle you at first sight, yet be of good courage, be faithful and strong; it admits of an easy solution: and that is the accord of the Scots with their new king.——Truly, I must confess my designs were never, till now, so diverted and confounded; for I must tell you, I have reverenced that short, but pithy precept of my father Machiavel, *Divide et impera.* So long as I could keep them at odds amongst themselves, I feared not but to order them, as I pleased. But now it is too true, that both the parliament and priests of that kingdom have attainted Argyle of high-treason; that is, for holding the hands of the Scots, until we executed that exemplary piece of justice on the King: and that therefore they intend to cut his head off; which if they do, then, beloved, they destroy our only friend in that kingdom, and the differences, on foot there, must needs expire with his breath: which being once done, they will have nothing left to do, but vie authority with us, and threaten a second invasion. For you must understand, the Scots are a warlike people, and that there is nothing will make them sooner rebel, than idleness and peace; so that, if this be so, we shall be sure to have them amongst us. Now, beloved, to preserve ourselves against them, in this great garrison of our English commonwealth. It is for our safety, that we quit those out-houses of Ireland; and, if they were burnt, it matters not, so we preserve but what we have already in possession. To which end I have resolved, if they cut off the head of Argyle, or otherwise disable him to prosecute our interest there, that then I will wave the war of Ireland; and, keeping the fore-door of this nation close shut, bend all powers to defend the back-door against that perfidious nation. And this I conceive to be the surest way, provided I can but make choice of able and trusty men to secure the ports, towns, and inland garrisons, without revolts or treachery.——And this will be easily done, considering the men and monies we have at our pleasure.——I tell you, brethren, our thousand shall slay their ten thousands, and, in a short space, make them a miserable little people; and, at length, root them out from off the face of the earth, and possess us of their lands, for an inheritance to us and our generations, for ever.

But I have strayed too far from my text. I will now come to the remaining words thereof, and so conclude:——'For there are no powers but of God,' &c. The Council of State,

the House of Commons, the Council of War, and the High-Court of Justice, when it was, were all powers of God; and the following words of my text give you the reason: 'For the powers that be, are ordained of God.' Be they just or unjust, they are all of God, God ordained them; and so he did that tyrannical power of the late King, and those belly-gods the Bishops, to punish us for our infirmities. But now that he hath graciously removed those powers, he hath ordained ours, to preserve, cherish, elevate, comfort, and delight the saints, and to rule and govern the land in sincerity and in truth; to distribute justice, equally and impartially according to his will.——But the time is spent, and I must be marching.——I desire therefore, my dear brethren and sisters, that you daily pour out your prayers and supplications, for us; and for our success against the wicked and ungodly that are risen up against us; and that you cease not to comfort one another, with mutual embraces and spiritual kisses, to delight and sweeten your passage through this vale of misery: and that you take especial care to strengthen and corroborate yourselves, with capon and cock-broth, that I may find oil in your lamps, at my return.

Some Reasons for an Annual Parliament, as the best Security for English Rights. Together with the Qualifications required in a good Member of Parliament. Offered to the Consideration of all Electors of Parliament-Men.

[Quarto, containing Eight Pages.]

SIR,

I SUPPOSE nobody has forgot, that at the beginning of the revolution, in the act which was made for declaring the rights of the subject, after the grievances reckoned up, it says, 'That for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving 'of the law, parliaments ought to be held frequently;' which must mean frequent parliaments, and not frequent sessions of the same parliament, or our constitution is but little amended by that act. Our ancestors understood the necessity and wisdom of having frequent parliaments. Alfred, as you may see in the 'Mirrour of Justice,' chap. i. sect. 3, ordained, 'That the parliament should meet every year twice, or oftener, if need were.' There are many statutes in Edward the Third's time, that a parliament should be held once a-year, and oftener, if need be. That act is no less than three times reiterated in his reign. Acts of the same import are made in Richard the Second's; and these acts were made when prorogations, and long continuances of the same parliaments, were not in use. Henry the Sixth's reign was the first in which prorogations began at all to be made for any time; and they were but very little used till Henry the Eighth's time. But the usual way formerly was to call a parliament, at least once a year, and, as soon as their business was done, to dissolve them. They adjourned themselves for some short time, but the king did not prorogue at pleasure. That this was the constant practice, I appeal to the Parliament-rolls; but I do not so much doat upon antiquity, as to desire to revive that practice, unless I can prove it reasonable and advantageous. I think it is very much so in the present juncture. It cannot be unknown to K. W. how much he has been libelled, because so many of his officers were in the house. Those that wish him ill, have hit the blot: but it has disgraced him with those that wish him well. It is fit the king should choose whomsoever he thinks fit to serve him in his employments; but it will be a matter of scandal, if the people think their representatives are bought off, whether by places or pensions. But if they are chosen annually, it will not easily be believed, that an unfair

bargain can be struck with them. Our taxes will be less heavy, whilst we think our representative-assessors pay their proportion. How just the clamours and suspicions of mankind are, I do not determine, but I know they are great; and by every body, and every where believed; and that by this course they would be avoided. If the accusations are well grounded, if votes are purchased by places, or most of the members should be more than ten times reimbursed their own shares of the public payments; then indeed the safety, and very being of our constitution would be struck at, our fundamentals would be debauched, our House of Commons would become a parliament of Paris, to do as the Court would have them, and nothing but what they direct; Scotch lords of the articles would be, as it were, introduced by a court-cabal; and membership would become a preferment for life, &c. But whatever the malicious say, I am not willing to believe these things have of late, or will be attempted. I am only desirous that it should be made apparent for the future, in every parliament that sits, That there is no likelihood that it is debauched, and that will be made apparent by annual parliaments. But, to lay aside the peculiarity of our present case, let me treat of it under a general consideration. And I will endeavour to shew the expediency of Annual Parliaments: and that I shall endeavour to make good by the nature of Parliaments, and of their delegations; by which it appears, that the members are delegated by their electors to supply their places, in advising, treating, consulting, and determining, upon the great and important affairs of the nation, which appear, and are upon the stage, in that juncture wherein the parliament is summoned. When such a parliament is continued longer than answers the present occasion for which they were summoned, great inconveniences may, and are likely to follow. A man may be fit to represent me in one juncture, whom I might very reasonably judge unfit to do it in another. A man may be qualified to advise, consult, and determine, about the improvement of trade, and the manufactures of the nation; and yet may be unfit to offer advice in the great affairs of peace and war. A man may have knowledge enough to act in such matters, who may want integrity, faithfully to represent, and procure redress for grievances, which will be springing up in any government. When parliaments are annually chosen, we can choose our representatives, with an eye to the present circumstances of affairs, and the present exigencies of the nation: but, when the same parliaments are continued upon us, we are put upon the unreasonable task, of prophetically choosing men fit to represent us amidst the unforeseen and unexpected accidents and affairs which may fall in, so long as the prince and his ministers think fit to continue the parliament then summoned. Besides, when the business of the nation has been, as it were, monopolized for many years; then, whensoever we have the opportunity of electing a new parliament, we are put upon the same necessity of choosing a knave skilful in the rules of the house and parliamentary laws, as we are sometimes in private matters of choosing one that is expert in pleadings, and the methods of the common-law, though we are not satisfied of his moral honesty; whereas, if every body had their turn, in a little time, all the principal freeholders would be instructed, and directed in the interest of their country.

Again: Delegation imports, in its own nature, a power in the person or persons who delegate, to revoke it at his, or their pleasure; and can be continued no longer than during the time, and particular occasions for which it is granted; and is understood to be no longer in being, than the constituents think fit to continue it: and delegates are always upon their good behaviour. When parliaments are not annually chosen, but continued during the prince's pleasure, longer than the present exigency for which they are called; the nature of a delegation, and the undoubted privileges of those that choose them, are quite altered and overturned, and the delegation is perpetuated: though it should appear that the delegates are unfit for it, or unfaithful under it. From delegates whom we ourselves have impowered, they become absolute masters; or, if delegates still, they are transformed from being the people's delegates and representatives, into the prince's delegates and creatures. By every repeated prorogation the people's commission is cancelled, and their new being is derived from the prince's will and pleasure; and measured out, and continued, according to their humble compliance with what is demanded from them.

Again: Annual Parliaments are best suited to a limited monarchy, (which I hope all Englishmen think the best;) annual parliaments contribute most to the ease, safety, and glory of the prince, as well as to the security and happiness of the subject. By annual parliaments, a confidence is begotten betwixt the prince and the people; the prince can scarce demand that, which the people will refuse, when the people have a confidence in him; and nothing contributes so much towards that confidence as annual parliaments. I again say, they remove all the jealousies which people retain of having their representatives debauched, which will be suspected when parliaments are continued; they are a curb upon designing ministers, who for selfish and sinister ends, may be for endeavouring to embroil the king and his people, and many times have proved very uneasy and ruinous to princes. They remove grievances before they get to such an height as to pinch the people so hard, as to occasion such loud and unmannerly complaints, as have many times obliged princes, from a mistaken point of honour, to refuse their redress, and so have engaged them in unnecessary disputes with the people, which have lessened the figure, glory, and power, of some of our princes, both here at home; and amongst their neighbours, more than any other thing in the world. Whereas, when a king of England does meet his people in parliaments, annually chosen, he may reasonably expect to find them fraughted with fresh desires to unite him closer with his people, to assure him of their confidence and affection, and to give him earnest of it, and fix him in the height of power, reputation, and glory. For a king of England, encircled with a confiding parliament, is then in his imperial lustre, more glorious than any monarch of the East; then he infallibly becomes the terror of his foes, the stay and support of his friends, and the joy, comfort, and darling of his people.

As to the people, the continuing of the same parliament is a more fatal, and likely to be a more successful way to blow up all our liberties, than either *Quo-warrantos*, regulations, or any other methods practised in the two last reigns, of which we complained so loudly, and with so much justice. A prince may more certainly bribe, than *quo-warranto*, or regulate parliaments. The nation will be awakened at those irregular steps: but a king may seem to proceed according to form, when he continues that parliament which he has made pensioners. King Charles the Second was his arts-master in this point: he was no enemy to a long parliament, whilst he had a long list of many of their names, of whom a certain great man can give a good account.

It will add weight to what I have said, if we find it the practice of the greatest, wisest, and most renowned nations, to make provision for the frequency and rotation of their Dyets and Parliaments: and that the most glorious and victorious princes of those nations have met most frequently with their people in parliament. I shall not instance from our own history: I suppose no Englishman ignorant how frequently our Edwards and Henries put a stop to the course of their victories to meet their people in parliament. Have not the people of Spain made most careful provisions for the frequent meeting of their states, with securities and cautions peculiar to themselves, and much more exact than what other nations can pretend to? And have not the greatest and most victorious of their kings, been the readiest to enlarge their privileges and most exact in observing them? Their Sanchoes, their Henries, their Ferdinands, and their Charles's were as careful of meeting their people in their dyets, as of subduing and conquering their enemies. And it is observable, that King Charles, who was most exact in meeting his people frequently, raised the monarchy of Spain to its highest pitch of strength and glory; and his son Philip, who offered at a despotic power and abhorred the meeting of his people, did first eclipse the glory of that monarchy, and threw it into that decay and consumption, under which it laboureth to this day. Did not the French nation, upon their conquest of, and settlement in Gaul, now France, establish the frequent meeting of their States? And the most victorious of their princes have been most exact in meeting of their people, oftener than annually; as may be instanced in their Clovis, their Pepin, Charlemagne, and the successors of Hugh Capet for several ages. And though Lewis the Eleventh, and most of his successors, have endeavoured to suppress the states, and rendered that monarchy despotic; yet it has

urnished ground for so many commotions, tumults, leagues, and rebellions, as have not only frequently put a stop to the course of their victories, but unravelled all their successes; and the subjects have many times returned with interest the incroachment of their princes upon their liberties, and reduced that monarchy to the last gasp: and the struggles of the people of France, and parliament of Paris, during the minority of this present king, to recover their lost liberties, joined with many other instances which their history affords, do plainly demonstrate the tottering and dangerous condition of all despotic governments. Again: What miseries, and unspeakable calamities, was Germany exposed to; full of civil wars and discords within, by the competition of princes for the empire; harassed and depopulated from without, by the Hungarians, Sclavonians, Vandals, and Danes: to all which no remedy could be found, but by the establishing of frequent and annual dyets, by the Golden Bull in Charles the Fourth's time? wherein the absent princes, Imperial cities, and Hans-Towns, who send their deputies; take especial care of changing the deputies every dyet, lest they should be bribed, and gained by the Imperial ministers. By this wise provision for frequent dyets, peace was settled at home, competition of titles for the Imperial dignity was extinguished, foreign invasions repressed, and the whole body preserved in health and vigour. In a word, their annual dyets were an invincible barrier against the inundation of the Turks on the one side, and the incroachments of the French on the other: and it is that only which has preserved them from being swallowed up betwixt those two troublesome neighbours. I do omit to instance from Holland, Switzerland, and Poland, which have hitherto been preserved invincible, by the frequent assemblies of their states.

Now I have briefly delivered my thoughts for Annual Parliaments; give me leave to set down what I think the great and indispensable character or qualifications of a Parliament-man; and they are these, Sense, Courage, and Integrity.

Sense has divers acceptations; but that sense, that is required to capacitate a man for serving usefully within those walls, is not the learning of universities, but the knowledge of England: a sense of liberty, of what is meant by our rights and properties; a sense of our laws and interest, of the nature of our government, of our trade, of our natural strength and welfare. It cannot be denied, but that the comparing of the histories of other nations, the reading over the systems of policy, and the lives of the great and exemplary patriots of liberty in all countries, mightily enlarge their understandings, and adorn the great speakers in that assembly; but if a man has not reduced all that to the use of this Island, he has not the sense requisite for this post. If his head is never so full of the ideas of foreign constitutions, if he is not wise as to our home-matters, if he has travelled never so far for experience, if he is a stranger to the Isle of Britain; he may make a loquacious politician, a florid orator, a statesman in speculation, but he will never make a venerable member of our Parliament. A man that understands but well our English manufactory, the natural products of our country, the balance of merchandizing, what importations and exportations are to be prohibited or encouraged, what are the grievances the people complain of, which of them are reasonable to be redressed, and what are the proper methods of doing it: he that knows how much we can give, what is fit to be given, and can examine how what we have given is laid out, is more fitly qualified for our senate-house, than if he could discourse of government, better than all those learned men, who pretend so nicely to understand and distinguish the several sorts. If the countries and corporations have any thing particular, in relation to their counties and corporations to be represented, they ought to choose one that understands the nature of what they would have represented, or that is at least capable of being throughly instructed in that matter. But at the same time that they choose one for their particular purpose, they ought to consider that he votes for the whole commonwealth, and therefore they must not choose any man that is addicted only to their interest, but should always deliberate whether he is of a public and universal spirit, as well as a proper advocate for them. But this will come in more properly, when I speak concerning Integrity.

The next qualification is Courage. Although the word Parliament signifies to speak

freely the mind, and though liberty of speech is always granted to all parliaments, yet courage is necessary upon many accounts; it is often necessary to withstand the frowns of a prince, it is necessary to bear a man above popular clamour, it is necessary when peace and war is debated. There has scarce been any reign wherein the princes have not hectored some of the members: there is scarce any sessions, but arts are used to stir up the people against their own interest; and if a parliament-house, upon the noise of a war, should be seized with a panic fear, the whole nation would soon be dispirited; so that it is necessary to have courage to preserve his own integrity, and to uphold the hearts of those that he represents.

Again; Whoever would discharge the office of a good senator, must have Integrity that is proof against gain, against fear and solicitation. If he can be affrighted, or bribed, or over-ruled out of his own sense of things, he is not fit for that place. Preferments may be added to, but must not change the man: threats must make him more watchful and resolute, and he must be sure to distinguish between insinuation and argument. He must consider himself as a public man; he must not know his own interest, or the interest of the place from whence he comes: when the general good of England comes in competition, he must consider himself as well, and more the representative of England than of that county or town for which he serves; but, when he has considered the national interest, then in gratitude and duty he is to consider the interest of the body of the electors, more than his own private advantage; he is to strip himself of all relation, and to be a-kin to the commonwealth: his soul must soar up into the exalted height of an heroical virtue, and he is to believe that it is a pleasureable and noble enjoyment even to sacrifice himself and all private considerations for his country; he is to lay aside all private capacities, and, as it were, to transmigrate into a public alliance and affinity; *Cum calculis suffragiorum sumeret magnanimitatem Reipublicæ*, as Demosthenes used to advise the people of Athens in great causes of estate: he used to advise, that when they took into their hands the balls, whereby to give their voices (according to the manner then in practice at Athens), they should raise their thoughts, and lay aside those considerations, which their private vocations and degrees might minister and represent unto them; and should take upon them cogitations and minds agreeable to the dignity of the state. And there is good reason for this advice; for, certainly, if a man shall be only or chiefly sensible of those respects which his particular vocation or degree, or the state of the county or town which sends him, shall suggest and infuse into him, and not enter into true and worthy considerations of estate; he shall never be able aright to give or take counsel in parlimaentary affairs, in the business of the senate-house.

The notion of Integrity has been too much mistaken of late; the being of a particular church or party has christened men honest, and in this last parliament pretending to be for King William, has gained those that epithet, who never understood a king as the father of his country, who make his political capacity above the laws of men, if I may not say the laws of God too. Integrity, in the monarchy of England, implies more of a national than slavish spirit, more of common care than personal adoration; and it is sad to think, that any knave can redintegrate his reputation, only by being a Williamite, without being converted to an Englishman. Those cannot be thought (let them be as much Williamites as they will) to preserve the integrity of a parliament-man, who change or stifle their principles for a place; nor can those be thought fit members for that house, who, either for their pleasure or private business, neglect coming up to town, no more than those who have so many offices, that they can scarce peep within those doors, or who are so lazy and loitering, that they come not till it is too late to hinder them, and so suffer the nation to be circumvented by the artifices and tricks of the court, who always set them on foot, when the house is empty. I would have my countrymen beware (if ever they choose again) of these self-interested and careless men. They ought, now their all is at stake, to examine how their members have behaved themselves, whether they have been tender of the liberty of our persons, frugal of our fortunes, bold against mal-administration, prosecutors of crimes, and not persecutors of men. Sense, Courage, and

Integrity, are necessary to make a man behave himself as he ought, in these important points. Let them choose no MAN that has not Sense, Courage, and Integrity, or that will not receive their instructions. There are no counties, and few towns, wherein they do not understand the interest of their country enough to give general instructions. Let me recommend those to them I have hinted at in this paper; order them to bring in bills to regulate the militia, to encourage the use of firelocks amongst the populace, to increase our navy, to reduce all our part of the war to that navy; to settle such salaries upon the judges as may make them impartial: and, above all things, order them to bring in a bill to secure Annual Parliaments, and the elections of members for the future. Advise them to ransack all our own records, and to consult all the several governments upon that head. Choose but once wise and honest brave men, and they will find expedients to avoid the disputes, and baffle the arts, which have rendered elections precarious and illegal. They will find methods to be too hard for court-tricks, and spend-thrift competitors. Choose no man that is not willing to be instructed; you have a right to instruct them. It was the custom formerly to instruct all the members; and the nature of the deputation shews, that that custom was well grounded.

To conclude. Thus have I given my thoughts freely, as to two material points; *viz.* The old English right of Annual Parliaments (for a more ample account of which, I must refer my reader to Mr. Johnson's[1] essay on that subject), and the Qualifications requisite in such as represent the good people of England in the Lower House; which I have done, without regard to any party or interest but that of my country. If what I have said shall have any influence on my fellow subjects, in the present elections; and on those that represent them when they come together, in order to obtain an act for the choosing of Parliaments yearly; I shall obtain my utmost aim.

[1] [The Rev. Samuel Johnson, a well-known party-writer, stigmatized by Dryden under the name of Ben-Jochanan.]

The Censure[1] of the Rota[2] upon Mr. Milton's Book, intitled, 'The ready and easy Way to establish a free Commonwealth,' &c.

'*Die Lunæ*, 26° *Martii*, 1660.

'Ordered by the Rota, that Mr. Harrington be desired to draw 'up a Narrative of this Day's Proceeding upon Mr. Milton's 'Book, called, "The ready and easy Way," &c. And to cause 'the same to be forthwith printed and published, and a 'Copy thereof to be sent to Mr. Milton.

'Trundle Wheeler, Clerk to the Rota.'

Printed at London by Paul Giddy, Printer to the Rota, at the Sign of the Windmill in Turn-again Lane, 1660.

[Quarto, containing Sixteen Pages.]

SIR,

I AM commanded, by this ingenious convention of the *Rota*, to give you an account of some reflections that they have lately made upon a treatise of yours, which you call, 'The ready and easy Way to establish a free Commonwealth;' in which I must first bespeak your pardon, for being forced to say something, not only against my own sense, but the interest, which both you and I carry on: for it is enjoined me to acquaint you with all that was said, although I take as little pleasure to repeat it, as you will do to hear it. For whereas it is our usual custom to dispute every thing, how plain or obscure soever, by knocking argument against argument, and tilting at one another with our heads, as rams fight, until we are out of breath, and then refer it to our wooden oracle, the box; and seldom any thing, how slight soever, hath appeared, without some patron or other to defend it. I must confess, I never saw bowling-stones run so unluckily against any boy, when his hand has been out, as the ballots did against you, when any thing was put to the question, from the beginning of your book to the end; for it was no sooner read over, but a gentleman of your acquaintance said, he wished, for your own sake, as well as the cause you contend for, that you had given your book no name, like an Anabaptist's child, until it had come to years of discretion, or else that you had got some friend to be gossip, that has a luckier hand at giving titles to books than you have: for it is observed, you have always been very unfortunate that way, as if it were fatal to you, to prefix bulls and nonsense to the very fronts of your learned works, as when you call Salmasius, *Claudius Anonymus*, in the very title of that admired piece, which you writ to confute his wife and his maid. As also in that other learned labour of yours, which you

[1] See Oldys' Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 206.

[2] [The *Rota* was a society of gentlemen formed by James Harrington, the author of Oceana, and agreeing with him in principles: they met nightly at Miles's coffee-house in New Palace-yard, Westminster. This pamphlet, being a burlesque on Milton's book, was very unlikely (as Mr. Todd observes) to have been written by Harrington's club, which encouraged all proposals for new forms of government; and Milton's very familiar intimacy with Skinner, one of the principal members, was alone sufficient to have prevented any attack from that quarter.]

style *Tetrachordon*[3], that is to say, 'a fiddle with four strings;' but, as you render it, 'a four-fold cord,' with which you undertake (worse than captain Ottor, and Cuthbert the barber) not to bind, but most ridiculously, to untie matrimony. But in this book, he said, you were more insufferable; for you do not only style your declamation, 'The ready and easy Way,' as if it were the best or only way, to the disparagement of this most ingenious assembly, who are confident, they have proposed others much more considerable; but do very indiscreetly profess, in the same place, to compare the excellencies of a Commonwealth with the inconveniencies and dangers of Kingship. This, he said, was foul play, and worse logick: for, as all conveniencies, in this world, carry their inconveniencies with them, to compare the best of one thing with the worst of another is a very unequal way of comparison. He had observed, that comparisons were commonly made on the wrong side, and so was this of yours, by your own confession. To this another added, he wondered you did not give over writing, since you have always done it to little or no purpose; for, though you have scribbled your eyes out, your works have never been printed, but for the company of chandlers and tobacco-men, who are your stationers, and the only men that vend your labours. He said, that he himself reprieved the whole defence of the people of England for a groat, that was sentenced to vile mundungus[4], and had suffered inevitably, but for him, though it cost you much oil and labour; and the Rump three-hundred pounds a year, to whose service it was more properly intended; although, in the close, you pronounce them to be as very rascals as Salmasius, and all the Christian world calls them, if ever they suffered any of their fellow-members to invade the government, as Oliver Cromwell and others have since done, and confess yourself fooled and mistaken, and all you have written to be false, howsoever you give yourself the second lye in writing for them again. After this, a grave gentleman of the long robe said, you had broken the heads of all the sages of the law, and plaid false in the very first word of your treatise: for the parliament of England, as you call the Rump, never consisted of a packed party of one house, that, by fraud and covin, had disseised the major part of their fellows, and forfeited their own right, by abetting the ejectment of the whole house of peers, and the greater part of their own, which was always understood to be the whole house, with whom they had but a joint right. That they had been several times justly dissolved by the army, from whom they really derived their authority; and the general voices of the people, in whom they had declared the supreme power to reside; and their own confession, upon record in their journal-book. But this, he said, you stole from patriot Whitlock, who began his declaration for a free state with the same words; and he wondered you would filch and pilfer nonsense and fallacies, that have such plentiful store of your own growth. Yet this was as true as that which follows, That a great number of the faithfullest of he people assisted them in throwing off kingship; for they were a very slight number, in respect of the whole, and none of the faithfullest that forswore themselves, to maintain and defend that which they judged dangerous, and resolved to abolish: and, therefore, they turned regal bondage, as you word it, into a free commonwealth, no more justly and magnanimously, than other knights of the post do their feats, by plain downright perjury. And the nation had little reason to trust such men with their liberty or property, that had no right to their own ears, but, among the rest of their cheats, had defrauded the very pillory of its due. This, being put to the ballot, was immediately carried on in the affirmative, without a dissenting pellet. When presently a gentleman, that hath been some years beyond-seas, said, he wondered you would say any thing so false and ridiculous, as that this commonwealth was the terror and admiration of France itself; for, if that were true, the cardinal and council were very imprudent to become the chief pro-

[3] [This was one of Milton's books, says Mr. Warton, published in consequence of his divorce from his first wife. *Tetrachordon* was used by Milton to imply 'Expositions upon the four chief places in Scripture which treat of Marriage, or Nullities of Marriage.' These places, or texts, occur in Gen. i. 27, 28; Deut. xxiv. 1, 2; Matth. v. 31, 32; and 1 Corinth. vii. 10—16.]

[4] [Tobacco.]

moters of it, and strive, by all means to uphold that, which they judged to be dangerous to themselves, and for the interest of a nation, which they hate and fear so much as they do us; for, if this free state be so terrible to them, they have been very unwise, in assisting it to keep out the King all this while, especially if they saw the people of Paris and Bourdeaux disposed, as you say, to imitate us, which appears very strange; for, by their history, any man would judge, we had catched the disease of them. As for our actions abroad, which you brag of, he said, he never heard of any where he was, until Oliver Cromwell reduced us to an absolute monarchy, under the name of a free state; and then we beat the potent and flourishing republick of the United Provinces. But, for our actions at home, he had heard abroad, that they savoured much of Goth and Vandal barbarism, if pulling down of churches, and demolishing the noblest monuments in the land, both public and private, beside religion and all laws, human and divine, may amount to so much. And yet, he said, he granted what you affirm, That they were not unbecoming the rising of a glorious commonwealth, for such are usually founded in faction, sedition, rebellion, rapine, and murder. And how much soever you admire the Romans, ——*ab infami gentem deducis asylo*, if you remember, they were, at first, but a refuge for thieves and murderers. In all Asia, Africa, and the New World, there is no such thing as a republick, nor ever was, but only that of Carthage, and some paltry Greek colonies upon the skirts of Asia Minor; and, for one commonwealth, there have been an hundred kingdoms in the world; which argues, they should be the more agreeable to mankind. He added, Commonly republicks arise from unworthy causes, not fit to be mentioned in history; and that he had heard many persons of honour, in Flanders, affirm, that it was not the tyranny of Spain, nor the cruelty of duke D'Alva, nor the blood of their nobility, nor religion, nor liberty, that made the Dutch cast off their obedience to their prince, but one-penny excise laid upon a pound of butter, that made them implacably declare for a commonwealth. That the Venetians were banished into a free state by Atyla, and their glorious liberty was, at first, no other, than he may be said to have that is turned out of his house. That the Romans were cuckolded into their freedom, and the Pisans trepanned into theirs, by Charles the Eighth. That, as commonwealths sprung from base originals, so they have ruined upon as slight occasions. That the same Pisans, after they had spent all they had upon a freak of liberty, were sold, like cattle, by Lewis the Twelfth. The Venetians hectored, and almost ruined, by Maximilian the First, a poor prince, for refusing to lend him money, as they were, not long before, by Francesco Sforza, about a bastard. The Florentines utterly enslaved, for spoiling an ambassador's speech, and disparaging Pedro de Medici's fine liveries. The Genoese —— But, as he was going on, he was interrupted by a gentleman that came in, and told us, that Sir Arthur Hazlerig, the Brutus of our republick, was in danger to be torn to pieces, like a Shrove-tuesday bawd, by the boys in Westminster-Hall; and, if he had not shewn himself as able a footman as he that cudgelled him, he had gone the way of Dr. Lamb infallibly. This set all the company a laughing, and made the traveller forget what he was saying. After a little pause, a learned gentleman of this society stood up, and said, he could not but take notice of one absurdity in your discourse, and that is, where you speak of liberty gloriously fought for, and kingly thraldom abjured by the people, &c. for, if by liberty you mean commonwealth, as you do, there was never any such thing, as either the one or the other; unless you will state the quarrel at the end of the war, which is very senseless, and directly contrary to all oaths and engagements; or can prove that hanging, drawing, and quartering of some of the people, and selling others as slaves, for taking up arms, in all parts of the nation, for the King, are abjurations of his authority: and he wondered you could be so weak, or impudent, to play foul in matters of fact, of which there are so many thousand witnesses to disprove you. But he was of opinion, that you did not believe yourself, nor those reasons you give, in defence of commonwealth; but that you are swayed by something else, as either by a stork-like fate (as a modern Protector-poet calls it, because that fowl is observed to live no where but in commonwealths), or, because you have unadvisedly scrib-

bled yourself obnoxious, or else you fear, such admirable eloquence, as yours, would be thrown away under a monarchy, as it would be, though of admirable use in a popular government, where orators carry all the rabble before them: for who knows to how cheap a rate this goodly eloquence of yours, if well managed, might bring the price of sprats; as no wiser orators than yourself have done heretofore, in the petty factions, Greek republicks, whom you chiefly imitate; for all your politicks are derived from the works of declaimers, with which sort of writers, the ancient commonwealths had the fortune to abound, who left many things behind them, in favour or flattery of the governments they lived under, and disparagement of others, to whom they were in opposition, of whom we can affirm nothing certain, but that they were partial, and never meant to give a true account of things, but to make them finer or worse than they really are; of which men, one of their own commonwealth-poets gives a just character, by sorting them amongst the worst of men:

——Ἱερόσυλοι ῥήτορες,
Καὶ συκοφάνται, καὶ πονηροὶ——

All which you have outgone (according to your talent) in their several ways, for you have done your feeble endeavour to rob the church, of the little which the rapine of the most sacrilegious persons hath left, in your learned work against Tithes; you have slandered the dead, worse than envy itself, and thrown your dirty outrage, on the memory of a murdered prince, as if the hangman were but your usher. These have been the attempts of your stiff, formal eloquence, which you arm accordingly, with any thing that lies in your way, right or wrong, not only begging, but stealing questions, and taking every thing for granted, that will serve your turn; for you are not ashamed to rob Oliver Cromwell himself, and make use of his canting, with signal assistances from heaven, and answering condescensions; the most impious Mahometan doctrine, that ever was invented among Christians, and such as will serve as well to justify any prosperous villainy amongst men. He said, When God punishes a nation for sin, the executioners of his judgments are commonly but malefactors reprieved, as they are usually among men; for when he punished the Israelites for idolatry, he made use of greater idolaters than themselves: and when he afflicts a people for their disobedience to a just government, and fantastic longing after imaginary liberty, it is with infallible slavery, for their deliverers always prove their tyrants. This the Romans found true, for they had no sooner banished their kings, but they were, in a few years, glad to banish themselves, from the tyranny and oppression of their patriots, the assertors of their liberty; and that very contest furnished their free state with sedition, and civil war, for 500 years, and never ended, until they were reduced to an absolute tyranny, under the power of that faction, that took upon it to vindicate their liberty: he added, that he could not but smile at one thing you said, and that is, That king and bishops will incroach upon our consciences, until we are forced to spend over again all that we have spent, and fight over again all that we have fought, &c. For if you did not look very like a cunning man, nobody would believe you, nor trust your predictions of the future, that give so ill an account of things past. But he held you very unwise to blab any such thing; for that party you call *we*, have gained so abundantly much more than they have spent, that they desire nothing more, than to fight over the same fights again, at the same rate; and if you could but make your words good, he would undertake they should be the first men that should set bishops about your consciences: for how vile soever you make the blood of faithful Englishmen, they have made such good markets of it, that they would be glad at any time to broach the whole nation at the same price, and afford the treasure of miraculous deliverances, as you call it, into the bargain. This, he added, was easier to be understood, than your brand of Gentilism, upon Kingship, for which you wrest Scripture most unmercifully, to prove, that though Christ said, 'His kingdom was not of this 'world;' yet his commonwealth is. For if the text which you quote, 'The kings of 'the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, and they that exercise authority over them,

'are called benefactors: but it shall not be so among you,' &c. be to be understood of civil government, (and to infer commonwealth, as you will have it right or wrong,) and not to be meant of his spiritual reign, of which he was then speaking, and expressly calls so; you must prove that he erected a republick of his Apostles, and that, notwithstanding the Scripture every where calls his government, The Kingdom of Heaven, it ought to be corrected, and rendered, The Commonwealth of Heaven, or rather, The Commonwealth of this World; and yet the text does as well prove benefactors heathenish as kings; for if our Saviour had meant to brand Kingship with any evil character, he would never have styled himself 'King of the Jews, King of Heaven, King of Righteous-'ness,' &c. as he frequently does; but no where a Stateholder or Keeper of the Liberties.

To this, a young gentleman made answer, That your writings are best interpreted by themselves; and that he remembered in that book, wherein you fight with the King's picture, you call Sir Philip Sidney's princess Pamela (who was born and bred out of Christian parents in England) a Heathen woman; and, therefore, he thought that by Heathenish, you meant English; and that in calling kingship Heathenish, you inferred, it was the only proper and natural government of the English nation, as it hath been proved in all ages. To which another objected, that such a sense was quite contrary to your purpose: to which he immediately replied, That it was no new thing with you to write that, which is as well against as for your purpose. After much debate, they agreed to put it to the ballot, and the young gentleman carried it without any contradiction. That done, a gentleman of good credit here, taking occasion from the former discourse, said, you had shewn yourself as able a divine, as a statesman; for you had made as politic provision for spiritual, as civil liberty, in those pious and orthodox (though seemingly absurd and contradictory) grounds you have laid down, in order thereunto, which being rightly interpreted, do say, or by consequence, infer thus much: That the church of Christ ought to have no head upon earth, but the monster of many heads, the multitude, who are the only supreme judges of all matters that concern him; a privilege they claimed, when he was upon earth, when they took upon them to condemn him, and cried, Crucify: that all Christian laws and ordinances have a coercive power, to see themselves put in execution, and yet they ought to be subject to every man's will and humour (which you call his best light), and no man to them but in his own sense. That the Scripture only ought to interpret itself (just as it can read itself), and every man is to take the interpretation in such a sense, as best suits with his own capacity, or his occasions: that every man may do what he pleases in matters of religion, but only those that are in authority, who ought not to meddle in such matters, as being of so different a nature from the cognizance (or any other), that if it be their will to command the only true religion to be observed, it presently becomes unchristian, inhuman, and barbarous. That no man can serve God, nor save his own soul, but in a commonwealth, in this certainty, you go after your own invention, for no man ever heard it before: but if it should be true, it is a sad thing to think, what is become of the Apostles themselves, and all the saints in the primitive times, when there was never a Christian commonwealth in the world? That any man may turn away his wife, and take another as often as he pleases, as you have most learnedly proved upon the fiddle, and practised in your life and conversation, for which you have achieved the honour to be styled 'The Founder of a Sect.' All this you call liberty of conscience, and Christian liberty, which you conclude no government is more inclinable, not only to favour, but protect, than a free commonwealth. In this, he said, you say right; for it is notorious enough, that since we have been but called a Commonwealth, such pious doctrines, as these, have been so wonderfully propagated, that England does now abound with new Christians, no less than Spain did of late years, and of the same mungrel breed; all which agree in nothing, but the extirpation of Christian religion, and subversion of government, to which your discipline does naturally conduce. For certainly, the most ready and easy way to root out religion, is to render it contemptible and ridiculous; which cannot be sooner done, than by giving licence and encouragement to all manner of frenzies, that pretend to new discove-

ries in matters of faith; these will quickly make it become a sport and mockery to the people, until it be utterly extinct; and this, some of the church of Rome found true, who gave a greater check to the growth of reformation, by clothing some of the new professors in fools' coats, and exposing them to the derision of the multitude, than by persecuting, and putting thousands to death. And this is the way you go, which will never fail you, as long as there are fools and mad-men to carry on the work. And with this, if you could but introduce the wholesome canons of the council of Munster, it would make an admirable model for the ecclesiastical part of the republick, if it were not for one unlucky circumstance, and that is, that Knipper Dolling proclaimed John of Leyden king, and not state-holder. This, he said, was an unhappy mistake, and no less out of your way, than that of the Fifth-Monarchy men, who would have been admirable for your purpose, if they had but dreamed of a fifth free state.

By this time, they began to grow weary of your perpetual falsehoods and mistakes, and a worthy knight of this assembly stood up and said, that, if we meant to examine all the particular fallacies and flaws in your writing, we should never have done; he would therefore, with leave, deliver his judgment upon the whole, which, in brief, was thus: That it is all windy foppery, from the beginning to the end, written to the elevation of that rabble, and meant to cheat the ignorant. That you fight always with the flat of your hand, like a rhetorician, and never contract the logical fist. That you trade altogether in universals, the region of deceits and fallacy, but never come so near particulars, as to let us know which, among divers things of the same kind, you would be at. For you admire commonwealths in general, and cry down kingship as much at large, without any regard to the particular constitutions, which only make either the one or the other good or bad, vainly supposing all slavery to be in the government of a single person, and nothing but liberty in that of many; which is so false, that some kingdoms have had the most perfect form of commonwealths, as ours had, and some republicks have proved the greatest tyrannies, as all have done at one time or other. For many, if they combine, have more latitude to abuse power, than a single person, and less sense of shame, conscience, or honour to restrain them, for what is wickedly done by many, is owned by none, where no man knows upon whom in particular to fix it. And this we have found true by experience in your Patriots and Assertors (as you call them), for no one person could ever have done half the mischief they have done, nor out-lived the infamy they have suffered, without any sense of shame. Beside this, as all your politicks reach but the outside and circumstances of things, and never touch at realities, so you are very solicitous about words, as if they were charms, or had more in them than what they signify. For no conjurer's devil is more concerned in a spell, than you are in a mere word, but never regard the things which it serves to express. For you believe liberty is safer under an arbitrary unlimited power, by virtue of the name Commonwealth, than under any other government, how just or restrained soever, if it be but called Kingship. And therefore, very prudently you would have the name Parliament abolished, because it signifies a parly of our commons with their Norman kings. But in this you are too severe a Draco, to punish one word, for holding correspondence with another, when all the liberty, you talk so much of, consists in nothing else but mere words. For though you brag much of the people's managing their own affairs, you allow them no more share of that in your Utopia, as you have ordered it, than only to set up their throats and bawl, instead of every three years, which they might have done before, once in an age, or oftener, as an old member drops away, and a new one is to succeed, not for his merit or knowledge in state-affairs, but because he is able to bring the greatest and most deep-mouthed pack of the rabble into the field; a more wise and equal way, in your opinion, of choosing counsellors, than any king is capable of. But he added, you had done worst of all, where you are most like yourself, and that is in that false and malicious aspersion of Popish and Spanish counsels which you cast on the present King. For it is well known to all the world, he hath preferred his conscience before three crowns, and patiently endured to live so many years in exile, rather than change his religion;

which if he would have done, or been moved with such counsels, he might long since have procured all the forces of the Catholic world upon us; whereas it cannot be denied of his greatest opposers, That they are so jealous of their ill-gotten purchases bought with their crimes, that rather than be in danger of losing a pig, they would, with the Gergesenes, desire Christ to depart out of their coasts. After this said, he moved the assembly that I might be desired to deliver my judgment upon the book, as he and others had done, which being immediately passed, I knew not, though unwilling, how to avoid it; and therefore, I told them as briefly as I could, that that which I disliked most in your treatise was, that there is not one word of the balance of propriety, nor the Agrarian, nor Rotation in it, from the beginning to the end; without which, together with a Lord Archon, I thought I had sufficiently demonstrated, not only in my writings but public exercises in that coffee-house, that there is no possible foundation of a free commonwealth. To the first and second of these, that is, the Balance and the Agrarian, you made no objection, and therefore, I should not need to make any answer. But for the third, I mean Rotation, which you implicitly reject in your design to perpetuate the present members, I shall only add this to what I have already said and written on this subject, That a commonwealth is like a great top, that must be kept up by being whipped round, and held in perpetual circulation, for if you discontinue the Rotation, and suffer the senate to settle, and stand still, down it falls immediately. And if you had studied this point as carefully as I have done, you could not but know, there is no such way under heaven of disposing the vicissitudes of command and obedience, and of distributing equal right and liberty among all men, as this of wheeling, by which, as Chaucer writes, a single fart hath been equally divided among a whole convent of friars, and every one hath had his just share of the savour. I told them, I could not but be sorry to find so learned a man so ignorant, in the nature of government, as to make disproportionate parallels of councils as you do, where you compare the senate of Rome, with the grand council of Venice, between which there is no analogy at all; for the senate of Rome was never the supreme power of the people, as the grand council of Venice is, but merely a council of state. But I wondered most of all, at what politic crack in any man's skull, the imagination could enter of securing liberty under an oligarchy, seised of the government for term of life, which was never yet seen in the world. The metropolitan of all commonwealths, the Roman, did but once adventure to trust its whole power and authority, in the hands of one council, and that but for two years, and yet they had like to have lost their liberty for ever; whereas they had frequently in all ages left it wholly in the power of a single person, and found it so far from danger or inconvenience, that the only refuge they had in their greatest extremity was, to create a dictator. But I could not but laugh, as they all had done, at the pleasantness of your fancy, who suppose our noble patriots, when they are invested for term of life, will serve their country at their own charge: this, I said, was very improbable, unless you meant as they do, that all we have is their own, and that to prey and devour is to serve; in which they have appeared so able and industrious, as if they had been made to no other purpose, but, like lobsters, were all claws and belly. For though many laugh at me for accounting 300,000 pounds in wooden ware, towards the erecting of a free-state, in my Oceana, but a trifle to the whole nation; because I am most certain that these little pills the ballots are the only physick that can keep the body-politic soluble, and not suffer the humour to settle, I will undertake, that if the present members had but a lease of the government during life, notwithstanding whatsoever impeachment of waste, they would raise more out of it to themselves in one year, than that amounts to; beside the charge we must be at in maintaining of guards to keep the boys off them, and before half the term be expired, they would have it untenantable. To conclude; I told them, you had made good your title in a contrary sense; for you have really proposed the most ready and easy way to establish downright slavery upon the nation that can possibly be contrived, which will clearly appear to any man that does but understand this plain truth, that wheresoever the power of proposing and debating, together with the power of ratifying and enacting

laws, is entrusted in the hands of any one person, or any one council, as you would have it, that government is inevitably arbitrary and tyrannical, because they may make whatsoever they please lawful or unlawful. And that tyranny hath the advantage of all others that hath law and liberty among the instruments of servitude.

J. H.

Experimented Proposals[1] how the King may have Money to pay and maintain his Fleets, with Ease to his People; London may be rebuilt, and all Proprietors satisfied; Money to be lent at Six per Cent. on Pawns; and the Fishing-Trade set up, which alone is able and sure to enrich us all. And all this without Altering, Straining, or Thwarting any of our Laws or Customs now in Use. By Sir Edward Forde[2]. Licensed, November 2, 1666. Roger L'Estrange.

London; printed by William Godbid, 1666.

[Quarto; containing One Sheet.]

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1. THE end of our money is to adjust contracts and accounts between ourselves; for it is not coined to be melted or transported.

2. These, and all tokens of account, are valued according to their portableness, which prefers gold before silver, jewels before gold, bills and bonds before all.

3. These bills, bonds, book-accounts, and even verbal promises, we transfer from one to the other, which our law approves of and corroborates.

4. Satisfying security therefore clearly supplies and contents us as well as money; for who would not rather have a straw, or a piece of paper, than an hundred pounds, if he were sure it would at all times yield him as much as he took it for? Our practice evinceth this, for we purchase bills of exchange at two or more *per cent.* The money-master parts with his coin for a sheet of paper or parchment. Nay, it gets our money into our enemies, esteemed, but, in truth, failable money-banks, though they give but three *per cent.* use, and we six, nay, Ireland ten and more *per cent.* For it is satisfactory security, not great use, that attracts money.

5. Land-security is evidently, of all, the surest and most satisfying, where the title is clear, and no danger of counterfeits or foreign conquest.

6. No money can be surer than taxes by act of parliament, though ten or more years day of payment were allowed the people, which this way may be done; and yet the King, by making current bills thereon, may have it all presently, without any deductions. And, by the people's yearly and easy payments, these bills may be certainly paid and taken in.

[1] See Oldys' Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 164.

[2] [Sir Edward Ford is called by Lord Clarendon, a gentleman of good family and fair fortune. He was high-sheriff for the county of Sussex, and adhered to Charles I. at Oxford, where he received the honour of knighthood in 1643. About the same time he obtained a colonel's commission in the King's army, and afterwards suffered much from his loyalty. Upon the encouragement of Cromwell in 1656, he raised the Thames water, through pipes, into all the principal streets of the city of London, by a machine of his own invention: and for this he deserves to be held in most honourable remembrance.]

7. By such-like distinct bills, London may be rebuilt, and all proprietors satisfied for enlarging the streets, the fines and rents of all so built being engaged to satisfy and take in all these bills.

8. The like may be done for banks of loan upon pawns, truly called mounts of piety, where, the stock thus coming *gratis*, the poor (who now pay above forty, fifty, nay sixty *per cent.* use, to their ruin, and casting them and theirs on their parishes' charge) may have money at six *per cent.* The clothiers on their cloth the like, till the merchant or draper can take it off, and the clothier, meantime, have money to go on with his trade, and keep his workmen still employed. The landed man at four *per cent.* use, whereby he may improve his land, or lend his money to such as can well pay him six *per cent.* and gain enough. Half this use will soon pay and take in these bills, the other half will defray all charges, and augment this mount to a vast advantage of all.

9. By the like way, the herring trade may be established, to the breeding up and maintaining plenty of mariners, enough for the king, merchant, and fishery; and employ our poor from their childhood, and the profit hereof will soon pay and take in these bills also; for John Keymor's books clearly shew, how the Dutch, and foreigners, by our fish, make more money in one year, than the King of Spain doth in four years of his Indies; and how these Dutch hereby will certainly eat us out of all trade, and be clear masters of the sea, to the terror of all kings and states.

10. Credit thus raised is honest, because all bills are sure to be paid. It prejudiceth no man, because he hath as much use of this bill-money, as if he had the silver; and it compasseth all these particulars, to the good of us all. Nor is the way hazardous or untrodden, but such as hath been long, and is still used by our neighbours, to the advancing their little country (not so big nor fruitful as one English county) from poor distressed states, to be Hogans-Mogans, and all by a real cheat; for no considerate man can believe that they have so much money in their banks, as they give out bills for. What then do they get? But lose the use they pay, and their charge in guarding and keeping accounts.

11. These lessen not, but increase both bullion and coin, where they are used; for what monarch can spare such sums as little Genoa lends to the King of Spain, that great master and merchant of gold and silver? And what people generally fuller of money, and freer from beggars, than the Dutch, by these proposed courses?

If all, or any, of these be thought worth debating, the proposer is confident he can answer all objections, and shew the way how there shall not be any danger of cheat or abuse in any part thereof.

The great and famous Battle of Lutzen, fought between the renowned King of Sweden [1] and Walstein. Wherein were left dead upon the Place between Five and Six Thousand of the Swedish Party, and between Ten and Twelve Thousand of the Imperialists, where the King himself was unfortunately slain, whose Death counterpoised all the other. Pappenheim, Merode, Isolani, and divers other great Commanders, were offered up like so many Sacrifices on the Swedish Altar, to the Memory of their King. Here is also inserted an Abridgment of the King's Life, and a Relation of the King of Bohemia's Death, faithfully translated out of the French Copy.

Printed 1633.

[Quarto, containing Forty-five Pages.]

To the Reader.

WE see that, in the greater maps, things are expressed more plainly, than they can be in the smaller, though they be drawn all by one skill: so virtue in princes is more perspicuous, than in plebeians; in the former she is drawn at length, with all her dimensions; in the latter she is limned in little, being invisible, unless you approach very near her. And, indeed, this is consonant to nature's own wisdom, who suffers the vital spirits in the body to go to the least member, yea to the very finger's end; yet doth she most plentifully bestow them where she hath the greatest employment for them: so on the vulgar she confers gifts suitable to so low a calling: but, in princes and monarchs, she centuples and irradiates her ornaments, because by them she speaks, and gives laws to humanity. Yet is not this rule so general, that it often suffers not an exception: for, as nature distinguisheth between the subject and the prince by sovereignty, so doth she between prince and prince, by virtue and ability. That this is true, this our dear tragical subject will serve for a lively and clear demonstration, whom neither this age, nor any of the former could parallel, in the management both of the sceptre, and the sword. In his whole reign, his prudence at home hath not deserved more admiration than his prowess abroad: for, indeed, from his youth upwards, Mars hath been the sphere, wherein he hath moved, into which violated justice first hauled him, and out of which nothing but she appeased, or death could remove him. He was a general before a man, and with a yet unreaped chin mowed down his enemies before him. With many kingdoms, at once, he waged war, from all which, he forced conditions advantageous to him and his. This was not without the amazement of all men, to see a point oppose and conquer so vast a circumference. In his wars I will only observe three things: his way to victory, his

[1] [The heroic and illustrious Gustavus Adolphus, who succeeded his father, Charles the Ninth, as king of Sweden in 1611, and reigned till 1632. His life has been written by Walter Harte, at great length; whence he appears to have well deserved the high and numerous encomiums which writers of all countries have heaped upon him.]

behaviour in it, his carriage after it. For the first, he did animate his soldiers rather by fighting, than exhorting; nor did he challenge to himself any advantage above the meanest of them, but honour and command. He knew that it is in empire, as in the body, where the most dangerous diseases flow from the head: wherefore he worked on their manners by his own, the only firm cement of a general and his army. He well understood that faith and loyalty are not to be expected where we impose thraldom and servitude, and therefore at times he would be familiar, as well with the common soldier, as the commander. His invention and execution of all military stratagems were ever twins; for in all his conquests he owed as much to his celerity, as valour. When his foes were in their tents securely discoursing of him, as a-far off, he, like the wolf, broke into their fable, to their irrecoverable astonishment. They could not withstand the force of his fame, much less that of his arms. One feather more I must add, without which his victories had not been fully plumed, nor could have soared so high, and that was this: he never persuaded any man to an enterprise, in which he would not himself make one. He taught them as well by hand, as tongue. I may add, that neither antiquity can, nor posterity ever shall produce a prince so patient, of all military wants, as of meat, drink, warmth, sleep, &c. all which are necessary to the maintenance of life. In divers sufferings of his, he recalls to my mind the most accomplished of the Romans, Cato, who, leading his troops through the contagious and poisonous desarts, was ever the last of his army that drank, save once, when he began to them all in water taken from a spring suspected to be invenomed.

Thus much of his way to victory, now let us come to his deportment in it. After all his conquests, such a calm immediately ensued, that the passed storm was soon forgotten, and the enemy appeared rather like one suddenly wakened, than frighted. There was not any of his victories that washed not her hands of all cold and innocent blood. He was so severe a justicer, that he often revenged the violating of his merciful decrees even upon the place, and sometimes on men of quality, whom he affected. The laws of retaliation, he knew so well, that he gave to all men punctual satisfaction for all offences received from his party, according to the nature of the wrong done. For this cause, his tribunal (like the Roman) stood ever open. All his great achievements were ever attended by devotion within, and circumspection without. He first praised God, and then provided for man, at once having an eye on his enemies' next designs, and his soldiers' present necessities. The greatest of his glories, purchased with blood and sweat, could neither change the estate of his mind, or copy of his countenance. The true greatness of his spirit was such, that in all his actions he placed ostentation behind, and conscience before him, and sought not the reward of a good deed from fame, but from the deed itself. I conclude this point with this assertion, that honesty had as strict and great a command over him, as necessity over mankind. He was a prince of so great and clear a fame, that envy herself blushed to oppose it, and therefore was forced to assume the mask of religion, under which she might securely display her invectives. Religion, religion, it is thou that shouldest unite, but dost estrange hearts, and makest us seek to take away even those lives that gave us ours. Let a man have in eminency all the cardinal and theological virtues, he of a contrary sect looks on all these through a mist raised by his malice, which makes him either not see them at all, or not as they are. O Jesus, Jesus, in thy best blessed time, gather thy strayed flock into one fold, and let Truth and Peace kiss each other! This testimony the perfections of this prince drew from me, who was abstemious and continent in every thing, save in the search of glory and virtue.

It now remains, that I say something of the ensuing treatise, in which is contained the last and greatest battle of this King, his deplored death, and other weighty circumstances. The original is French, written by one of the ablest pens of that nation. It begins at the King's coming down into Germany, and extends his story to his death. Of all the modern histories, I dare make it the chorus; for it is written in a style so attic, and so judicial, that it may well be called, 'The French Tacitus.' What hath been before delivered, in other discourses concerning this subject, is to this nought else but a

foil. The full and perfect translation of this rare piece I here promise the courteous reader; and, in the mean time, entreat him to wear, as a favour, this branch, by which he may judge the whole body.

Dixi.

THE King, having mustered his troops, and those of Duke Bernard of Saxon-Weimar about Erfurt, the army received command to advance towards Naumburg.

The King came thither in person on St. Martin's day, and cut in pieces two regiments of Merode, that opposed him by the way. He was no sooner arrived at Naumburg, but he received intelligence, that the enemy's forces [2] lay encamped at Leipsick, and Noerspurg, and stretched thence in length, as far as Weissenfels, and that they were intrenched in a place advantageous. Which proceeding of theirs obliged the King to do the like, at Naumburg, and to seek the means to join his army with the Electoral, which then lay about Torgau, consisting of fifteen-thousand men, and reinforced with two-thousand horse belonging to the Duke of Lunenburg. He sent divers posts to inform them of his coming, and of the courses that were to be taken for their uniting. Walstein [3] and Pappenheim [4], being lodged between them, had an eye on them both, and made it their only study to hinder their conjunction. On the fourteenth of November [5], the scouts of the King brought him word, the enemy had sacked and abandoned the city, and castle of Weissenfels, laid plain his trenches, and retired himself towards Lutzen, two German miles from Leipsick. The King, hearing this news, resolved no longer to delay the fight; his courage not permitting him to temporize any further, nor to attend the return of his posts sent to the Elector.

That, which confirmed him in this his resolution, was the assurance of certain prisoners brought him by Relinguen, that Pappenheim was gone to Hall, with six regiments. Wherefore, his army had order to march towards the enemy, the fifteenth, three hours before day, and to dare him to a battle. The diligence of the van was such, that it reached the enemy by the second hour after noon, and began the assault. The Imperialists failed not to make head, and a strong resistance. Many charges were given, with advantage, and loss equal, the victory inclining now to this side, then to that, till at length the Swedes gave fire to their small field-pieces, which pierced and broke sundry Imperial companies and forced them to a retreat. The Swedes became masters of the field, and brought to the King a standard taken from the enemy, with this device, *La fortune et l'aigle Romain*, 'Fortune, and the Roman eagle.' Hence some drew this prognostick, that the enemy should, before long, part with the one and the other. A thick mist and the night coming upon them, the Swedes were hindered in the pursuit of the enemy, and the victory.

The King remained in the field, and stood in order of battle all night; having no other shelter than his caroach, resolved to follow close his design, and engage the enemy to a general combat. He communicated his intention to the Dukes of Saxon-Weimar, and other remarkable commanders, who passed away that night near his caroach, having nothing over their heads, but the heavenly arch, nor any thing under them, but trusses of straw laid upon the earth. Their field-furniture they left behind, believing they should return to lodge in Naumburg: but the patience of their General made them with ease pass over these inconveniencies. Some of the principal officers endeavoured to dissuade the King from giving battle, alleging, that the forces of the enemy were great, his seats advantageous; their own army feeble and wearied with continual marches; and that it was far safer to wait for the arrival of the Saxon, and make so strong an union, as may promise success in the equality of their armies. Their reasons were not received, but crossed by the King with many more

[2] [The Imperialists.]

[3] [A distinguished Bohemian general, who served under Ferdinand II. Emperor of Germany.]

[4] [Esteemed the greatest commander of all his enemies by the great Gustavus. For he was heard to say, that he had three difficult foes to contend with; a poltroon, a jesuit, and a soldier. By the two first, he meant Walstein and the Duke of Bavaria; by the last, Pappenheim. See Howell's Letters, sect. 6. Book i.]

[5] [1632.]

solid, derived from the experience of the times past, and the present astonishment of the enemy; from the courage of his soldiers, and his advantages obtained; from the justice of his arms, from the benediction from above, from the absence of Pappenheim, and the discommodities he should be subject to, in that season now waxing bitter, in case he should suffer the enemy to perfect his trenches, which he had already begun in many places: to which he added his reputation, and how important it was to hasten the combat, saying aloud: "That he would not suffer Walstein to beard him, without calling him to an account, and letting him see, by proof, that he was not to be faulted; that before this he had not seen him with his sword in his hand; that he desired to make trial of his ability in the field, and ferret him out of his burrows."

The commanders, perceiving by the language and tone of the King, that his decree to fight was inevitable, and their opposition fruitless, conformed their wills by an humble obedience to his, not without reiterated protestations to subscribe themselves his in their own blood, and seal it with the loss of their lives: whereat the King rejoiced extremely; nor could he contain his joy from appearing in his face, but, by his cheerful looks, expressed his inward content, and forthwith called for a new suit of chamois, which he presently put on. Then they presented to him his arms, and the Duke Bernard, of Saxon-Weimar, and sundry other princes and officers conjured him, by all things dear and holy, to wear his helmet and cuirass; but they could not win him to it, he objecting the incumbrance, and laying his hand on the musket-bullet still remaining in his shoulder, which, to him, made the least weight unsupportable.

The King's design was to begin the combat by the peep of day; but so thick and dark a mist arose, that it confined the eye to a small distance, and rendered any enterprise not only difficult, but dangerous; wherefore the King was constrained to expect till the sun had chased it away, which, till then, had deprived him of all sight of the enemy. The interim, according to his custom, he employed in his devotions, and in making the round of his army, to mark the disposition and countenance of his soldiers, and encourage them to fight manfully. Coming to the quarter of the Swedes and Finlanders, he put them in battle-array; and, with a voice and countenance alike cheerful, he thus bespoke them: "My friends and camerades[6], this is the day that invites you to demonstrate what you are: shew yourselves men of valour, keep your ranks, and fight courageously for yourselves and your King. If this day the bravery of your spirits shine forth, you shall find the heavenly benediction perched on the points of your swords, honour, and a recompence of your valour: on the contrary, if you turn back, and basely and foolishly commit the armed band to the protection of the unarmed foot, you shall find infamy, my disgrace, and your own ruin; and I protest to you, on the word of a king, that not the least piece of you, or of your bones, shall return again into Swedeland."

This exhortation, delivered in a high and piercing tone, won from the Swedes and Finlanders only these general acclamations: 'That they would approve themselves men of 'honour; that they had lives only for him, which they were ambitious to preserve in the obtaining of victory and his good graces.'

The Swedes being placed in rank and file, the King embattles the Alman[7] regiments, and thus, in a few words, exhorts them: "My friends, officers, and soldiers, I conjure you, by your love to Heaven and me, this day to manifest whose you are: you shall fight not only under me, but with me; my blood and life shall mark you out the way to honour; break not your ranks, but second me with courage. If you perform this, victory is ours with all her glories, you and your posterity shall enjoy it; if you give back, your lives and liberties have one period."

This speech was answered with an universal shout, and vows reciprocal: 'That 'they would make it appear they knew the way to victory, or to death: that the King

[6] *Camerades* is, in English, 'Chamber-fellows.' [7] [German.]

'should receive all satisfaction in their service, and the enemy should acknowledge he had 'to do with men of honour.'

Walstein and his principal officers discovered quickly by his scouts, the resolution of the King, and the countenance of his; and thereupon grounded this resolution, 'That 'they must needs come to blows.' Walstein was infinitely desirous to avoid the combat; but he was wisely admonished, by some about him, that every step his men made in a retreat would take from their courage, and give it to the enemy, and bring upon his army a panic fear and an utter confusion. He spent that whole night in digging and intrenching, in embattling his army, and planting his artillery in divers places advantageous, the better to sustain the shock of the enemy. Pappenheim was sent for back in post-haste, who was gone to Hall, being very desirous to invest it, not believing that the King would give, or accept of battle, before the forces of Saxony were arrived. In the mean time, the utmost endeavours of Walstein were not wanting to hearten his men; and he laid before them honour, reward, their advantages, their forces, the justice of their cause, which God, the Catholic church, the Emperor, and the whole empire justified against the violence and usurpation of a stranger: and all this, and more, he uttered in a litter, which his gout would not permit him to forsake.

This was subject to divers interpretations; some believing, that indeed he felt some symptoms of that sickness very familiar to him; others maintained this posture to have no good grace on a day of battle, and judged that Walstein was very willing to preserve himself safe and sound, that he might hereafter serve his master and his party: others averred he was much indebted to his gout, which did warrant his retreat without his reproach, necessity commanding the stoutest courage to yield to such an enemy.

On the other side, the King being ready at all points, and his army embattled, he would take no refection, because he would be an example to his men, and lose no time. Being placed in the head of Steinsbock's regiment, he thus spoke with a voice audible: "Now, now is the time, comrades, we must go on undaunted; let us charge, let us charge in the name of God. Jesus, Jesus, Jesus, aid me in fighting this day, and favour my right!"

These words were no sooner pronounced, but he gave spurs to his horse, and, with his head inclined, gave a charge to a battalion of twenty-four companies of cuirassiers, which were esteemed the flower of the Imperial army. Two Swedish regiments had order to second him. The artillery of the King was advanced, and five cannon-shot discharged upon the enemy, who answered them with two-hundred, which went off with a horrid noise, and lightning, but with small loss to the Swedes, the cannoneers of Walstein not having well taken their aim. But the first shock was fatal to the King, and all the army; for though the squadrons, led by so brave a chief, with an unheard-of resolution, gave on, like thunder, on the enemy, and made him recoil; yet one shot, from a pistol, gave him new courage, which pierced the King's arm, and broke the bone. When those, next the King, saw him bleed, they were amazed, and cried out, "The King is wounded." Which words the King heard with much distaste and repining, fearing it would abate the valour of his men; wherefore, dissembling his grief, with a joyful and undaunted look, he sought to qualify the fear of his soldiers, with these masculine words: "The hurt is slight; Comrades, take courage, let us make use of our odds, and return to the charge." The commanders that were about him, with hands lifted up, earnestly besought him to retire; but the apprehension of frighting his men, and his ambition to overcome, prevailed.

The assault being re-begun with vigour and fervour, and the King fighting again in the head of his troops, once more to break those ranks, that were again made up, the loss of blood, and the grief which he felt in the agitation of his body, enfeebled much his spirits and voice, which caused him to whisper these words in the ear of the Duke of Saxon-Lavenburgh: "Convey me hence, for I am dangerously wounded." He had scarcely ended his speech, and turned head to retire, when a cuirassier (marking this retreat) advanced, upon the gallop, from the battalion of the enemy, and discharged his carabine full in the shoulder of the King, with this insulting speech: "And art thou there then? Long it is that I have sought thee." Some imagined, that it was Pappenheim that gave the blow,

by reason he had often vaunted, that an ancient prediction was found amongst the records of his family, 'That a stranger king should die by the hand of a Pappenheim, with divers 'scars in his body, and mounted on a white horse.' And, for this cause, (having many scars in his face, and divers other parts of his body stitched up,) he reflected on himself, and believed the prophecy should be accomplished by his hand. But this needs no other confutation, than the absence of Pappenheim, and the time when the King received his hurt, which was in the very beginning of the assault, before Pappenheim could make one of the adverse party. I may add, that the discretion of this worthy Count would not have suffered him to run into an error so uncivil, as to speak so undecently to a Prince of that eminency.

When the King had received this mortal wound, which pierced him through and through, he fell from his horse, and gave up the ghost, with nothing but 'My God' in his mouth. He that made this accursed shot was beaten down with a storm of harquebusados, and sacrificed to the indignation of the Swedes. But while the groom of the King's chamber, and divers others lighted, to raise the body, the charge began again, more furiously than ever: the enemy having taken notice of this blow; and concluding that all was now finished, and that he should have Swedes good cheap[8]. This hindered the King's servants from bearing of his body, and summoned every man to regain the stirrup, and withstand the foe; so that the King could not be defended from receiving another pistol-shot in the head, and being twice run through with a sword: the Imperialists fearing him, even after death, and cowardly suspecting his speedy resurrection. The poor groom of his chamber never forsook him, but breathed his last upon his master's carcase, after the receipt of an infinity of wounds.

But neither the King's death, nor the great odds that the enemy had, being strongly intrenched in divers places, could let the Swedes (madded with their inestimable loss) from assaulting the Imperialists with an unspeakable fury; insomuch, that they compelled the battalion of cuirassiers, which made the left wing, to retire into their trenches, whom they dislodged about noon, and gained seven of their cannon, together with many colours and cornets.

Lieutenant-colonel Relinguen received command to advance, and, with three-hundred horse, to charge four regiments of Crabbats[9], commanded by Isolani, which made the right wing of the enemy; which he performed with so much bravery and courage, that he twice pierced through them, and brought back three standards, leaving behind one of his own. All his officers were wounded, and he himself, in the second onset, had his arm shot through with a pistol-bullet, which forced him to retire. Isolani, general of the Crabbats, lost his life, with a great number of his men. Eighteen of his companies charged some German regiments that guarded the baggage; but they were stoutly opposed, the combat fierce, the assaults reiterated, the earth dyed crimson, and burthened with carcases; the Crabbats driven back, though not without some disorder of the German horse, recoiled amongst the carts; but this disadvantage the enemy could not espy, by reason of a thick cloud which then arose, and gave the Germans opportunity to rank themselves.

The Imperial commanders, Galas, Merode, and Holok, (longing to recover their seat, and cannon lost,) took selected bands, fired the four corners of Lutzen, to blind the Swedes, and keep them from piercing that side, to the succour of their friends. This essay was followed by success, the trench forced by the Imperialists, the seven pieces of cannon lost regained, and some Swedish regiments disordered.

The Duke Bernard of Saxon-Weimar seeing the confusion of his men, and being advertised, by Kinphausen, of the King's death, was extremely incensed; and protesting he had not so base a wish as to survive him, he ran, with his head couched, on the enemy, seconded by the regiments of the Prince of Anhalt and Count Lowenstein. Then the fight became obstinate on both sides, the charges redoubled, the carcases piled up, the pikes broken, and the difference came to be decided by dint of sword. The eye of man, nor

[8] [i. e. on easy terms.] [9] [Croats or Croatians.]

that Greater of the world, ever beheld a joust more furious. The Imperialists strove to hold their advantage recovered, and the Swedes to dispossess them of it. The Duke Bernard did wonders that day; thrice, like lightning, shot he through the forces of the enemy; nor could a wound, received on the left arm, cause him to leave the field, before he had constrained the enemy to abandon the cannon and his post.

The winning of this, opened him the way to the conquest of another; for this valiant Prince pressed the Imperialists so hard, that he again disranked them, and compelled them to quit another post, guarded with thirteen cannon. His dexterity in the drilling of his men[10], in the opening and shutting of his ranks, was such, that they received little or no hurt from the enemy's cannon. The Duke, undaunted, pierced through the clouds of smoke, displaced the enemy, and made himself master likewise of this place, and of the cannon, and drove the enemy to a confused retreat. The slaughter was great, and the Swedes, well blooded, made good use of their advantage, and the disorder of their foes; passing over their bellies, killing all that came in their way, and stopping their ears against all motives for quarter.

The Duke, possessed of this place, and master of the field, between two and three in the afternoon; thinking there was but one post to force, seated by a windmill, and guarded by three Imperial regiments, endeavoured to remove them; sending, in the mean time, sundry squadrons to chase the fugitives. But then the fight grew more cruel than ever; for Pappenheim was returned from Hall, and came upon the gallop with certain fresh regiments. His reputation, and his encouragement, gave new spirits to the run-aways, and called them to the combat. The Duke, having notice of this, quits this place, new-ranks and encourages his men, and gives Pappenheim a meeting in the midway. All the charges past were nothing, in respect of these latter; Pappenheim employed his utmost cunning and diligence, and shewed himself, in all places, in the head of his troops, to embolden them. On the other side, the Duke Bernard fixed a resolution, either to die or overcome; and the Swedes and Finlanders, enraged for the death of their King, fought like lions, and desperately ran upon the enemy. The artillery advanced, and began to thunder, and to enter divers battalions, and to make legs and arms to fly from one place to another. The smaller shot was also so violent, that the squadrons encountered in the palpable darkness, caused by the smoke, without knowledge of their parties. This furious shock continued two hours, with equal loss to both; victory opening her arms to embrace now one side, then another. Galas, Merode, and Holok, were wounded to death, and a cannon-shot cut off Pappenheim by the middle.

His death, and the loss of divers other commanders, staggered the Imperialists, as much as that of the King's incensed the Swedes. Then the enemy (upon the receipt of a new salute from twenty-four cannon, which pierced their thickest troops) began to fly; and the Swedes pressed and pursued them far within night, which favoured the retreat of the fugitives, and hindered the Swedes from ranging further in the chace. Indeed, they were so tired, that they had neither breath nor force further to follow them. The Imperialists (giving fire to their camp, and part of their baggage) took some the way of Leipsick; others that of Leutmeritz, towards the frontiers of Bohemia; whither it was thought Walstein was gone, having heard of the loss of the battle, to find a safe place of retreat, and to gather together his dispersed troops.

The Swedes remained in possession of the enemy's camp, and most of his baggage, of one-and-twenty exquisite cannon, besides inferior ones, and a multitude of standards and cornets. Upon the mustering of their army, they found wanting (over and above the incomparable and irreparable loss of their King) the Major-general Isslet, and other colonels, and officers. A Prince of Anhalt, a Count of Nilis, the Colonels Brandestein, Wildenstein, Relinguen, and Winchell, received that day deep and honourable wounds. The Duke Bernard of Weimar also was hurt, to whose valour and conduct the Swedish party (after

[10] [In the celebrated battles of Leipsic and Lutzen, it is said that the first modern use was made of the *column*, now the chief instrument of the gain of victories. Rees's Cyclop. art. Battle.]

God) owes the glory of that day, more bloody by far, than that which was fought the year past in the neighbouring fields of Leipsick. The Duke Ernest of Weimar also insinuated himself into the hearts of all men, by his courage and leading that day. The regiments of these two Princes, and those of the Prince of Anhalt, of the Count of Lewestein, of Colonel Brandestein, and the two Swedish Colonels, surnamed, 'The Blue and the Yellow,' bore the brunt of that day. The Swedes lost between five and six thousand men, and the enemy between ten and twelve thousand remaining on the place, and two-thirds of their army ruined and dispersed; besides the death, or mortal wounds, of divers of their remarkable commanders, as Galas, Merode, Holok, Piccolomini, Isolani, and divers others. Pappenheim, above all the rest, was bewailed by his party, and not without just cause; his courage, his conduct, his vigilance and experience, having conspired to rank him in the soldiers' esteem amongst the bravest generals of these times.

But this glorious victory of the Swedish army suffered an eclipse, by the death of that truly great King, who was the soul of his friends, and the terror and scourge of his enemies. His body could not be found till the next day, when (after a curious search) it was discovered among the dead heaps rifled, and half naked, and so disfigured with blood and dirt, that he could hardly be known. This, at once so doleful and glorious a spectacle of the end of so great a Monarch, worked so strongly and effectually on the hearts of his soldiers, that with tears and lamentations for a loss so irreparable, they made an unanimous vow, upon the place, to revenge his death, and make him revive in the rigorous pursuit of his designs, which he had so often conjured them to continue, especially a little before this battle, when he seemed to presage his end; touching which he discoursed often and seriously with many of his familiars. Amongst other passages, the King marking the multitude of people that flocked about him at his entry into Naumburg, three days before the battle, and hearing their shouts of joy, and this general acclamation, 'Long live the King,' as if now they had nothing to fear, since he was present; he made to the standers-by this short but memorable speech: "Our affairs answer our desires, but I doubt God will punish me for the folly of the people, who attribute too much to me, and esteem me, as it were, their god; and therefore he will make them shortly see, I am but a man. He be my witness, it is a thing distasteful to me. Whatever befall me, I shall receive it as proceeding from his divine will. In this only I rest fully satisfied, that he will not leave this great enterprise of mine imperfect."

The seventeenth of November, immediately following the day of battle, and the King's death, Duke Bernard of Weimar retired to Weissenfels, to take a general review of his army, and to give rest and breath to his over-wearied troops. By the review of his regiments, it appeared that his army was between fifteen and sixteen thousand strong. The Duke imparted his present estate, and all other necessary particulars, to the court of Saxony, and urged the Elector to an uniting of their forces, to the end they might follow close their design, and pursue Walstein to the remotest parts of Austria. After this, all the army, as well Swedish as German, agreed in the election of Duke Bernard for their general; and took a new oath faithfully to serve him, who had deserved so well of the Swedish party by so many benefits, by his vigilancy, his conduct, and the greatness of his fame in war; but, above all, by his resolution and incomparable valour, of which he made so opportune and clear a demonstration on that bloody day of battle. The chancellor Oxesterne (who lay then about Francfort) was sent for in all haste to manage the affairs of the chancery-royal, removed to Erfurt; but chiefly, to serve and counsel the desolate and disconsolate Queen, environed with griefs and crosses inexpressible, yet but equal to the greatness of her loss. The said Chancellor, and the Chevalier Rache, served happily to rectify sundry disorders, and to raise the spirits of such as were dejected; but principally to stop the flood of tears flowing from the eyes of this most virtuous Princess, and to replant in her mind generous and masculine resolutions.

De la Gorde was sent for in post-haste, who was embarked in Swedeland with certain regiments of Swedes and Finlanders, to bring a supply to the camp-royal, and reinforce it, the dead King being anchored in this maxim, to make continual levies (notwithstand-

ing the number of his armies) that so he might have men at will to fill up those empty companies, which the sword, mortality, and many other military miseries, might unhappily depopulate.

But notwithstanding the death of this mighty Prince, the astonishment and fright of the enemy was such, that he basely forsook divers strong and impregnable places in the electorate of Saxony. Amongst others, the city of Leipsick was forsaken, and the castle razed to the ground; Chemnitz was taken, Zwickaw invested and forced, the Duke Bernard following close his good fortune, and making good use of the enemy's amazement. To this he was animated the more, by the fixed decree of the confederate princes, to make all fast; and more and more to knit a firm union with the Swedes, that so both of them jointly might execute and fulfil the intentions and exhortations of the deceased King.

Walstein having notice betimes of his men's infortunity, and the advantage of the Swedes, recovered Leipsick that night, and before day took the way of Leutmeritz, where he recollected his disbanded men, and added to them six fresh regiments that had not been engaged in the battle. After the often sending of his posts to all parts, at length Altringer had order from the Duke of Bavaria to join half his army to that of Walstein.

Notwithstanding the so miserable defeat of the Imperialists, bonfires were made in divers parts of Bavaria, for the death of the King, and *Te Deum* chanted aloud through all the streets of Ingolstadt and Ratisbon. But these vain fires and triumphs served for so many trumpets, to sound forth the praise and glory of the departed King; since, in the enemy's own judgment, his death was thought sufficient to counterpoise the dissipation and slaughter of so puissant an army. And, indeed, except this accursed blow, there was no one circumstance that did not oblige the Imperial party to a funeral equipage. Nothing was more to be admired than the moderation of the court of Vienna, which expressed no joy in triumph or exultation. They contented themselves with the discharging of a few ordnance, to make the silly people believe they had the better of the day. Some judged this modest behaviour to proceed from sensible losses, suffered in the battle; from the consideration of the Swedish forces, and the difficulty to set on foot again an army of that vastness. Others deemed it to proceed from the dispersed rumour of the Emperor's death, which they thought countervailed that of the King, and cast the Imperial court into an irrecoverable dejection.

The failing of the Saxon[11] to appear in the field on the day of battle (when his aid concerned his own honour and the King's good) was attributed to the like sad accident, a rumour being divulged, not only of the Duke's death, but the manner of it, to wit, sudden apoplexy. But these false bruits, both of the one and the other, were contradicted, by assured news, that both the princes were living.

That the Saxon was not dead, he gave good proofs, resolving to take occasion by the lock to revenge the ruin of his cities, and depopulation of his country, and to hinder the Imperialists from sending into his dominions any more incendiaries.

The continuance of the Emperor's life was favourable to his party; the very name and splendour of majesty being of virtue to animate and retain divers spirits in devotion and obedience to the Austrian line; which else, perhaps, might have followed the chariot of the victorious triumpher.

But whilst the foolish people spread abroad (either by design, or credulity) the death of these two Princes, there came too assured news from Nayence of the King of Bohemia's death. When this unfortunate Prince was ready to take a new possession of his country, and the conditions drawn up between him, the King of Sweden, and the Governor of Frankendale, he was surprized in Nayence with a contagious disease, presently after his return from Deux-Ponts, where he had visited a prince of his alliance. The care and sufficiency of the physician was so great, that he quickly expelled the pestilent quality, and set him, in all appearance, free from danger; but the great calamities,

[11] [Or Saxon-Weimar. See p. 199.]

through which he had passed, had much estranged his constitution from its first purity, and quite altered his colour and complexion. When he thought to quit his tedious bed, and take possession of Frankendale, it unfortunately happened, that the King of Sweden's death came to his ear, which wrought so on his mind and body, that his disease was aggravated, and his death ensued on the twenty-ninth of November. His death was much deplored by those of his blood, by his servants and subjects; yet did their grief receive an allay by his devotion, and his last words full of faith and piety.

The life of this Prince was a mere medley, and like a picture with many faces. His entry into the Electorate was glorious, his beginning happy, his virtues eminent, and courted he was by the whole empire. His alliance and friends within and without Germany, the consideration of his house, of his dominions, and the great body that depended on his direction, were the cause of his election to the crown of Bohemia; which was fatal to him, and all Germany, which felt the sad accidents that attended this comet, and was forthwith invaded by an universal war in her heart, and all her quarters, which hath never since forsook her; having engaged all the Imperial states and provinces, every one whereof to this day carries her marks. And though this Prince hath sought all means of reconciliation, hoping that way to quench this wild-fire; yet hath he from time to time found such fatal oppositions, and such an ingrafted malice in the incensed party, that all the motives, propositions, and intercessions of great kings have hitherto been unprofitable; and this good Prince hath been constrained to live an exile from his country. At length, when a most pleasing prospect laid at once open to his view the frontiers of his country, and the end of his afflictions, a sudden death deprived him of his sight, and the fruition of so delightful an object.

The calamity of this Prince hath given occasion to many licentious tongues and pens to declaim against him, and unjustly to judge of his cause by the sad event. Those that were of his more inward acquaintance, avow that he was unfortunate beyond defect, and that the most magnanimous and heroic soul could bear afflictions with no greater moderation and patience, than he did. If many of his virtues have been clouded and obscured by his infelicity, yet there are more which his darker fortune could not hinder from shining forth, and striking envy blind. His great family, his extraction, his allies and confederates, and his princely virtues, methinks, should have contained, within the bounds of honour and truth, certain mercenary, satiric spirits, who have common-places of praises and invectives, which they draw forth to exalt or depress whom they please; and maintain their looser vein at the cost of princes; and play upon their persons, qualities, and estates, whom the greatness of their births should privilege from such contumelies. We owe honour and respect to princes, of what party soever; whether they be friends, enemies, or neuters: and I thought this short apology due to my so much deplored subject, whom his miseries rendered to some contemptible, though, by others, he was truly honoured, in the midst of his disgraces and afflictions. The King of Sweden gave many brave testimonies of him, being forced oftentimes to give him a stop in the career of honour, lest courage should engage him too far; exhorting him to preserve his life, the good of his country, and the public cause.

All the comfort of his subjects is contained in that generous unparalleled Princess, and in her fair line and numerous issue, which promiseth them one day an entire liberty, and the re-establishment and subsistence of a house so many ways considerable, as being one of the first and most ancient of Europe.

The reader, I doubt not, will pardon this digression of the soldier, who held himself obliged to speak for a Prince, who had been a long time the common butt of all afflictions and insultations. That which hath made him the more bold and earnest in his defence, is the near alliance of this Prince to mighty monarchs. I shut up all, concerning this point, in this assertion, that all princes have a common interest in the honour of their equals, and should all join to place their crowns and purple above the reach of envy.

The death of these two Kings was sufficient to make the Germans approve of the calculations and prognosticks of their great astrologer Herlicius, who had noted this month

of November, as fatal to great princes and commanders; and foretold by the aspects, and fiery constellations, the tragical encounters of these two great armies, and the death of such eminent persons, as may well compose the greatest part of the history of our time.

The Swedes were even wedded to sorrow for the death of their King, vowing they would more willingly have suffered the loss of many battles than that of him, if it had lain in their power to dispose of the arrests of Heaven, and the fatal laws of the eternal Providence, which with a diamantine point marks all things, and gives them a character, which never can be changed, or defaced.

Indeed all the days of this month of November were at strife for superiority in evil, but the sixteenth overcame; to which all stories shall give a brand, in that it gave so strange an alteration to the face of Christendom. The battle fought on that day is ennobled by many memorable accidents, which exalt it above those of former ages. Amongst others, are remarkable the small number of the victors, and the multitude of vanquished; the violent and furious charges, the durance of the fight, the doubtful event of the combat, when victory (as if she had been the daughter of Janus) had two faces, and looked two ways; the piles of the dead, the loss of eminent commanders, and the different effect which one and the same cause wrought in both parties; the King's death kindling indignation and desire of revenge in the bosom of the Swede; and the death of Pappenheim, and other great commanders, begetting an astonishment in the hearts and looks of the Imperialists. And we may well affirm, that amongst all the accidents of that saddest of days, this particular hath been most remarkable; that, the Swedes having lost their King in the first shock, this unparalleled mischance served rather to confirm, than shake their courage, and was one of the most apparent causes of the victory.

This also raised as high as heaven the King's renown, that in his fall he crushed in pieces so vast a body; and the hearts of his men were so inflamed with this his disaster, that after his death they made the palm and the laurel to spring out of his blood.

Nor was the life of this Prince less famous than his death. His youth was exercised in great affairs, which hardened his body to endure travel, and armed his mind against all sinister accidents, and infused into him a courage which might easily be provoked, never subdued. The entry of his reign (which was the eleventh of this age, and the seventeenth of his) was thorny and salebrous. At one and the same time, he was confronted by the Danes, the Polonians, and the Muscovites, who on all sides assaulted him: and, though their motives to war were divers, yet all their intentions, like so many lines, met in this centre—to ruin the Swede. Sometimes he shewed himself on the frontiers of Denmark, sometimes on those of Muscovy, sometimes again on those of Livonia, and all with that promptness and celerity, that his enemies believed his body to be ubiquitary. And his troubles were increased by the corruption of many of his subjects to a base revolt. But his valour, his dexterity, and the continual travel of his body and mind were such, that he passed through these and greater impediments, without stop or diminution of his fame. His composition with the Danes and Muscovites was honourable, and to his advantage. The quarrel between him and the Polonian was not about any small petty territory, but the crown and sceptre itself; and therefore hardly to be decided.

The prowess and agility of this King were such, that the Polonians saw him in all parts, like another Hannibal, before their gates; and, after many great losses received in Livonia and Prussia, they took counsel of the pillow, and (to preserve the remainder of those countries unviolated) concluded to come to a treaty, on which attended a truce; which from their souls they wished had been a peace, whereby their repose might be eternized. Our youthful Mars had not a soul so narrow, as to be contented to wear only the laurel of the North. More wreaths were prepared for him, and a theatre more spacious and glorious. Posterity will hardly believe that what this Prince hath done, was by a man feasible. That the conquest of so many vast provinces, and the ruin of so many armies, was the work only of two years, and a few months. That a puissant empire, formidable in her greatness, in her supports, in her extension, in her armies, in her conquests, and success; fortified with so many garrisons; who hath for her bounds the

ocean, and the Alps; should, in so short a time, be forced to put on the yoke. A man would think infinite forces were required, to manage well an enterprise of this nature and greatness.

The personal qualities of this Prince were admirable. His external bravery consisted in a sweet yet majestical aspect, in a comely stature, in a piercing eye, in a commanding voice, in an agility and universal application to all such as might hinder, or further him. But the great guests that lodged within, were far more illustrious; a quick spirit, a solid judgment, an incomparable wisdom, an inexpressible courage, an indefatigable nature, and an admirable conduct; which were the happy instruments of all his victories, and the embellishment of this rare piece. I may justly add his encampments, his discipline, his foresight, his direction, and unequalled industry. Nor was his readiness less in the disposition of his affairs, in the government of his men, and his complying with their several humours, which made him as well lord of hearts, as provinces and cities. But, above all the rest, his devotion was conspicuous, and his frequent pious exercises, which received no interruption by his most serious employments: and (which draweth near to a miracle) he himself projected and executed all things. It sufficed not him to be only a general, but he would also be a captain, an engineer, a serjeant, a cannoneer, a common soldier, or of any military calling. The most dangerous occurrences dazzled not his judgment; but then was he most venturous, when his valour was most required. He never formed a military project, in the execution whereof he would not himself make one: and (which bred in all amazement) he was never weary, though ever busied; as if action had been his nourishment. I will close up the panegyrick of this worthy with this affirmation, that in him all imaginable brave parts conspired to make him the greatest, and most able captain of Christendom.

There was nothing in him the least way blameable, but his choler, to which the least provocation gave fire; an humour familiar to fiery spirits chafed with continual business, which often falls out cross. But he had a corrective ever ready, which was an overflowing courtesy, and sweetness to him natural, which stopped and repaired the breach his anger had made. For any hasty speech he would give satisfaction, not only to men of eminency, who might justly be offended, but to those also of the meanest condition, born to suffer. In acknowledgment of his nature so apt to take fire at the least distaste, he would often say, "That he was willing oftentimes to bear with others' infirmities, as the phlegm of some, and the wine of others; and that, therefore, reciprocally his choler deserved some support." And, to say truth, this passion may challenge, and win connivance from him, who shall duly consider his working spirit, never weakened, though ever bended; as also his extraordinary virtues, and his gentleness, which, upon occasion, made him familiar with the meanest of his soldiers: so far was he from being puffed up with prosperity, or raising his mind with his fortune.

Some note another oversight in this Prince, that he did not better distinguish between the duties of a carabine[12], and a general, but exposed himself to all dangers, and was too prodigal of a blood so precious. To confess the truth, it is not so much to be wondered at, that he lost his life in this famous battle, as that he parted not with it long before, in so many encounters, where his life ran the same hazard with the basest of his soldiers. And in his defence, this may worthily be annexed, that the valour of his men depended on his example, and all his victories had for their original his presence, and forwardness in all battles; which, like a heavenly aspect, sent down influences and irradiations into the spirits of his soldiers, and terror and amazement into those of his enemies.

The soldier hath attempted to draw this Prince to the life; and assures himself, that they who have had the honour to see and serve him in his wars, will confess that the portrait hath some air of his face, if not drawn to the life. And he believes withal, that they who

[12] [Carabine seems here to imply a private soldier. In the French service, carabines or carabiniers anciently formed corps of riflemen, who sometimes acted on foot, but more commonly on horseback, and resembled the modern chasseurs.]

have felt the puissance of his arms, will be the first to extol and magnify his worth; that thereby they may lessen their own losses, justify their disgraces, and shew to the world, that so powerful an organ was required to operate on them with such success.

Amongst other circumstances, this is the most agreeable and worthy of observation, that this Prince hath left his affairs in an estate so prosperous and advantageous. The Swedish party is possessed of two-thirds of Germany, of the best cities, of most of the rivers from the Vistula to the Danube and the Rhine: it hath also ten armies dispersed through the Higher and Lower Saxonies, Silesia, Moravia, Bavaria, Franconia, Suabia, Alsatia, and the Circle of the Rhine. This party is also backed and countenanced within by the principal forces of the empire, and without by great kings and states, who think themselves interested in the support of it, and prefer sure friends before doubtful and wavering, who will eternally remember the least loss or affront received, and (opportunity serving) be ready to revenge it. To this may be adjoined the experience of the times past, which demonstrates unto us how well, in the Mantuan war, they requited the benefits received from that house at a dead lift; which serves for an infallible argument of their dealings.

It now remains, that the Princes and States united continue to make good the advantages bequeathed them, by banishing all jealousies, suppressing of factions, extirpating of schisms and partialities, deciding of all disputes arising from their genealogies; by conferring offices on men not of great descent, but ability; by making use of the times present and past; by quickly seconding their consultation with action, and by a strait conjunction of their councils and forces to seek their own preservation in that of the empire. In any of which, being wanting, neither the care and pains of the deceased King, nor their own armies or advantages can secure them from being a miserable prey to their enemies, and wretched spectacle to their friends.

The truth is; hitherto the Princes and Generals united have much abated the pride of the enemy, by deceiving his hopes and apprehensions, and making it evident, by their proceedings, that they were not in vain so long trained up in the King's school, but were still mindful of his instructions and discipline; and that his death did but concenter and redouble their vigour. The Dukes of Weimar tread on Walstein's heels, whom some report to be wounded, others dead, in the forest which lies between Fravestein and Klostergrappe. If he be deceased, he serves as another sacrifice due to the King's tomb. Tubal keeps the greatest part of Silesia and Moravia in obedience: the Prince of Birkenfield shuts up all passages to the Bavarians within the Circle of Ingoldstadt and Ratisbon: Horne is master of Alsatia, and hath joined to it the conquest of Schletstadt: Colman and Kentzingon have Senfield; nothing remaining in those parts unconquered, but Fribourg, which they batter; and Brisac, which they play with. Baudisin marcheth through the archbishoprick of Cologne without resistance, and traverseth his galleries (maugre the Count of Gransfield) from the river of Wesper, even to the gates of Cologne. The troops of Wirtemberg advance towards the lake of Constance, and are resolved to make good proof of their courage. To be brief, the Swedes shew that they have no great desire to re-pass the sea, any more than have the Germans to re-fall into their wonted slavery.

But though the King of Sweden hath left his party in an estate prosperous, yet we must needs confess, that the enemy derives from his death great advantages, and that the expence of a little lead hath profited him as much as the gaining of many millions; in that the several heads of the Swedish armies are subject and prone to jealousies and misconceptions; which gives him means and opportunity to preserve what he yet holds, to calm seditions, to recall long-banished peace, and once more to replant her in the empire.

If he make good use of his losses and infortunities, we shall see him forthwith to abandon all counsels tending to blood or violence; to have a care, lest, by the oppression of princes, he make them desperate; to recall his strayed subjects by a general pardon of all their offences; and seek to reign by love, not fear. He will then no more violate peace and the public faith, under the pretext of conscience; which ought to be persuaded, not forced, as depending on another tribunal than that of men. This way to rest and quiet he

is invited also to take, and persist in, because he may now peaceably enjoy all his due rights and titles; the death of the King having cured him of the deadly fear he was in, lest this magnanimous Prince should yet soar higher, and aspire to new diadems, and make good his anagram, by changing the name of *Gustavus* into *Augustus*.

The Chaplain's Petition to the honourable House for Redress of Grievances. By one of the Camp-Chaplains.

London, printed for the Use of the Petitioners; and sold by Thomas Ranew, in Fleet-street, near Temple-Bar. 1693.

[Quarto, containing Four Pages.]

1.

SINCE the ladies 'gainst men
Have to paper put pen,
By way of most humble petition;
In hope your good pleasure
Will once be at leisure
To mend their now scurvy condition.

2.

And since you allow
That impertinent crew,
Your patience to weary and vex,
With a thing of no moment,
That has small weight, or none in't,
But 's as idle and light as their sex.

3.

We, humble Famelicks,
Divinity's relicks,
In plain English, Chaplains Domestick;
To make known our grievance
For you to relieve once,
On your door do our earnest request stick.

4.

Viz. Be it enacted,
That as we've contracted,
Our salaries may be paid us;
That when we're dismiss'd ill,
We may not go whistle,
As an ord'nary footman or maid does.

5.

For as to the land all,
It will be a scandal,
To see sons of Levi go thread-bare;
Even so to be sure,
If the pastor is poor,
His flock will ne'er greet him with head bare.

6.

Next, when we've said grace,
Let 's at table have place,
And not skulk among the waiters,
Or come in with the fruit
To give thanks, and sneak out,
To dine upon half empty platters.

7.

But besides store of dishes
(One part of our wishes)
To fortify maw sacerdotal;
Eleemosynary funk,
And leave to be drunk,
We humbly desire you to vote all.

8.

Item, Pray make us able
To command steed in stable,
When we are dispos'd *ad ridendum*;
And if we want boots,
Whips, spurs, or surtoots,
Oblige surly groom straight to lend 'em.

9.
Nor let our great patrons,
Or their ruling matrons,
Read the butlers a juniper lecture;
If sometimes they pass
To our hands a stol'n glass,
Or some little orts of confecture.

10.
When long we have serv'd,
And preferment deserv'd,
Let's not miss of our just expectations,
By every fop's letter
For his friend, that's no better,
Or our patron's more blockhead relations.

11.
For, 'tis cause of grieving
To see a good living,
Which our thoughts had long been fix'd on,
Be giv'n to a wigeon
With no more religion,
And learning much less than his sexton.

12.
Nor yet let matrimony,
The worst sort of simony,
Be the price of our presentation;
Nor to wed a cast mistress
When she's in great distress,
Our requisite qualification.

13.
And if't be our chance
To serve against France,
At sea, on the Rhine, or in Flanders;
We earnestly sue t'ye,
That exempt from all duty,
We may dine with our pious commanders.

14.
Then brandy good store,
With several things more,
Which we sons o'th' church have a right in;
But chiefly w' intreat,
You'll never forget,
To excuse us from preaching and fighting.

15.
Let not a commission
So change the condition
Of him that just carried a halbert;
That a dunce of no letters
Should hector his betters,
For truly we cannot at all bear't.

16.
Nor when the war's done,
Let 's be broke ev'ry one,
To languish in rags and lie idle;
Nor be so ill serv'd
To be left to be starv'd,
And kept by a bear and a fiddle.

17.
May it therefore you please,
For your own and our ease,
To relieve us without hesitation;
For the grievances told
Are as frequent and old,
As any besides in the nation.

18.
Then on us take pity,
And choose a committee,
Let no other business prevent ye;
Our request do not spurn,
Nor vote it to burn
With a *Nemine contradicente*.

19.
To this if you yield,
Our mouths shall be fill'd
With encomiums of your piety;
Whose excellent fame
We will loudly proclaim,
And worship, next that of the Deity.

20.
When thus you remove
What we disapprove,
We all down to *Z* from the letter *A*,
By night and by day,
Will fervently pray,
As in duty bound; *et cætera*.

The Trade's Increase[1].

London, printed by Nicholas Okes, and are to be sold by Walter Burre. 1615.[2]

[Quarto, containing Sixty-two Pages.]

To the READER.

GENTLE Reader, I commend unto you a Polydorus's treasure, yet without either murder or theft, but else as rich; so, I confess, without leave. Neither may the author be offended, if what I have borrowed for my private use I have paid to the service of the commonwealth, in that what he intended, at the instance of one, being written, is behoveful to every one.

One Pithius, a crafty Sicilian, finding an honest Roman gentleman, called Clanius, desirous of a pleasant garden in the island, he invited him to his; and conducted divers poor fishermen to attend that day his banks with boats and nets, and to bring in plenty of fish, and to lay them at his feet. The guest, asking what that meant, was answered by the huckster, "That it was the royalty of that place; there was more fish thereabouts, than in any other stream of Syracuse; and, as oft as he repaired thither, that service was due, and done unto him." The poor gentleman was taken with the nets, and presently dealeth with the owner for the garden; who, suffering himself to be much importuned, at the length was entreated to sell it full dearly. The day following, the buyer, disposed to shew the magnificence of his purchase, invited divers friends to accompany him thither; and, missing the concourse and confluence of his expected homagers, the fishermen, (for there was neither boat, oar, net, or fin of fish to be seen,) asketh his new neighbour, "Whether it were a holiday for fishermen?" The plain folk answered, "None, they knew of;" and further wondered at the former resort, for they never saw before boats, or fishermen there. In a word, he was cozened. But it is not so in this Fishing-project, to the which you are now invited frankly and plainly: *Nullæ hîc piscatorum feræ;* we may always fish here without fear of any Sicilian purchase, or scarcity of the Roman Macrobius's table, where there was *piscis*, but *paucorum hominum*. Here is fish, the king of fish, the meat and merchandise of both remote and neighbour nations. To persuade hereto, the author hath dealt by way of comparison, not thereby to derogate from other trades, but to advance this mystery; and indeed to shew, that they may all receive true nourishment from this nursery. Let, therefore, no man take that with the left-hand, which is offered with the right. And though, by the opinion of some of understanding in those faculties, there is a reasonable survey given of our sea-trades, state, and breeding; and, out of others' judgments,[1] there is even *candor animi* in all particulars, without either suspicion of any personal taxation offered, or any state's blot suspected: yet I desire also to profess the author's true and fair meaning herein, and to make good the oversights, that may be committed in the particular traverse, with that of the poet: *Ubi plurima nitent, non ego paucis offendor maculis*. Of the subject itself I will only say thus much: that, if *aurum portans* hath been always welcome, hence you may receive gold, pay the king's duties, and do your country service; and so I leave these businesses to their own abilities, and take my leave of you, with this conclusion of them: *Nisi peracta luduntur*.

J. R.

[1] [This title would seem to be taken from the name of a valuable vessel, which met with a disastrous fate. See p. 219.]

[2] See Oldys' Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 188.

SEEING by chance a late treatise intitled, 'England's Way to win Wealth[3],' &c. and being easily invited to read the same, even for the title's sake; I must confess myself so affected with the project, that I presently resolved to go a-fishing; withal concluding with myself, that as there is no fishing to the sea, so there was no fish in the sea like to the herring; and for that my estate is but mean, and myself a fresh-water soldier, it requireth cost, and I would have company; the sea is large enough, and hath room enough for us all, and there are herrings enough to make us all rich: for that I say, a man may run a course this way to enrich himself, to strengthen his country, to enable his prince more honestly than many late sea-courses can warrant us in, more easily, more safely, more certainly than any other sea-course can persuade us to whatsoever; I could not choose, out of my allegiance to my prince, out of my duty to my country, out of my love to my neighbour, but commend these motives concerning the same to a further consideration, consisting,

In the Necessity, Facility, Profit, and Use of Fishing.

The Necessity out of Want of Shipping, Mariners, Employment of Men.

As concerning Ships, it is that which every one knoweth, and can say, they are our weapons, they are our ornaments, they are our strength, they are our pleasures, they are our defence, they are our profit; the subject by them is made rich, the kingdom through them strong, the prince in them mighty; in a word, by them in a manner we live, the kingdom is, the king reigneth. If the sea fail, the Venetians they fall; and if we want ships, we are dissolved. Æsop's shepherd kept his flock well, so long as he nourished his dog; but when the wolf had persuaded him, that he was superfluous, he cozened him easily of all his sheep. It is the kingdom's case in shipping, which made that heroical King of Denmark[4], at his view of the King's Majesty's navy at Chatham, confess he then saw the strength of England, the greatness of our King, *in solâ tanta est fiducia nave.*

Concerning the Want of Shipping, though to press the consideration thereof be very material, yet the point itself is to be handled very tenderly; for that, as I have no pleasure to touch our own wounds, so I am loth in this case to discover our own wants; for that I fear the enemy will sooner take the advantage of them, than we will be stirred up thereby to make supply. To give therefore the true and faithful subject a dark lanthorn, whereby he may only see himself, and he not be seen; setting the contemplation of the King's royal navy aside, so mighty, so well conditioned, which hath so many good officers, and such worthy overseers, which is so chargeable to his Majesty to maintain, as I hope it will never be safe for the enemy to meddle withal; setting, I say, this aside, our merchant's navy consisteth in the ships.

For the Streights. Spain. France. Hamburgh and Middleburgh. The Sound. Newcastle. Iceland. Newfoundland. The East-Indies.

I have not named Muscovy, because we have in a manner lost that trade; the troubles of that kingdom, and our desire of security, having deprived us thereof; which we may the more lament, because I have heard merchants affirm, that in these uncomfortable days of adventuring, it was one of their best trades, and with no small marvel yet upheld, and most providently followed by the Hollanders; we being scared away from so good and profitable trade, as birds from cherry-trees, with the show of dead carcases, or shout of boys, whilst other lusty lads have wilily beat away the children, beat down the scare-crows, and stolen the fruit away, to their great gain, and our disgrace; there repairing not thither above two ships English, instead of seventeen of great burthen for the company formerly, besides interlopers, to the great decay of our merchants and shipping; whereas the Hollander, according to a credible report made, between the Ward-house and the East-ward, at Tippeny, Kilden, Olena, and the river Cole at Colmograve, and at St. Nicholas in Russia, had above thirty-five sail of their ships the last year. Haply some will say, that they made so poor a voyage that they had been better kept themselves at home; and it is very likely: yet the year before they had some thirty sail, and now this year they have again repaired their navy, renewed their adventure, and sent near as

[3] [See Oldys' Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 117.]

[4] [Christian the Fourth, who visited England in 1606, and indulged in most unkingly excesses.]

many, as neither dismayed with troubles, nor yet discouraged with loss; and to make it more strange, that they should thus prevent our trade, and increase their own. As it was after us that they came thither even by leave, as it were, to glean with our reapers, for the fields were ours, the discovery of the land, and trade wholly ours, found out by Chancellor and Willoughby[5], and ever since continued by our merchants, so again their best trade thither is maintained even by our own commodities, as tin, lead, coarse cloths, and kersies; the inconvenience whereof, together with the prevention, I leave to the sensible consideration, to the sufficient ability, of the Muscovy merchant, who I fear can scarce hear me, being, as I said, gone so far as the East-Indies; and if I should send to him, I fear I should not find him at leisure, having thither transported much of the Muscovy staple. For the merchants that formerly used the Muscovy trade, are now there seated; and because, as we know it is warmer there, and as they find, it is very profitable, we will also by compass travel thither ourselves; that as Valeria, a fair lady, answering to Scylla in the theatre, being demanded, "Why she pressed so near?" said, "That thereby she might have some of his felicity;" so by being in their company, we may communicate with them of their good fortunes, or commune with them of our wants.

So then, to begin our journey at the noblest place for worth, and one of the newest in knowledge, the worthiest in former remembrance, the worst in present reputation, for the bottom of the Streights, the first in name, and for some time a very material business of merchandise: I do find this trade but easy, and the difficulties many and new; the trade itself being lessened by the circumvention of the East-India navigation, which fetcheth the spices from the well-head; and I find the rest of the benefits allayed, by charges, by insultation of pirates, and infidelity of servants. These make presents and profit of their masters' goods abroad, so far, that some of the owners become lame at home. Pirates meet with that, whereby others are extremely hindered, and by the charges the rest are exceedingly discouraged; so that the merchants' return is but poor, and the navigation much lessened, the employment thitherward failing in near thirty ships, and those of such burthen, that they were of defence and renown to the kingdom. I heard a worthy merchant in his time (Thomas Cordel of London) say, that on the first beginning of the Turkey trade, his self with other merchants, having occasion to attend the late Queen's Majesty's privy-council about that business, they had great thanks and commendations for the ships they then built of so great a burthen for those parts, by the Earls of Bedford and Leicester, and other honourable personages, with many encouragements to go forward, even (to use their own words) for the kingdom's sake, notwithstanding it was then to their great benefit likewise, whose ordinary returns at the first were three for one, which I speak not out of envy. For as all callings are, and ought to be, maintained through the profit that ariseth thereby, labours rewarded, dangers recompensed, by the sweat and sweet of gain: nay, in our most liberal professions, the divine for his spiritual nourishment hath temporal food; the physician for the care of the body asketh the comfort of the purse; and the lawyer must be paid for his plea; so merchants, of all companies the most liberal, are likewise of all sorts the most worthy to gain, *ut qui per universum orbem discurrunt, mare circumlustrantes et aridam;* to use that hopeful prince, in his time, King Edward the Sixth's words, in a letter to foreign princes, in Sir Hugh Willoughby's behalf. But (to end my long parenthesis) I speak it, I say, out of pity, to see now the return so mean, the merchant so discouraged, the shipping so diminished; and to conclude this point without love or anger, but with admiration of our neighbours the now Sea-herrs, the nation that get health out of their own sickness, whose troubles begot their liberty, brought forth their wealth, and brought up their strength; that have out of our leavings gotten them-

[5] [This is not quite correct: Sir Hugh Willoughby, who sailed in May 1553, in search of a north-east passage to China, having met with such distress from storms and ice-mountains as to be forced to pass the winter on the snowy coast of Nova Zembla, where he was found frozen to death by the wandering Laplanders. Captain Chancellor, who commanded another vessel in the same enterprise, met with a better fate: he steered his bark to the harbour where Archangel has been since built, was received with hospitality, forwarded to Moscow, treated with regard by the Sovereign of Russia, and sent back to England loaded with presents. To Chancellor, therefore, must the above discovery be exclusively imputed.]

selves a living, out of our wants, make their own supply of trade and shipping there; they coming in, long after us, equal us in those parts in all respects of privilege and port; that have devanced[6] us so far in shipping, that the Hollanders have more than one-hundred sail of ships that use those parts, continually going and returning, and the chiefest matters, they do lade outward, be English commodities, as tin, lead, and bales of such like stuff as are made at Norwich.

For the rest of the Streights, one side, as the coast of Barbary, serves only for places and cities of refuge, not after the divine Levitical law, when one hath killed a man by chance, there to be succoured: but after that diabolical Alcoran, when any have robbed and murdered abroad, thither they may repair, be in safety, and enjoy.

The other side, as Naples, Genoa, Leghorn, and Marseilles, employ some twenty sail, and they most with herring. For the ports near to the Streights mouth, as Malaga, &c. we have some store of shipping; as about thirty sail, that begin in June to set forth some for Ireland, to lade pipe-staves in their way to Malaga, they returning Malaga wines. But the Hollanders likewise have found out that trade, and be as busy amongst the Irish, as ourselves for pipe-staves; nay, by your leave they have been too busy there of late with some of our poor countrymen's wind-pipes; but that is besides the matter here. But, for Malaga itself, the inhabitants there have, through our plentiful resort thither, planted more store of vines; so that, on our recourse thither, our merchants have withdrawn themselves much from Cherris.

For Andalusia, Quantado, Lisborn, and Portugal, it is easily known what shipping we have there, by our trade, which is but mean, consisting in sack, sugar, fruit, and West-India drugs, which may employ some twenty ships. Amongst these Cherris sacks are likewise brought into England, especially in Flemish bottoms.

For the bringing in from thence any store of salt by us, it is excepted against; we being by report furnished principally by the Hollanders with most of the salt that our fisher-towns do use for the salting of Iceland fish, and all other fish for herring and staple-fish; as the ports of London, Colchester, Ipswich, Yarmouth, Lynne, Hull, and Scarborough can testify. Alborough men were wont to bring it in, especially employing some thirty or forty sail belonging to it, of some seven or eight score, or two-hundred tons; which, for the most part, were set on work all the year long, with transporting of coals from Newcastle to France, and fetching salt from thence; which trade is now much decayed with France, by the double diligence of the Hollanders, who serve us principally from Spain.

For our trade to Bourdeaux, it is lightly as great as ever it was: for I do not think there was ever more wine drunk in the land. Yet that voyage appeareth not to be so beneficial in regard of the small rate, that the owners and seamen have thitherward. France may every where employ (and those most small vessels) some threescore ships and barques.

To Hamburgh and Middleburgh, there are belonging six or seven ships to each place, and they lade for the company, and are called 'appointed ships;' every three months in all the year, there may be laden some thirty odd ships, and they but fourteen or fifteen bodily. But as they make, as is said, two voyages the ship; how it standeth with them, or how they will stand, it is uncertain, in regard of the manner of the altering of trading with their cloth. Once for certain, the merchant-adventurers' ships have been always formerly the sure stay of merchants' services, both for their readiness, goodness, and number of shipping, touching the commonwealth's affairs.

For Dantzick, Melvin, and Quinsburgh, there are not above five or six ships of London, that use those places, as many more of Ipswich; and so likewise from Hull, Lynne, and Newcastle, the like proportion resorteth thither for trade. These make some two returns, in the year; but in all those places the Hollanders do abound, and bring in more commodities by five times to us, than our own shipping. And, for Liefland, the Narve, Rye, and Revell, the Hollanders have all the trade in a manner; the commodities from these former places being corn, flax, soap-ashes, hemp, iron, wax, and all sorts of deal.

[6] [Exceeded or surpassed: from *devancer*, Fr.]

For Norway, we have not above five, and they above forty sail; and those double or treble our burthen, even for the city.

The next is Newcastle trade, and, for certain, the chiefest now *in esse*, for maintenance of shipping, for setting sea-faring men on work, and for breeding daily more; there may be about some two-hundred sail of Carviles[7], that only use to serve the city of London, besides some two-hundred more that serve the sea-coast towns throughout England, small and great, as barques and other shipping of smaller burthen, and more might easily be. For hither, even to the mine's mouth, come all our neighbour-country nations with their ships continually, employing their own shipping and mariners. I doubt me whether, if they had such treasure, they would not employ their own shipping. The French sail hither in whole fleets, some forty or fifty sail together, especially in summer; serving all their ports of Picardy, Normandy, and Bretagne, even as far as Rochel and Bourdeaux, with their own ships and sailers from Newcastle. So they of Breame, Embden, Holland, and Zealand, do serve all Flanders, and the Archduke's countries, whose shipping is not great: these paying no more than his Majesty's own natural subjects, if they transport any coals. Which imposition, say our men, made our countrymen forbear their carrying any more coals abroad, because the Frenchmen would not give above their old rate; and which was worse, whereby they sold away their ships, some to France, some to Spain, some to other countries. Whereby sure their faults are more apparent than their ill fortune, in that though their gain was less at the instant, by the imposition, than formerly; yet, to leave the trade, argued neither good spirits, nor great understanding, nor any special good mind to their country. For whence, I pray you, came such a necessity to leave the trade and to give over shipping, as if they could not live thereby; when presently foreign nations fell to the trade themselves, (as is formerly set down,) and fetch away our coals on the same terms which we do refuse? And by report, notwithstanding the five shillings imposed, the French do sell in France one chauldron of coals for as much money as will buy three or four of Newcastle. Had they held to with patience, either they might have brought the stranger to their price, or else by due order, and discreet fashion, opened the inconveniency to the state, of the stranger's stomach in refusing their coal, and fetching them themselves; so as they might easily have wearied them, and won their trade and gain again: whereas now they are beggared, and our country disfurnished of shipping. The stranger, keeping his coin at home, bringeth hither bare and base commodities; their shipping and mariners are employed and increased; and, notwithstanding the Argus's eyes of the searcher, carry gold away with them, always bringing more in stock with them, than they carry away in commodities.

For to make a motion, to have this five shillings excused in our own nation, is rather profitable than necessary; in regard we see the stranger thriveth, notwithstanding it, and it being done out of his Majesty's royal prerogative, *et ex causâ lucrativâ*, as is apparent by what the stranger gaineth: and the like if willingly embraced here in other transportations, as beer, &c. were, methinks, undutiful likewise. But to mention a motion very lately made, and generally amongst his Majesty's loyal subjects embraced: Might it please his Majesty to make and ordain a staple-town in England for sea-coal; we have many fit places and harbours more near and proper than that of Tinmouth, at Newcastle: and herein, as I am bound in affection to wish well to London, so I must, out of many men's judgments, commend Harwich, *statio benè fida carinis*, and then lying fit for the Low-Countries; and indeed open to all nations by the benefit of the large sea, which washeth it, whereby strangers shall be restrained from further trade to Newcastle, and shall all repair to the said staple-town to fetch their coals. Besides, that it would be an exceeding benefit to his Majesty, it would likewise help us in this our complaint of want of shipping. For by this means, our English bottoms, bringing all the coals to the staple-town, shall not only be set on work, but increase will follow in shipping. The Venetians, some time passed,

[7] [Carvel is explained by Phillips to be a light round ship, rigged and fitted out like a galley; being about six or seven score tons burthen, and much used by the Portuguese.]

being outgone by those of Zant in their custom, drew the trade from the Grecians, and planted, as it were, a colony of currants at Venice. If for a little custom, and to pull down their suspected subjects' swelling minds, they did so, why should not his Majesty for the increase of his shipping, and the relieving of the prostrate estate of his faithful and humble subjects, take this warrantable course?

Iceland voyage entertaineth one-hundred and twenty ships and barques.

Newfoundland employeth some one-hundred and fifty sail, from all parts, of small ships, but with great hazard; and therefore, that voyage feared to be spoiled by heathen and savage, as also by pirates.

Now followeth the consideration of the East-India trade, into whose seas, not only the river of Volga (as before you heard) disembogueth itself, but even the bottom of the Streights is emptied, to fill up those gulfs; and not so only, but, besides that many of our best merchants have transported their staples thither; it hath also begot out of all callings, professions, and trades, many more new merchants. Then, where there is increase of merchants, there is increase of trade; where trade increaseth, there is increase of shipping; where increase of shipping, there increase of mariners likewise; so then rich and large East-Indies. The report that went of the pleasing notes of the swans in Meander-flood, (far surpassing the records of any other birds in any other places whatsoever,) drew thither all sorts of people, in great confluence, and with great expectation, to hear and enjoy their sweet singing. When they came thither, they found, instead of fair white swans, greedy ravens, and devouring crows; and heard, instead of melodious harmony, untuneable and loathsome croaking. In indignation that they were so received and deceived; instead of applauding, they hissed, and, of staying, fled away. You are now, brave East-Indies, Meander-flood; your trade is the singing of swans, which so many journey so far to enjoy: God forbid you should be found so discoloured, and we so ill satisfied! And howsoever, that I may be sure to avoid any detraction, whereby my nature might have any imputation; or by calling up more spirits into the circle, than I can put down again, I might incur some danger, and be taxed likewise of indiscretion, for that we only hitherto have complained of the want of shipping; we desire now but herein to survey the store, and see how you help the increase. You have built more ships in your time, and greater far than any other merchants' ships; besides what you have bought out of other trades, and all those wholly belonging to you, there have been entertained by you, since you first adventured, twenty-one ships; besides the now intended voyage of one new ship of seven-hundred tons, and happily some two more of increase. The least of all your shipping is of four-score tons; all the rest are goodly ships, of such burthen as never were formerly used in merchandize; the least, and meanest of these last, is of some hundred-and-twenty tons, and so go upward, even to eleven-hundred tons. You have set forth some thirteen voyages, in which time you have built of these eight new ships, and almost as good as built the most of the residue, as the Dragon, the Hector, &c. so that, at the first appearance, you have added both strength and glory to the kingdom, by this your accession to the navy. But where, I pray you, are all these ships? Four of these are cast away; of the which, one was of three-hundred tons, another of four-hundred, the third of three-hundred, and the fourth of eleven-hundred; two more are docked up there, as pinnaces, to trade up and down; the rest are either employed in the trade in the Indies, or at home out of reparations; which, if true, if the kingdom should have need of them, on any occasion, it shall surely want their service: and so then, there is not only no supply to the navy this way, but hurt even to the whole kingdom; the woods being cut down, and the ships either lost, or not serviceable. Surely, stories can shew us, which we may read in the courses of commonwealths, how tolerable, nay how laudable it is, in all states, to enlarge commerce. Merchants, whom we should respect, can tell us of the casualties which not only the ships, but their estates, are subject to by adventures. Mariners, whom we must pity, can teach us of the ordinary dangers, not only that ships and goods, but their lives, are subject to by sea. I must not then exprobrate that to them, which is to be imputed to the sea; nor are they to be blamed out of reason, for that which deserveth, in humanity, commiseration;

nor is England, bounded by our horizon, to go no further, than we see. We have learned, long since, that *Mercatura si tenuis sordida, si magna splendida;* the stranger the country, the greater the adventure; the more famous our nation, the more worthy the merchant. Before we were, even Horace writ, *Currit mercator ad Indos.* Loth then am I to borrow that saying of Demosthenes, on his courting of Lais, to pay it to the Indian trade, by alleging, that *Non tanti emam pœnitentiam*, only having now in common that Roman proviso, *Ne quid detrimenti resp. capiat.* Let us examine that which may move patience, that our woods are cut down, and the ships either lost or not serviceable: our woods, I say, cut down in extraordinary manner; neither do the ships die the ordinary death of ships: our woods extraordinarily cut down, in regard of the greatness of the shipping, which doth, as it were, devour our timber. I am able, out of sufficient testimony, to affirm, that since the Indian trade, and merely through their building of their ships of so great burthen, and their repairing, (the building, notwithstanding, began but five years since,) that timber is raised in the land five shillings, and more, in the load[8]; nay, almost, not to be had for money: which the company, no question, being sensible of, very wisely seek to help themselves in, by building of ships in Ireland for their service, yet, it seemeth, their encouragement that was, is but necessitous; in regard (by their own saying) besides the hazard, the charges are little less: and which is worse, that kind of timber is but untoward for that use, being so extremely heavy, that a ship of small burthen draweth much water. If, in five years space, their building, together with their repairing of ships, almost equal to building, beget such a scarcity, what will a little continuance bring forth? Bring forth, I cannot say aught; but a privation will follow, even of all our timber-wood. The King's navy must be maintained; other merchants, of lower rank, must have shipping; and the sea-trade may increase; and then either we must trade without shipping, or make ships without timber.

When the Norman Conqueror, having subdued the most part of the kingdom, passed from Essex into Kent, which then made head against him; the Kents[9] having, by the advice of their politic bishop, and their stout abbot, cut down great boughs, and, with them in their arms, marched towards the Conqueror; whereby, besides the novelty of the sight, the army appeared double as big: William himself so conceiving it, as also amazed to see woods walk; more feared and discontented with that sight, than otherwise assured with his former success, condescended to what demands soever were made by those people, to have such weapons laid down, and to gain such ingenious subjects: whereby, to their eternal benefit and credit, their persons were never in bondage, nor their laws altered. In this their land-stratagem, I see our sea-arts, in that, and these woods, being the fatal instrument of our fortunes. Boughs of trees kept the Kentish men out of servitude, when they held them in their hands, and but for a show; their bodies will keep us in liberty, when they contain us, and are for service; and, by their moving on the water, they will amaze both French and Spanish, and whomsoever, and keep them, and all others, from coming near us. Out of which provident foresight, our most worthy princes, formerly reigning, have made divers laws, in favour of timber-trees; and our most noble King hath provided thereto, with new accessions, for the preserving and increasing of them: but that a parricide of woods should thus be committed by building of ships, it was never thought on by any of our royal Solons, and therefore there was no proviso for it. Nay, this inconveniency was so little suspected, that our said famous Princes have provided clean contrary, with great bounty and indulgence; having encouraged, by reward out of their own purses, the builders of great ships; as bestowing on the builders five shillings on the ton, for every ton that is built above one-hundred ton in a ship; so necessary did the Prince think his maintenance of shipping; the accession thereof consisting much in their greatness, to the honour and safety of the kingdom, and such use, he made account, he should have of them: whereas now this way he contributeth to the spoil of his woods, to the loss of his ships,

[8] [Such has been the alarming rise on timber to builders, within these thirty years, that what was under two pounds a load, is now above fourteen.] [9] [Or Kentish men.]

and to the hurt of the kingdom. I heard a ship-wright say, on the loss of 'The Trade's Increase,' that, if you ride forty miles from about London, you could not find sufficient timber to build such another. It was a ship of eleven-hundred tons: for beauty, burthen, strength, and sufficiency, surpassing all merchants' ships whatsoever. But alas! she was but shewn; out of a cruel destiny she was overtaken with an untimely death in her youth and strength, being devoured by those iron worms of that country, that pierced her heart, and broke many a man's; withal memorable in her misfortune, only redounding to the commonwealth's loss: for as to the merchants, though I pity their adventures with all my heart, yet, in this, their part of loss was least; for all their goods were on shore, and she had brought abundance out of the Mecca fleet, which she did both tithe and toll; and (thanks be to God!) they are more than savers by what is returned from her; and more than that often (by the grace of God) will come from her to the merchants' gain.

The like untimely fall had the other three of great burthen, gallant ships, never having had the fortune to see their native soil again, or the honour to do their country any service, in respect of all other ships that wander ordinarily to other countries; therefore, I may justly say, that they die not the ordinary death of ships, who commonly have some rest, and, after long service, die full of years, and at home; much of their timber serving again to the same use, besides their iron work, and the rest otherwise serviceable; and not in this bloody and unseasonable fashion; rather, indeed, as coffins full of live bodies, than, otherwise, as comfortable ships. For the rest that live, they come home so crazed and broken, so maimed and unmanned, that whereas they went out strong, they return most feeble; and, whereas they were carried forth with Christians, they are brought home with heathens. What the profits are to the merchants, for so great an adventure, I know not; I am sure amends cannot easily be made for so great a loss, even in this point which is our special subject now, for waste of woods, and spoil of shipping.

And thus we have surveyed all the fountains whence our shipping, especially, doth flow; which, before I shut up, I remember me of a new spring in Greenland, that batheth some ships, and burtheneth them likewise with her own natural freight, with the which the whale is so richly laden withal. This place is but of late frequented so especially, and hath employed, this last year, some fourteen ships; and more would do, but that the poor fishermen, who though they knew the place before, yet being, belike, afraid of the whale, are now swallowed up in the whale's ships.

I cannot find any other worthy place of foreign anchorage: for the Bermudas, we know not yet what they will do; and for Virginia, we know not well what to do with it; the present profit of those not employing any store of shipping: and for this other, it is yet but embryo; no question, a worthy enterprise, and of great consequence, much above the merchants' level and reach. And sure, in regard of the great expences they have been at, and the poor return that is made, they are much to be regarded and commended, for holding out so long. I could wish, that, as many of the nobility and gentry of the land have willingly embarked themselves in the labour, so the rest of the subjects might be urged to help to form and bring forth this birth, not of an infant, but of a man; nay, of a people, of a kingdom, wherein are many kingdoms. When Alcmena was in travail with Hercules, the poets say, Jupiter was fain to be midwife; and sure, as we have the countenance of our earthly Jupiter, so we are humbly to implore the propitious presence of our heavenly God, toward the perfection of this so great a work. And so leaving to meddle further with what we have nothing to do, let us return to our ships, out of whose entertainments we may either rejoice at their increase, or by other observations, prevent their decay: and, because we propounded to ourselves the necessity of our home-fishing, out of the want of our shipping, we will affirm, that by this our superficial view, we find a decay thereof; and that out of two reasons: because that, in places formerly frequented, our shipping lesseneth, and in places new found, they do not succeed. We have given reasonable probability of these already, without any pleasure, and there is no need of repetition; and it will be more apparent, in the preferring of this desire of fishing, out of the examination of the next inducement thereto, which is Want of Mariners.

Mariners, they use the weapons, ships; they wear the ornaments, ships; out of them ships, are strength and pleasure; otherwise, they are but pictures, that have but a show, or are as carcases bereft of life. It is the good pilot that bringeth the ship to the haven; it is the wise master that governeth the men in the ship; but, without men, the master cannot govern, nor the ship go. What is a leader without an army, and that, of soldiers? The same reason of seamen in a ship; the body must have life, blood, and flesh; the same are seamen to a ship. Columbus found out the new world; Drake brought home the hidden treasure in a ship; but they were both provided well of men, and governed well: therefore, as ships are manned, and as masters use their men, so ordinarily their ships succeed. As for this last matter of government, it is besides our business; we will leave that to whom it concerneth. Now then, though we cannot use shipping, without men, and therefore they must go together, yet we must consider the one after the other; and having looked into the strength of the one, we will view in them the state of the other; in the which we will not be long, for that the subject is unpleasant, and our tale is half told already, for the consequence is necessary: as ships are employed, so men are busied.

For Muscovy, it is apparent that the shipping thitherward is decayed; so neither mariners are well employed that way, nor any seamen almost bred. The fleet, that went ordinarily thitherward, entertained three or four novices in a ship, and so bred them up seamen, which might make up the whole happily some four-score men yearly, which was well for their parts. Now then, there were some five-hundred mariners and sailors employed withal: so then this way there is want.

The like reason of the Streights in their proportion, the very bottom of the Streights failing in thirty ships, maketh yearly seven-hundred seamen and mariners, at the least, seek some other courses which were that way employed; besides the under growth hindered, of some hundred and forty seamen yearly. And, but that I am loth to renew our complaints, I would say it were great pity of this so great an ebb of our men in these seas; for that, besides the voyages were of encouragement even to the fry, all in general commonly went and returned in good health, a ship seldom losing a man in the voyage; nay, I heard a proper master of a ship say, that in eighteen years, wherein he frequented those parts, he lost not two men out of his ship; and whatsoever may be imputed to the incontinency of our men, or the unwholesomeness of the women in other places, surely in those parts I hear the common sort of women to be as dangerous, and the generality of our men as idly disposed.

Naples, Leghorn, Marseilles, and those parts of the Streights, may employ some four-hundred men, and breed of these about forty.

Malaga employing, besides, some four-hundred men; the employment that may come by all other places, in Spain and Portugal, not arriving to four-hundred men, in regard to the poverty of the trade, and the superfluity of the commodities; it being indeed rather entertained, because they will not be idle, otherwise than that they are well busied, like food that keepeth life, not else maintaineth strength; yet it hath a pretty mystery in it, that though the gain scarce provideth for the merchants' livelihood, yet the commodities make the land merry; and, howsoever, I am of the opinion, that the former hostile state busied more seamen, than twice the trade of Spain can nourish; yet I differ from those, that would rather by reprisal make soldiers, than, by nourishing commerce, increase mariners.

Our shipping into France is not such as it hath been, but nurseth many young men, or rather sheweth them the sea; and may busy some seven or eight hundred men.

Hamburgh and Middleburgh always have been counted the ancient maintainers of mariners, for the states service on all occasions, being ready at hand; and therefore as we wished well to their ships, so we desire encouragement to the men. There may be belonging to their employment some four or five hundred mariners and seamen.

Norway and the Sound may breed and employ some four-hundred men, those parts being most frequented, those commodities most brought in by the Hollanders.

Newcastle voyage is the next, and if not the only, yet the especial nursery, and school

of seamen. For, as it is the chiefest in employment of seamen, so it is the gentlest, and most open to the landmen: they never grudging in their smallest vessels to entertain some two fresh men, or learners; whereas, on the contrary, in the ships that voyage to the southward or otherwise, far out of the kingdom, there is no owner or master, that will ordinarily entertain any landman, be he never so willing, as being bound by their charter-party to the merchant (as they say) not to carry but sufficient men, and such as know their labour, and can take their turn at the helm, top, and yard. It is by great favour others slip in, and they very likely; and therefore, whereas in former adventures I allow them the bringing up of two or three men in a voyage, it is in general to be understood, that they were first trained up, either amongst the colliers in this journey, or else came out of fishermen's boats, and yet but novices to those seas and sailors: so then this trade, without all exception, admits of all sorts that never saw the sea before; whereby are yearly bred and employed, out of the great store of ships busied therein, some two or three thousand people. A great comfort to youth, and men that want employment; and a great stay to the sea state, that shall have need, on all occasions, of their help. I have shewed my good-will enough, being so private, to further their employment; and, being so ignorant, I must not be bolder.

Iceland entertainment asketh and nourisheth some two-thousand five-hundred men, after the number of shipping and barques set down, and ordinarily employed.

Newfoundland may breed and employ some fifteen-hundred; but, seeing what discouragements they have, what casualties they are subject to, we may judge of their uncertainty.

Out of the extraordinary number of all people busied in these two former employments, it is no unnecessary observation, that in any trade in particular (our coal excepted) our special employment, nourishment and increase of seamen, is even in this foreign fishing; which I hope will prove but petty, when it cometh to be balanced with our home-fishing.

The last consistence of Shipping propounded, was that of the East-Indies; which, though youngest, was found in show and state to have over-topped all the rest, (as a bird that maketh herself gay with the feathers of all other fowls;) having borrowed, nay, having bought the best ships out of other trades, to honour their voyage, and plumed even Constantinople herself, of her shipping: therefore, that men are entertained extraordinarily in this voyage, it is apparent out of the greatness of their shipping; the entertainment of them increasing, it should be a consequent that seamen increase this way. But that we may not by ambages triumph in their loss, or our calamities; we see this way that our ships perish, and therefore our men they shrink. Nay, though ships come home, yet they leave the men behind; so, in this voyage, there is a two-fold way towards our want of mariners: in that ships, nay, great ships, are extraordinarily subject to be cast away, and then there must be a loss likewise of men; in that, though they come, they come home emptied of their men.

By the loss of four ships, we have lost at the least four-hundred and fifty men; and, in the adventure of some three-thousand that have been employed since that voyage began, we have lost many above two-thousand.

David refused to drink of the well of Bethlehem, which the strong men had fetched, when he thirsted and longed, because it was the price of blood. In this trade, their commodities are at a far dearer rate, being bought with so many men's lives.

But haply some will say, that the greatest loss of these men was at the beginning, whenas all things are difficult; but since, our men, framed to a better composition of themselves, to the variety of this climate, and heartened to the tediousness of this voyage, have better endured and overcome those difficulties, and returned more comfortably. Herein the latest voyages will inform us best, and we will instance it in the three last that have made returns.

The first was under Sir Henry Middleton, whose former government, in that kind of voyage, had approved his wisdom and moderation. His ship was that famous and unfortunate vessel of eleven-hundred tons, his company in that ship some two-hundred and

twenty men. After four errors up and down the sea, wherein he underwent many constructions at home, and overcame strange difficulties abroad; having (to his eternal reputation of policy and courage) outgone the perfidious Turk, and revenged their barbarous wrongs, to the merchants' gain, and the kingdom's repute: after he and his, had (I say) been accompanied with many sorrows, with labour, hunger, heat, sickness, and peril; that worthy commander, with many a sufficient mariner, with the whole number (ten excepted) of his live Cargazon, perished in that Aceldama, in that bloody field of Bantam.

Nicholas Dounton, the vice-admiral of that fleet, returned, and of seventy he carried forth, brought home some twenty; the rest, their labours and lives were sacrificed to that implacable East-Indian Neptune; the Darling of that voyage is yet there, nor never will the master, an approved seaman, return, with divers others.

The second was that of Captain Saris, and Captain Towerson; men formerly exercised in those journeys, and therefore thought meet to command. Whether they were short of the opinion conceived of them or no, I know not; if they were, I should attribute part of the loss of their men to their insufficiency, but that the destiny of the country challengeth it all to itself. Capt. Towerson, who first returned, having left behind, of some hundred and twenty carried fourth, fourscore and five; and Capt. Saris, of ninety and odd, not having brought home above two or three and twenty. The Thomas, of that voyage, which went forth with some sixty men, was brought home by way of a wreck: you know the destruction of men that name importeth.

The third, that of Capt. Thomas Best, admiral of the fleet, a man whose former behaviour in sea-affairs drew into that journey with great expectation; and, which is very seldom and hard, his carriage in this employment went beyond the great expectation of a reposed demeanour, indulgent to his men, vigilant in his charge, his courage like to his carriage, and his fortune above all. He checked the Indians, he mated the Portuguese: those honour our king, these fear his forces. He settled a trade in Cambaya, reduced things in order to Bantam, brought riches home for the merchants, and kept reputation for himself; yet for all this he had *Nemesin in dorso;* the Indian vengeance haunted his ship, even to our coasts: of some hundred and eighty men under him, when he went forth, depriving him of one-hundred and odd men for ever. Some four or five and twenty of the remainder are left, on the desperate account of men, for the countries factorage: only thirty are returned. In two great sea-fights with the Portuguese and their galleons, which continued four whole days, he lost not four men. It was not then the fortune of the war; neither out of want of aught that victuals and good government could afford; imputations to some other voyages: nor had the length of time any fault, part of others bane; he having made the voyage in shorter space than others ordinarily; the dog-star of those climates, the stench of those countries, were his fatality.

As one swallow maketh no summer, so it is not much to be marvelled, that in all these voyages some one ship hath not been scarred, and not else much hurt in this journey: she indeed but even seeing those coasts, and presently on so great a glut of our men and ships, with the which it seemeth the sea and land was then busied and full; whenas Captain Newport returned with little loss, and in a short time.

Now then, (as we have said before,) that the Indian ships die not the ordinary death of ships; and that (we have shewed likewise before,) that men do not die extraordinarily in this voyage, which is almost incredible; they are distressed likewise after their death: and that is very apparent, by the mean account made to their heirs of what they had in possession in their life-time, by what should otherwise be due to them in their purchase, by the calamities of their wives, children, and friends, after their death. Fabulous and fantastical legends have been made of the restless death of many concealed extortioners and murderers, whose ghosts have been said to walk in pain and penance. On the contrary, how many live bodies, indeed the true images of the deceased, complain on the death, call for the due of their friends, fathers, husbands, children, kinsfolks, and creditors? Poor Ratcliff, Limehouse, Blackwall, Shadwell, Wapping, and other sea-towns

abroad, can sensibly tell. The merchant he is at home, and therefore he cannot embezzle the goods abroad; and it is likely, that what is directly proved due, is paid here to theirs. Then is the calamity of that journey more fearful; because out of his own ill planet it maketh so many miserable. How this is recompensed, it is neither my purpose, nor my part to examine: for certain, there is want of trade; the Hollander would grow greater, if he had all this trade in his own hands. The king's customs are now advanced: this way shipwrights are set on work, which must be maintained; and other mechanical trades live hereby, with a number of poor busied. And, surely, he that would not have the poor to live, I would he might beg: and he that would not advance the king's profit in all liberal manner, and merchandise in a fair means, I would he might die; and he that regardeth not his country's good, it is pity he was ever born. I desire not, like a second Phaeton, to make a combustion, All that I would enforce at this time is, that in this trade our men are consumed, and thereby more want of mariners. Let the Streights men and the Lisbon merchants complain of their hindrance this way, and say, their traffick before was more beneficial by much, and more certain to the Custom-house than the Indies be now. Let others report, that the foundation of this trade was laid in the ruin of a carrick[10] that Sir James Lancaster took in the first voyage, and that the main of this after-jollity proceeded from the forced trade driven with the Mocha fleet by Sir Henry Middleton; whereby divers durst not go presently after to the Streights, (as the Angel, and other ships,) out of rumour of revenge, for violence offered by our Indian men to the Turks in the Red Sea. Let the common people say, that their commodities are unnecessary. Ask the tradesmen, nay, all men, what they have cheaper? Look into the price of victuals, how it riseth out of their great provisions. Let the whole land murmur at the transport of treasure, and bring in Charles the Fifth's opinion, (speaking to the Portuguese of their trade to the East-Indies,) who said, "That they were enemies to Christendom, for they carried away the treasure of Europe to enrich the Heathen." Let go the speech of the small relief thereby to the poor; and they, whom it doth concern, may suggest the Indian home-state and particular profit. Once I am sure, that as Vespasian the emperor said, "He had rather save one citizen, than kill one-thousand enemies;" so his royal Majesty had rather have his subjects than custom for them; and you see plainly, that his Majesty's subjects, our countrymen, fall this way, and this way is want of mariners.

Greenland ships (which before I had forgotten) entertain some mariners, and help to breed others; as of late, being fifteen sail, employ some four-hundred men, and may breed of those some four-score, which help somewhat, and may be, by reasonable encouragement, far more beneficial, if it be more public.

And thus we have run over the material Trade's state and condition in them of Seamen. In all in general we conceive want, in regard of the small increase of what is needful to furnish this great machine, this goodly engine of our sea-state, either by supporting their own members (the Newcastle trade excepted), or all joined together, to make up the great body of our land's navy: witness, that general press that was made of men from all the coasts, to man the ships that were to attend that matchless pearl, that peerless princess, the lady Elizabeth, her Grace, with her hopeful and happy mate, the illustrious Palatine, at their departure[11]; and our nakedness, that would appear, if there were sudden occasion to furnish some six of his Majesty's ships: all which maketh for the furtherance of our proposition of fishing.

The third motive hereto was Want of Employment.

As the cosmographers in their maps, wherein they have described the habitable globe, use to set down in the extremity of their cards, on unknown regions and climates, that beyond those places they have noted, there is nothing but sands without water, full of wild beasts, or congealed seas, which no ship can sail, or Scythian live in; so may I write in the map of Employment, that out of it, without it, is nothing but sordid idleness, base

[10] [Or carack, a ship of large burthen. See the term fully explained in the play of Othello.]

[11] [From England to Germany, on the 10th of April, 1612-13.]

condition, filling the mind with a hundred chimeras, and gross fantasies, and defiling both body and mind with dissolute courses and actions; like fat ground neglected, that bringeth forth a thousand sorts of weeds, or unprofitable herbs. And with this disease is our land affected, our people infected; whereby so many come to an untimely and reproachful death in the land, and many more live so dissolutely, and so wickedly, on the seas. I do not think, that in any two kingdoms in Europe, there are so many justiced for murderers and felons yearly, as in England. And, above all nations, we are most infamous for piracies; wherein, against the law of sea-robbers, or, at least, besides ordinary example of any other nation, we forbear not to prey on our own countrymen; nay, we forbear not our own acquaintance. Sure the want of grace, and fear of God, is much in most of these. But that men should leave their wives, children, and family, and rebel against their own sovereign's laws, and make war on all people, proceedeth more out of want of means, Want of Employment at home. Besides, how many that have more grace, and the same wants, are straitened in their fortunes, notwithstanding their abilities of body and mind; and are, as it were, damned to poverty? And more than all these, that have a little grace, and less means, that lead the loathsome life of begging?

Now, if the means may be found; nay, if the means, long found, already be offered unto us, to redeem us out of this disaster: why should we not understand them? why should we not apprehend them? why should we not be industrious in them? We are not those rebellious Israelites, that could not see the flowing land, much less enjoy it; we have this place in possession, and if my Ephemerides fail me not, I dare say, *Natam inde esse artem*, that shall not only take away all those discontents and miseries, that want of employment breeds in any of our unfortunate countrymen; but that shall also repair our navy, breed seamen abundantly, enrich the subject, advance the King's custom, and assure the kingdom: and all this in our own seas, by fishing, and especially out of herrings. Towards the which, apparent necessity having hitherto made us the way, we are to persuade you to follow in it by the facility, profit, and use of this fishing.

The Facility, in that the Means are in our own hands.

The Place, our own Seas.

The Art, well known.

The Means in our own hands; in that we have all things that shall be used about this business growing at home in our own land, pitch and tar excepted; whereas the Hollanders, having nothing growing in their own land for it, are fain to go to six several countries, and those remote, and under divers princes, to furnish themselves, merely with the barter of fish and herrings taken out of our seas.

Then the Place is not far removed; if in our own seas, if in his Majesty's dominions, on the coast of England, Scotland, and Ireland, is this principal fishing; for by the report of many exercised in this mystery, and the relation of two especially (painful herein by their treatises), Hitchcock and Gentleman.

The herrings first, and towards the ending of summer, shoot out of the deeps on both sides of Scotland and England; and begin to do first so, on the Scots coast at Midsummer, when is the first and worst fishing.

The second and best is about Bartholomew-tide, from Scarborough in Yorkshire, till you come to the Thames-mouth.

The third from the Thames-mouth through the narrow seas, but not so certain, for that extreme weather maketh them shoot on both sides of Ireland; likewise on the coast of Ireland, is good fishing for herrings, from Michaelmas to Christmas.

On the north-west seas of England, over-against Carlisle, about Wirkintown, is good fishing for herrings from Bartholomew-tide, till fourteen days after Michaelmas. So then it appeareth by these reports, that this fishing for herrings is especially on his Majesty's dominions. And to this end, ask the ancient custom of the Hollanders and Flemings, that before they began their fishing for herrings, craved leave of Scarborough aforesaid; which, easily obtained, they then laid their nets. And howsoever it pleaseth his Majesty to allow of his royal predecessor's bounty, in tolerating the neighbour nations to fish in his streams;

yet other princes take more straight courses. For whereas till Christmas, on the coast of Norway, called the Mall Strand, all strangers do fish, (as Hitchcock writeth;) they then paid a youhendale on every last of herrings, to the King of Denmark. And I can likewise remember, that certain of our merchants of Hull had their goods and ships taken away, and themselves imprisoned, for fishing about the ward-house, and not paying the duty imposed on them by the King of Denmark.

The Place; our seas likewise, for other necessary and profitable fishing; on the coast of Lancashire, from Easter to Midsummer, for cod and hakes; betwixt Wales and Ireland, from Whitsun-tide until St. James's-tide, for cod and ling; about Padstow, within the land's-end of Severn, from Christmas to middle Lent; and in seven or eight several places more about the coasts, and within his Majesty's dominions; the which is largely set down by Hitchcock.

Now besides this fishing-treasure lieth easily to be found in our own seas: what good harbours fitting thereto lie open to us in our own coasts, as Colchester, Harwich, Ipswich, Yarmouth, with a number of others, set down painfully by Gentleman; together with the commodities they afford for timber, workmanship, furnishing and harbouring busses, nets, and men?

As the havens lie open to us, as the seas be our own, and as we have all things almost fitting for such a business at home, and naturally, so that nothing may be wanting to us but ourselves; the art is well known to us likewise. Masters for busses may be had from Yarmouth and Sould, and the rest of the coasts down the river. Use maketh fishermen, and these places afford store of seafaring men for the purpose. In Orford-haven and Alborough, be many good fishermen, whose abilities, exercised in busses, would (by Gentleman's report) put down the Hollanders. The like may be said of Sould, Dunwich, Walderswich, which breed fishermen. In all these, and many other places, is this rich art known, but not used. In all these, and all others, the Hollanders swim like elephants; we wading like sheep. We keep the banks and shoals, whenas they are in the depth.

Besides, to encourage us the more, the charges are not great, the pains are not great, the time is not long, the hazard is nothing at all. This is very apparent, and exactly set down in Gentleman's treatise, whom I shall but obscure to contract; neither is he long.

The next motive to this fishing was that of Profit; wherein, if ever it were true, that a good cause maketh a good orator, here is a subject to enable all mean rhetoricians. Every man almost is taken with the attention to profit. Love doth much, but money doth all. Here is money, here is profit in abundance, and divers ways. In abundance, for that the whole charge of a buss, with all furniture and appurtenances, between thirty and forty last, will cost about five-hundred pounds; the charges, for keeping her a whole summer at sea, may be some three-hundred three-score and five pounds; the whole summer filling her three times, with making one-hundred last of barrels, amounteth to one-thousand pounds; whereby, allowing one-hundred pounds for wear of ships, and reparations of nets, there are gained five-hundred sixty-five pounds by one buss in one year, and this is after ten pounds the last; which was so rated in Hitchcock's time, which is some thirty-three years ago: the Hollanders, now, selling them for fifteen, twenty pounds, and upward the last, at Dantzick. Hence one may gather of the great gain, that even riseth to a private purse, by this fishing, with a small adventure; busses being the main; and those likely likewise to continue, by God's grace, some twenty years. So then her charges returned for keeping her at sea; the first year also she quitteth her own self, and there are, I say, five-hundred sixty-five pounds, as long as she liveth afterwards, *de claro*. I would fain know, (not desiring to be too curious in a strange commonwealth, but rather to invite my countrymen into this society,) what trade in the land did ever in its strength promise so much? Howsoever, never any, I am sure, performed so much, so easily, so continually.

When Antiochus in his show to Hannibal of his glorious army in battle-range, his elephants being most richly adorned, and all his soldiers in very brave and costly harness and habiliments, willing to draw some acknowledgment from him of his power and strength, asked his opinion of it? The warlike soldier replied again, "That it was an army able to satisfy the most covetous enemy." No question, though the Carthaginian noted the people of cowardice, yet it would require great charges, and cost some blood, to overcome such an army.

In the best trade in appearance now that is, (and in those countries, certain there are infinite riches,) you see how remote it is, and with what cost of purse, and loss of people followed, yet without such satisfaction. Here is wealth enough to satisfy the most thirsty thereof, without much cost, without any spoil; even almost *Salmacida spolia;* if not, *sine sudore, sine sanguine;* and not for a time, but permanent. All other trades are far fetched, as it were, out of a well, out of the deep, I mean from far; here is a mere spring which is in superficies hard by us, out of our own inexhaustible sea, from the everlasting store of herrings, whence only the Hollander reapeth a million of gold yearly: besides the most gainful fishing with other vessels for cod and ling. Hitchcock long ago discovered the same; his book is extant: and fore-named Gentleman hath very plainly set down, and in a very probable and particular manner disclosed the mysteries thereof. And the conceit the Hollanders have of it, calling it their 'chiefest trade, and gold mine;' and the confidence they have in it, as laying out their children's money given them by friends, in adventuring in busses; and fathers likewise putting in their children's portions into busses; presume of the increase that way, and so proportion a sum certain out of that gain, in a certain time: as also, that there is for orphans laid out, and so increasing that way, for the maintenance of them. Here then we may get treasure in abundance, and certainly; and besides the gaining of it, we shall stay the unnatural tide of the departure and transportation of our gold; a mischief, which notwithstanding our royal King was sensible of, in the raising of it, yet it still departeth with *vestigia nulla retrorsum*, out of the lazy and disgracious merchandise of our coasters, that give away our coin to the stranger for our own fish: which unseasonable and unprofitable humour of cauponation is this way to be diverted only.

But some will say, that our men are not so apt, nor disposed thereto: which cannot be, in regard of the store of fishermen that our coasts nourish, which live as hardly, and take as great pains, in their fashion, only wanting the use of busses; and seem to rejoice at the name of busses; and may on very good reason: for that this buss-fishing is more easy than any other kind of fishing, which now we use in crayers and punts, as being armed this way better against all weathers, which others suffer and perish in, in other vessels, yearly; and, as their provisions are better, and the dangers less, so their pains are likewise less.

Again; who will not be exceedingly encouraged with the benefit of such gain, in so honest a manner, when once the sweet is tasted of? Whenas, otherwise, our countrymen run such laborious and desperate courses, especially out of want.

Others will say, that our land will not utter them in any quantity, in regard that the feeding on herring and fish doth not taste us, nor is so received, as amongst those Holland and Zealand mermaids. And, sure, if those necessary laws, provided by our advised state for the keeping of fish-days clean through our land, were better observed, it would be more wholesome for our bodies, and make much for the advancing of our fish, and plenty of other victuals; besides the dearness of our fish-victual, which more hurteth our purse than our appetites, for that the price is, within these twenty years, almost trebled, which, indeed, maketh the true distaste, as all householders find, and thereon feed their households with flesh and otherwise; this fish-victual being now obtained by merchandise, which indeed is our own staple commodity; whereon groweth this penury to the poor, this great price to others, this disuse to all, and in these, the king's, the kingdom's loss. Yet, notwithstanding, there is such quantity of herrings, besides other fish, consumed amongst us, that Hitchcock alloweth ten-thousand lasts for our provision

of herrings to be spent here in the realm; so that it would save at home one-hundred-thousand pounds of treasure, which (to our great shame and loss) the Hollanders carry away, even for our own provision; besides, that provision is of the worst, such as they call roop-sick, and such as they are forbidden to bring home. Now, to be served of our worst, whereas we might be our own carvers; and to give our gold for that we may have for nothing; judge of the loss, of the indignity. And, as we may easily remedy this by our own industry, so we cannot otherwise excuse the fault; our gracious Prince, no question, being ready to assist us herein by the same favourable authority, which other trades, for their benefit, taste most plentifully of, by forbidding the sale and uttering of herrings to his loyal subjects, by any foreigner or stranger whatsoever. And, in Holland, it is not lawful for them to buy any of our herrings, if they be brought thither: nay, if we bring any thither, they are burned. Besides what other effects of his incomparable clemency would bless our industries herein, he being lord paramount of these seas, where this fishing-food groweth, and which now is taken by strangers? And therefore he would not, questionless, allow strangers to eat up the food that was provided for the children: the crumbs we would not envy them, though we are now fed under their table.

Now farther it may be alleged, that we can utter no such quantity, nor can afford any such pennyworth. For the first, that must arise out of our diligence. No question, we once attaining the art of the Flemish usage of these herrings, they will be in as great estimation as the Hollanders, in Normandy, Nantz, Bourdeaux, Rochelle, and other such countries; for which, return is made of wine and woad, for which is always paid ready gold, with a number of other commodities. They will be in as great estimation in the east countries, Revel, Rie, Russia, Dantzick, Poland, Denmark, the returns whereof are set down in Gentleman; and the quantity of herrings, that these fore-named countries consume, is infinite. Therefore, though the Hollanders spend more fish and herrings by much, in their countries, than we do; yet it is their foreign trade with all other nations, that is their basis; else they could never employ so many ships, nor gain such wealth, nor get such strength thereby. And in all these places we can and do trade, and all their returns we need and use, and therefore may utter them in as great a quantity as they do.

Then, for the affording of herrings and fish at as good a rate as they can, let any consider of the likelihood in our behalf. First, it standeth with reason, if we have the like vessels, we can go with as few men; and our fishermen on the coast, by divers reports, can live as hardly as they. And let any judge of the hardness, when the principal time of fishing for herrings is in September and October, and a six-weeks time, and they are almost in sight of our own coasts; and, besides good provision of butter and cheese and beer, they have the plenty of the sea-fish; then, this way, we may afford as good pennyworths as they. But I go further, and say, that we have great advantages of them.

The seas be our own, therefore we journey not so far as the Hollander doth, whereby likewise our travel and charge must be lighter. Our ports, harbours, and roads, be at hand; nay, which is more, all utensils and appurtenances belonging to shipping, as is before shewed, (pitch and tar excepted,) are found in our own land; whereas they, with great cost, pains, and hazard, fetch them from six several places. So then we shall we able to afford better cheap, than the Hollanders; and so we may sell, when they cannot, and so the English shall and may weary them, and wear out those flouts, wherewith our poor fishermen are scorned. For, if they be put by the uttering of their herrings abroad, they will be driven to leave their great ships, and fish in smaller vessels near the shore, to serve their own turns; as heretofore they have caused us to do; whenas, likewise, on every tempest, they openly triumph over us for not taking the blessings God poured into our laps.

These hindrances objected taken away, we may now resort again to the sweet fountain of Profit; which, besides that it watereth our private estates with the continual spring of great gain, keepeth in our treasure, which exceedingly now wasteth, and bringeth in all

commodities, that either the east and north countries, France or Flanders, afford, even for this barter: it runneth into the sea of the king's custom. The venting only of ten-thousand lasts of herrings beyond sea, cometh to five-thousand pounds, after the rate of the ordinary poundage; besides the custom of cod and ling, very near as valuable as the benefit of herrings; the particular view whereof is set down by him whom I have so often named, and in whose book you may see the greatness of the custom amounting to above fifty-thousand pounds sterling, that accrueth to those countries out of this fishing-trade: and yet all this, to them, is nothing. Their keeping in their treasure, their carrying away our treasure, their abundance with all other commodities, the greatness of their custom this way is nothing, in regard of their profit, honour, safety, that their increase of shipping, increase of mariners, this way begetteth to themselves, amongst all nations, to their state.

The life of the sea is in shipping; nay, one may say to ships, *Mare non est mare, vos estis mare.* The beauty of the sea is in shipping; and sure the poets, affirming Venus to be the daughter of the sea, might mean a ship by her; for, *hæc una Venus omnium surripuit Veneres;* and this little land of the Hollanders, exceeded in quantity by Norfolk and Suffolk, hath gotten this sea, hath gained this Venus: England, Scotland, France, and Spain, for shipping and sea-faring men, not answerable to them; and all spawned out of fish and fishing.

There hath been numbered, in sight, two-thousand sail of busses, and other good vessels, gone out to sea, at once, of the Hollanders; and there have been found, by computation, some thirty-seven thousand fishermen, in divers sorts of vessels, at one time, employed herein. Hence proceed their great undertakings, and prodigious adventuring to all places: hereby they outgo us, and overbear all trades where-ever they come. We think the West-India gold to be the cause of the pride and presumption of Spaniards; we may assure ourselves, that our North-Indies countervail that treasure, and are the only confidence of the Hollanders, even by breeding seamen, and increasing of shipping, in that abundance, as that hereby they both swarm every where, and France, Spain, and the east countries are full of their shipping. Hence they fetch our coals, and carry them abroad; from Norway and Dantzick they bring us all commodities, and carry forth ours, at a far better rate than we can ourselves. They have filled Muscovy, whence we are emptied, with thither shipping, and the Streights abound with them, once our possession. They go into, nay they arm in the West-Indies, where we may not be seen; and, in the East-Indies, they have had long-settled factories before us, and have four men to one of ours there, and go beyond us as far, besides the number, in store of goodly shipping; whereby, as they hinder our trade, so they forbear not (which I cannot but write with stomach) the honour of our King and kingdom, as presuming sometimes to call themselves English, and pretend ambassage, and presents from his Majesty, which they did to the King of Siam; in other places calling the crown and state of England into comparison, which made the King of Achem ask Captain Best, "Whether the King of England, or the King of Holland, were the greater monarch?"

Besides, what an infinite number of ships and men of war have they always in readiness at home? And as the inn-keeper of Chalcis said to his guest, admiring *tantam ferculorum varietatem,* "It was, with art, all cooked out of pork;" this their store, this their abundance, is raised all out of fishing. Who then would not be moved? Who would not be stirred up therewith? Who would not go a-fishing? You see what want we have of shipping, what want we have of mariners, what discouragements we have in trades, what wants our men are in. When Naaman, the Syrian, complained to Elisha of his leprosy, he was bid to wash himself in Jordan seven times. He looked for other miraculous courses to be taken by the prophet, and could hardly be persuaded thereto, because Abna and Pharphar, floods of Damascus, were better. Naaman was a heathen, and had never any experience of God's Jordan, yet he was, in the end, persuaded. To supply our wants, to satisfy our hunger, to heal our diseases, there is not a river, but a sea shewn us, and that not in another kingdom, but in our own; we are but bidden, "Go, and take fish out

of it:" we are Christians, and it is God that hath provided this remedy; and we see, by experience, no water like ours, and we see our neighbours, from every place, resorting thereto, and healing themselves thereby. You see how it concerneth us; let us, in the end, likewise be persuaded. What the number is of our seamen, bred and employed by all sorts of sea-trades (our petty fishings excepted) may easily be guessed at, and whatsoever it may amount to. If, out of our whole land, there be but four-hundred busses built, and set forth, of seventy tons the piece; there are, in two years, nine-thousand mariners more than was in the land before: let men of experience and state judge of the proportion, by the way of comparison; every one can perceive the increase simply. Besides, by the report of some of our best mariners, these, thus bred, prove not only equal, but better able, than any bred otherwise, for sea-affairs, and public service.

On this public profit of fishing, thus spread abroad, the maintenance of havens, and haven-towns in England besides, have no small dependency; and are so material to the land, so plainly understood of all his Majesty's subjects, and so well wished to by Hitchcock and Gentleman, that it is enough for me but to point at them: we all know the use of them, they shew the decay, and this art, the reparation and maintenance of them.

The Use of this fishing is implied much in the profit, but more eminent, by the consideration again of the infinite number otherwise of idle people, and out of employment. Only by this art, it is reported, not one goeth a-begging in all the Low-countries: and what a number of people have we, that, now destitute of means, may, this way, have a calling? It is a grievous sin, idleness, and bringeth forth, as we see, horrible effects. To get a living by the sweat of our brows, is the ordinance of God; and this way there is a recompence. There were found in Yarmouth, the last year, three or four hundred, and those of honest disposition, that wanted means: and how many hundreds more are there, in other places, that would gladly be thus used? Hitchcock alloweth, to every one in this employment, twenty pounds yearly, besides his diet, for his reward; a good savour to honest men, that now have no means; and this only out of two voyages for herrings. A number of carpenters and shipwrights shall be set a work, coopers busied, numbers of people making lines, ropes, cables, dressers of hemp, spinners of thread, makers of nets, bred; many salt-houses set up, besides what store of poor people, all along on the sea-coasts, which are now very poor and idle in England and Wales, to be used in splitting of fish, washing of fish, packing, salting, carrying, and re-carrying of fish. And on these foresaid occupations depends an infinite number of servants, boys, and daily labourers, for the use of things needful. Nilus, whose fertility is envied, affordeth not so many sorts of fish, of monsters, as this fishing entertaineth sorts of people: which humbly committing to the high Disposer of all hearts, and to the due consideration thereby of his ministers here on earth, I will leave further to enlarge, and shut up this abrupt discourse, with the allusion of that of Basil to this sea-business, *Putei, dum hauriuntur, speciosiores.*

Now for a corollary to all these imperfect lines. Whereas, in the superficial survey of want of shipping, we find most of our sea-trades, either decaying, or at a stay; let me (out of themselves, without offence,) propound the consideration of one remedy thereto; even by a freedom of traffick for all his Majesty's subjects to all places. Hereby his Majesty's customs will increase; the navy and seamen will receive nourishment, out of more employment; the whole incorporation of merchants reap comfort, in that they may communicate with all adventures; and the universal body of the subjects of the land content, in that they may become merchants, being very ready, in this adventurous world, to make new discoveries: whereas, now otherwise, merchandise, sorting and settled in companies, confineth merchants into those limits that private orders tie them in, so that they may not help themselves, through any discouragements in one trade, but by suit and submission of themselves to the other; though, I say, their trades fail them, and others have too much: nor may any else of the kingdom come amongst them, though never so able and well disposed, unless they come in on such conditions, as the victor pleaseth to propound. A thing, in ordinary sense, somewhat harsh to fellow-subjects, and equal citizens, in this

great monarchy, to be so serviceably tied, and subject one unto the other; and, the rather, for that those privileges, by the indulgence of the prince, being granted as a reward to some for their industries, and exemplary to others' encouragements, are strictly used, to the eternal benefit of a few, and the wrong of all the residue.

The French Company manifested this plainly, which, if it had continued, (and it began but the other day,) had undone all the Western men.

The Muscovy Company declareth the same, as being granted on condition of serving his Majesty of all materials (as flax, oil, wax, tallow, and cordage,) belonging to shipping: whereas now it is supplied by strangers, even ten for one ship, and those double our burthens: and notwithstanding they do not perform, and have let fall their trade, yet none may enter but on their conditions.

The Greenland Company, out of pretence of their first whale-hunting, keep all fishermen (notwithstanding they knew and used those seas) from further resort thither; and some merchants of Hull were taken by them in that journey, and brought back; notwithstanding, as I am informed, those countrymen found it first.

The Virginia Company pretend almost all that main, betwixt it and Newfoundland, to be their fee-simple; whereby, many honest and able minds, disposed to adventure, are hindered and stopped from repairing to those places, that either knew, or would discover unfound, even for fishing.

The East-India men, not able to furnish those places they resort to, keep out others from coming amongst them; and to look into those parts they know not; and would give out of their largeness and riches entertainment to all the merchants in the land. Besides, how tedious and costly they, and all other companies, make it to their own associates, whenas out of orders, and cause of upholding their trade, men can neither dispose of their own as they would, nor have the benefit under a long time? Besides, how private do they, and other companies, make it; whenas out of orders, and maintaining their trade, (how plentifully soever the commodities are brought in, and at what advantage soever they buy them,) they will be sure to keep up the price; either by sending most part of the commodities abroad, or else by buying all others into their hands? That other is hard for the owner sometimes, but he doth it in his own wrong; but to the buyer this is always unjust, for that he suffereth, against his will; the commonwealth, made private, suffereth by all; this, that the first, and all the more discontentful, in that, besides that all other nations resort freely to all those places whence they keep out their own countrymen, the like fashion of companies and societies is not used in all Christendom else; it being lawful and usual to all others amongst themselves, promiscuously to frequent and communicate with places, and trades, one by the other. Nay, this separation of trading, and excepting of subjects from places, between divers princes that had but peace one with the other, was so admired and disallowed of formerly, that Charles the Fifth, Emperor [12], being moved by the Portuguese (being under their own absolute king then) to forbear the East-India trade, because they had found it; answered, "That he had peace with them, and therefore he would have trade with them; for they were not his friends, but his enemies, that would hinder him of it." How much more may we (murmuring at this iniquity) affirm that we are all Britons, all subjects to one royal King, all combined together in one natural league, and therefore not to be barred from trading equally to all places? Which his most gracious Majesty, together with the whole assent of the high court of parliament, openly professeth; whenas there was enacted free liberty for all his Majesty's subjects, to trade into the dominions of Spain, Portugal, and France, with most sufficient reasons therefore; for the increase of shipping, mariners, thousands of handicraft-men, of prices of their own commodities, and augmentation of them, together with the plenty of foreign commodities, and a cheapness of them, and the bettering of his Majesty's customs.

No one man ever invented all sciences, nor any merchant found all places; yet they make a compensation one to another. Society first began, and knowledge and civility, by

[12] [Of Germany.]

communication. But if the world in their infancy had been resolved to have held private what they had in possession, and to have concealed what they knew ; there had not only been no civility, but no society. Yet, as the first maintainers of society had their honour, the first inventors of sciences and arts their rewards, and, in all well-disposed states, the industry of those, that do benefit them, have their encouragements ; so is not this my proposition of free trade otherwise entertained, than that there should be a due respect had of all worthy adventurers, an especial consideration of the charges and hazard of the first discoveries ; which the solertious Hollander examples us, by forbidding their own subjects to trade to those places which some particular purse hath, or shall find out, before that the first founders have received benefit of their pains and charges ; allowing them some six returns to their own private adventures, before any else set thitherward. If those adventures, or returns, were increased here for the finders' content and profit, there is no man would grudge it: but to keep others out for ever, unless they pay, and submit themselves according to their order, and to their government, or under the pretence of one place found, to include more than was ever meant, seems very injurious. Again: my proposition is not any way so tumultuous, as that thereby I would excuse all order and form of government in trades ; or, otherwise, to intend a promiscuous kind of calling, or rather confusion of all sorts. Who knoweth not that the commonwealth consisteth, *non ex medico, & medico ; sed ex medico, & agricolâ ?* As also that there must be œconomical and discreet partition and proportion amongst the members, divers trades, to maintain the general body, commerce ? I have only pointed at some aberrations, but as the novice, travelling through strange countries, *Tapmando*, or *tanquam canis ad Nilum.*

The prosecuting of this argument would draw on a larger discourse than all the whole former, and would then exceed a corollary, and detain the reader too long. Neither like I the issue of meddling, when men tire themselves with controlling of public matters, yet many times cannot manage their own affairs. I make no intrusion into merchants' mysteries, neither desire to pry into the state's secrecy. It was a foolish complaint of the poet, *Cur aliquid vidi ?* It is much more for me to say, *Cur aliquid scripsi ?* I am so far from giving any cause of public offence, that I would not justly provoke any private person. I was born in the city, and live amongst seamen : and as some almanack-makers, when they pretend exactness in their calculations, though they do but rove, use to appropriate their observations to the place they live in ; so I, writing with the same knowledge, would say I desire good to the meridian of these two places ; notwithstanding, as they say also, these may serve alike to all the land.

The Great Bastard[1], Protector of the Little One[2]. Done out of the French. And for which, a Proclamation, with a Reward of 5000 Louis-d'ors, to discover the Author, was published.

Printed at Cologne, 1689.

[Quarto, containing Thirty Pages.]

WE find in Holy Writ, that in the Jewish law, it was expressly provided by the Supreme Legislator, 'That a bastard should not enter into the congregation of the Lord, 'even to the tenth generation.' But it seems the unhappy kingdom of France allows the Bastard himself, not only to enter into the congregation, but to settle himself upon the throne, and to bear it higher than all the preceding kings before him, which had a better right to do it, as being the offspring of kings, and not 'the sons of the people;' the proper term the Roman law gives to bastards. We have heard of the Salic law, in force in that kingdom, for a great many ages, by which the crown of France cannot fall from the sword to the distaff; but, till the blessed days of our august Monarch, we never had the happiness to be acquainted with a law or custom, by which that was in the power of a queen of France, to provide us an heir to the crown, without the concurrence of her husband; and to impose upon us, for our king, a brat of another man's making. All the reign of our invincible Monarch has been a constant series of wonders; but, amongst them all, this is none of the least, that he, who was, in the opinion of all the world, the son of a private gentleman, from his birth to the end of the Prince of Conde's wars, has had the good fortune to be, ever since, no less than the son of Lewis the Thirteenth. After this, let nobody call in question the commonly supposed fable of the transmutation of Iphis from a woman to a man, since to be translated from a bastard, to a son lawfully begotten, is equally as difficult.

Among a great many other quarrels I have with the English nation, this is one, that they are a people too nice in believing miracles; and their haughtiness is such, as they scorn, forsooth, to believe impossibilities. For albeit they, and all the rest of the world about them, are firmly persuaded, that the little bauble Prince of Wales was never of Queen Mary's bearing, much less of King James's begetting; yet, if these infidels had been as well-mannerly credulous, as we in France have been, of the wonderful transmutation of our Lewis le Grand, they needed not have made all this noise about the little impostor-infant, but might have comforted themselves in the hopes, that he, who was a spurious Prince of Wales to-day, might some years hence, by a new French way of transubstantiation, become a lawfully begotten king of England. But the mischief of all is, these stiff-necked hereticks, ever since they fell off from the communion of the holy Church, make bold to call in question all our miracles; and such a one, as this would be, I am afraid they would stick at, amongst others.

Good God! how happy had it been for France, yea, for a great part of the world, that the French had been as great infidels, upon the point of miracles, as the heretic English; and that our Lewis the Fourteenth had been hurled out of France, when but Dauphin of Viennois; as the little mock-Prince of Wales has been out England, when scarce well handled into the light? What dismal tragedies has our French impostor caused

[1] See Oldys' Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 65.

[2] [Under these titles were adumbrated Louis XIV. of France, and James Prince of Wales, born in 1688.]

in Christendom? How many cities laid in ashes, countries ruined, families extinguished, and millions of lives sacrificed, to the vanity and ambition of a bastard?

The Hugonots of France, of all people in the world, have most reason to be ashamed of their conduct, with relation to this ungrate monster, in the time of his minority, and of the Prince of Conde's wars: and these people, who disown a thousand things in the Catholic religion, merely upon the account of their being, in their opinion, irreconcileable to reason, did strangely contradict, not only common fame, but even reason itself, in being brought to think, that it was possible that Lewis the Fourteenth should be the true son of Lewis the Thirteenth; after near half a jubilee of years past in marriage betwixt him and Anne of Austria, his queen, without the least hope of issue, with all the concurring signs of a natural impotency on his side. But these gentlemen have paid dear enough for their opinions, and have had sufficient time and occasion to read their past folly, in their present affliction; and to call to mind, with regret, their unaccountable madness, in assisting him to re-ascend the throne of France, whom almost the whole nation, the princes of the blood, and the parliament of Paris had combined together to tumble down; and had certainly done it, if the Hugonots had not turned the scale. These poor Hugonots have had so many sad occasions since to repent their fault, that I confess it is scarce generous to upbraid the miserable with the follies they cannot now amend, and which have brought upon them so many misfortunes. And yet I must beg leave to tell them, that as their zeal to Lewis the Fourteenth's unjust interest was the original cause, in my opinion, of Heaven's thus afflicting them by his hands: so indeed it was the true motive that induced this ungrate to ruin them. For thus it was, that he and his jesuitic cabal reasoned amongst themselves: If the Hugonots in the late Prince of Conde's wars, when the crown was at stake, were able to turn the balance, and to draw victory and success to the side they espoused, which at that time was ours; by the same parity of reason, if the same Hugonots shall at any time hereafter be induced to join against us, and to take our enemy's part, they will without all doubt turn the scale on the other side, and prove as dangerous enemies as formerly they were friends; and thence, by a diabolical way of reasoning, it was concluded, that it was the true interest of the crown that the Hugonots should be utterly destroyed.

By the way, I must, though contrary to my inclination, do a piece of justice to Lewis the Fourteenth, in vindicating him from a common aspersion cast upon him by the Hugonots, and it is this: Over and above the foulest ingratitude imaginable (in which charge I heartily agree with them) he is chargeable with, as to them; they will needs load him to the boot, with no less than perjury and breach of faith, in not observing the famous edict of Nantz, which was granted to them by King Henry the Fourth, and declared by him to be, in all time coming, an irrevocable and fundamental constitution of the state; which edict, say they, Lewis the Fourteenth swore at his coronation inviolably to observe. I confess this is a heavy charge; but (to speak no worse of the devil than he deserves) in my opinion our Lewis le Grand is not chargeable upon that score, as not being bound to the observance of that edict, even though having sworn it; if we shall consider, that, by the express words of the edict itself, King Henry obliges 'himself and his lawful successors 'only,' that is, those who shall succeed to the crown of France in a lawful descent of royal blood. Now I think no man will say, that, by this clause of the edict, an extranenous person (such as our interloper Lewis the Fourteenth is) can be included; and therefore, as having none of the royal blood of France in his veins, he cannot be justly charged with perjury or breach of faith, in not observing one edict, which was declared and meant to oblige only the lawful successors of King Henry the Fourth.

Here I cannot but relate a discourse I had once with one of the fathers of the Capuchin order, the very day after the revocation of the edict of Nantz; and which may serve to answer one objection, naturally arising from what I have said upon this head. All Paris was filled with the noise of this affair, and, in every corner, both Papist and Protestant were reasoning upon it. Amongst the rest, the good Capuchin and I would needs turn both statesmen and casuists on the subject. We lost betwixt us all the arguments we could

fall upon, to vindicate, if possible, the King's so apparently unjust action; and, in the end, we came to reason, how far the King was obliged to the observance of the edict of Nantz, upon account of his not being indeed the lawful successor of Henry the Fourth, the granter of it. "But, (said I,) father, though I should agree, that the King is not obliged by that edict at first, for the reason we have named; yet his posterior, swearing to observe it, makes him as liable to the observance of it, as if he were really the true successor to Henry the Fourth, and of the royal blood of France." To this the Capuchin returned me a very satisfactory answer: "Sir, (says he,) it seems you are but little acquainted with the casuistic doctrine and principles of the Jesuits, and have not the happiness to be acquainted with father Le Chese the King's confessor, so well as I; and therefore I'll tell you one evasion, a wit, like his, will soon find out to remove all needless scruples from the King's mind, arising from his swearing the edict of Nantz, and it is this: The words of the oath which the King did take at his coronation, were these: 'And seeing this edict was de-'clared to, by King Henry the Fourth, our grandfather of glorious memory, to be irre-'vocable, and that his lawful successors, the succeeding kings of France, should swear the 'same at their coronation, therefore we do thereby promise and swear, faithfully and in-'violably to observe the said edict all the days of our lifetime.' Now these being the very words of the King's oath, (continues the Capuchin,) how proper and easy was it for the reverend father Le Chese, to tell him, 'Sire, you are not all obliged by this oath, be-'cause it leans upon, and contains in its very bosom, a supposition, upon the removal of 'which, the whole oath itself does necessarily fall, *viz.* your Majesty's being the grandchild 'of Henry the Fourth; which neither you yourself, nor nobody else does believe. So that, 'if your Majesty has sworn an oath, wherein there is an express supposition that you are 'the grandchild of Henry the Fourth, which you are not, the oath itself, as leaning on 'that false supposition, must necessarily fall with it, and becomes in itself void.' I hope you are wiser, (concludes the Capuchin to me,) but to think that father Le Chese might use all this freedom with his ignorant bigoted pupil, enslaved to his direction; especially, that he is acquainted with all the villainies of his life, and in particular with his criminal privacies with the Dauphiness." Thus far the Capuchin's discourse and mine; and I must say, upon reflection, I cannot divine an evasion which father Le Chese could have fallen upon more plausible, to persuade his enslaved pupil to revoke the edict of Nantz, than this the Capuchin hinted at.

But I know the reader will tell me, what means all this pother, upon a mere supposition that Lewis le Grand is a bastard, without making it appear, or proving that he is so? I acknowledge, that of all the tasks one ever ventured upon, that of proving a man to be a bastard is the hardest; for, when a woman designs to bring another than her husband to her bed, she uses not to order such and such persons to stand by, that they may bear testimony of her crime; and though some women may come the length of inadvertency or impudence, in being too open in their amours, yet when they have to do with a gallant that is concerned in honour, and obliged by his character, to be more reserved in his pleasures; it is not to be imagined, that she will be taught to play her part, if not chastely, yet cautiously. All the world knows that the Cardinals of Richlieu and Mazarine were capable of keeping their own secrets; and yet it is to be regretted, that their amours with our invincible Monarch's mother were hard enough to be concealed; so many are the spies about the courts of princes.

That Anne of Austria found a way to provide an heir to Lewis the Thirteenth, without putting him to the pains of getting it himself, will appear clearly enough, if we take a view of all the circumstances that meet in this affair; which, all taken together, leave us no room to doubt of that Queen's concern for perpetuating her husband's memory at any cost.

Common fame was ever looked upon as a great presumption of the truth of a thing, especially if joined to other concurring circumstances; and never did that prating goddess extend her voice louder, than in proclaiming to the world the spurious birth of our august Monarch. Time was, when she did not whisper it in corners, but expressed it in

public pictures, plays, farces, and what not? Modesty will not allow me to mention the bawdy shapes of these two sorts of bread, called to this day 'the Queen's bread,' and 'the Cardinal's bread,' sold through Paris, and in most places of France; so that, at that time, one could scarce sit down to eat, but he was put in mind of the Queen and the Cardinal's amours. It were in vain to enumerate the thousandth part of the satires and pasquils on this subject, for a great many years; each pen outvying one another, in the glory of propagating to posterity the love-passions of these two mighty cardinal-ministers of state; let this one upon Cardinal Richlieu, affixed on his palace, serve for all:

What means th' ungrate French to hate,
The only true support of state?
What greater favour could there be
Shewn to the King, Queen, State, all three;
Than to provide, by his unwearied care,
The King a son, the Queen a husband, and the State an heir?

Impotency is one of those imperfections, a man is most unwilling to take with, being that which unmans him, and renders him the scorn of his own, and the abhorrence of the other sex. It can only be proved by presumptions; and these are for the most part reducible, either to his indifference for the fair-sex in general, or for his own wife in particular; the weakness of his constitution, or his cohabiting with a woman of a sound body, and proportioned age, for a considerable time, without having any issue by her. All these presumptions, and some more than perhaps decency will allow me to name, will be found in Lewis the Thirteenth, the supposed father of our august Monarch.

I think there can be no greater proof of a man's indifference for the fair-sex, in general, or his own wife in particular, than when a man, in the heat of his youth, has a right by marriage to the bed of a beautiful and young princess, has her constantly in his view, and in his power; and yet, at the same time, can, for some years together, abstain from those embraces, which marriage has not only made lawful, but a duty. And this unwonted coldness, in youth, is the more to be jealoused, that, previous to the marriage, the man did express an eager impatience to enjoy his young bride; for the subsequent coldness and abstinence does clearly insinuate a consciousness of his being mistaken of himself, and that upon trial he has found his power not answerable to his will.

Of all this, we have a pretty clear instance in Lewis the Thirteenth. Upon his being married by proxy to Anne of Austria, Infanta of Spain, afterwards mother to our invincible Monarch, he expressed the greatest eagerness to enjoy her; and, having gone the length of Bourdeaux to meet her, his desires vented themselves in the following letter, sent her some few days before her arrival:

'MADAME,

'SINCE I cannot, according to my longing desire, find myself near you, at your entry 'into my kingdom, to put you in possession of the power I have, and of that entire affec- 'tion I have in my breast to love and serve you; I send you Luyenes, one of the most 'trusty of my servants, to salute you in my name, and to tell you, that you are expected 'by me with the greatest impatience, to offer unto you myself. I pray, therefore, receive 'him favourably, and believe what he shall tell you, Madam, from your most dear friend 'and servant,

'LEWIS.'

The strain of this letter seems to be warm enough, and the word, 'offer of himself,' is pretty expressive, as coming from a young bridegroom, to a young and beautiful bride. Now who would have dreamed, but this skirmishing, by letters, should have produced a fixed battle at meeting? But, alas! our youngster, having bedded his Queen but for the space of two hours, rises up from his nuptial-bed, too late conscious to himself of his unfitness for the sports of Venus. And, albeit, he was in his Queen's company every day for

four years thereafter, his false desires never led him once again, during all that time, to try a second rencounter. Yea, it was expected by every body, he should never have ventured to bed the Queen again; if his favourite Luyenes had not tricked him into it, the very night of his sister's marriage with the Prince of Piedmont. For Luyenes finding the King in a good jolly humour, and talking more wantonly than ordinary, he grasps him out of his bed, in his arms, and throwing a night-gown about him, brings him unexpectedly into the Queen's bed. It was indeed pretended, that the reason of this four years abstinence was, for fear the marriage-bed might hinder the King's growth, and enervate his strength: and yet it is hard to believe, that such a politic consideration could prevail with a man that had any boiling blood in his veins. But every body will be apt, at the first dash, to draw this consequence from it, that there was more in it of a winter chilness, than usually suits with youth.

From the beginning of the year 1619, to 1638, King Lewis the Thirteenth continued to cohabit with his Queen; and often in his melancholy fits, to which he was naturally subject, he would complain to his confidents, that he knew certainly the Queen would have no children to him: upon which fell out a remarkable passage, that serves mightily to unriddle some difficulties in this affair. One day at Fontainbleau, (the time of his brother Monsieur's wars against him,) being in a sullen fit, he began to regret, to some few about him, his misfortune of not having children of his own body; which, he said, was the cause of Monsieur's insolence against him, and of his power with the people, as being presumptive heir of the crown. Hereupon, some of them began to tell him, that, for reasons of state, it was very fit to procure a divorce from the Queen; and that, perhaps, another wife might bring him children to heir the crown of France, and put Monsieur beside the cushion. But Luyenes, who knew the King's infirmity best, taking him aside, told him with his usual freedom, "Sire, unless you resolve to ruin yourself, for good and all; let there never be the least mention made, in time coming, of a divorce from the Queen: for, if any such thing shall come to her ears, she will be sure to lay the blame of her barrenness upon your Majesty; and this every body will believe, and which will render Monsieur's pretensions insupportable." And, indeed, it was from this consideration, that the motion of a divorce was ever afterwards laid aside, lest the Queen should be provoked, to tell out the truth; and thereby Monsieur's interest elevated a pin higher than suited with the King's safety.

There is another great presumption of one's impotency, when a man evinces himself to be indifferent not only for his own wife, but for the whole fair-sex in general. Lewis the Thirteenth gave ample proofs of this sort of virtue, if it be one; having been never seen to cast one single warm glance at any of the beauties of the court, and never heard to utter one expression that could be interpreted amorous.

Of this indifference of his, for the fair-sex, there is one pretty instance, in an expression he had to Monsieur his brother, upon the occasion of his marrying the Duke of Lorrain's daughter against the King's will. Monsieur having told him, by way of excuse, that he choosed to marry at any rate, rather than to live in whoredom; and one of the two, he said, his constitution obliged him to do: "Brother, (replies the King,) you, and I, it seems, are of different tempers; for I could live all my life without either of them." Here was a modest, though untimely confession of his indifference, if not impotency; and, indeed, Monsieur was not wanting to improve it in his circular letters he wrote to his partisans, a few months after, upon his retiring to Brussels.

There is another story, much of the same nature, that passed betwixt the King and his favourite Luyenes, about the divorce from the Queen, when it was first talked of: Luyenes told him, "That the only way to stop the Queen's mouth, in the matter of the divorce, was for the King to give an evidence, that her barrenness was not from his fault, by trying to get children by some other woman;" and, hereupon, he mentioned one of the handsomest ladies about court, as a fit mistress for him. The King answered coldly, "Mais je vous assure, Luyenes, je ne songe pas à telles choses;" 'But I assure you, (says he,) 'Luyenes, I do not think upon these things:' and so the discourse was dropped.

I shall only name one other instance more, of the King's indifference for the fair-sex, be-

cause it was so public, and had so much of raillery in it. The King being one day playing at cards with Madamoiselle Ramboulet, it happened that the King alleged upon her, she had dropped a card on design, saying, "He would have it, be where it will." The lady, finding she was discovered, slipped the card into her breast, saying, "Sire, I am assured you will not take it out here." Which was true; for the King gave over any further search, when he saw the card was in her bosom.

A great many attributed this indifference of the King's, for his own lady and all other women, to the weakness of his constitution; and, indeed, he was of the tenderest and sickliest imaginable; being, from his birth, weak in his limbs, and asthmatic to his dying-day. The Duke of Espernon, rallying one day with the King's physician, told him, "He was afraid the King might over-heat himself, in the embraces of a young and beautiful Queen." The physician, nodding his head, answered him, "It must be a great heat that will thaw his Majesty's ice."

But though Lewis the Thirteenth had been a just admirer of his own queen, and of the fair-sex in general, and had neither been branded with impotency, nor known to be of a weakly constitution; what a wonderful thing was it, that what a man could not do, in the heat of his youth, he should in the beginning of the autumn of his age; and that there should be twenty-three years betwixt their marriage, and the birth of their first child! I remember the poets tell us, that Jupiter, when he was to beget Hercules, was necessitated to make a night three times longer than the ordinary; so difficult was it, even for the father of the gods, to beget an hero: but our invincible hero, Lewis le Grand, required a longer time to be gotten than Hercules, and twenty-three years was little enough time to produce our august Monarch. What a shame was it for Cardinal Richelieu to throw away so much pains to no purpose! And how easy had it been to have made the King a father, and the Queen a mother, in the twentieth part of that time; if he had but understood the new English way of getting and bearing children! But, it seems, the art of imposing infant princes was not then brought to that perfection, it has been of late; and Anne of Austria was not so good a proficient in the trade, as Mary of Modena. What needed the former have made herself the talk of all France, for her intrigues with her two cardinals? It had been the easiest thing in the world to make her a mother, without the trouble of one single throe. A close balister about the bed, and a convenient passage at the head of it, with a wary midwife, and one or two more trusty confidents, might have done just as well.

But the curse of all was, our Lewis the Thirteenth was neither to be imposed upon in such an affair, nor could be brought into the design himself: his malice to his brother, the next heir, though at war with him, came not up to that length, as to cheat him of the throne. And, though Lewis the Thirteenth had been capable of so great a weakness, or rather madness; his brother Monsieur was too much concerned, to let the Queen impose upon him one to exclude him from the crown. During the Queen's bigness, Monsieur had his constant spies about her, to watch her motions, and to tell him every thing that past. Upon the news of the Queen's being in labour, Monsieur was not out of the way, but hastens away to her bed-chamber; and his sedulity and watchfulness was scarce allowable in modesty; the least circumstance, about the mother and child, did not escape his prying curiosity, and the field of nature itself was laid open to his view: such is the misfortune of princesses, when bearing children, in prejudice of other men's rights. Monsieur, retiring himself to his chamber, in a melancholy mood, as he had good reason, was asked of, by Espernon, what he had seen? "Alas! (says he,) I am sure I saw it come out; but who the devil put it in, I know not."

Queen Mary of Modena took a shorter cut, and a more modest method of lying-in. She would neither allow the princesses concerned, to search into her bigness, nor permit any, in their name, to be present at her labour. The poor princess of Denmark was hurried away to the Bath, upon the pretence of her health; and the queen-dowager was not brought in, till the game was over. And who can blame a modest Italian, to be more reserved in the secrets of nature, than a blunt Spaniard? How happy was it for the first,

that instead of two princesses at a distance, she did not meet with a blustering Duke of Orleans, to peep more narrowly into the scheme of her contrivances, and render her and her plot ridiculous?

But, to return to the happy birth of our Lewis le Grand; it seems all the endeavours of Cardinal Richelieu, to provide an heir for France, were unsuccessful. Whether his brain, and his other parts, were not of a piece, or his pressing cares of state, joined to some natural impediment, were the cause of it, I cannot tell; but it was reserved for a person of a meaner condition, though of a more robust constitution, to effectuate what this consummate churchman had attempted in vain. Monsieur Le Grand, a gentleman of a comely person, and sprightly spirit, and a courtly genius, was looked upon as the fittest person to make up the defects of an impotent king, and a wearied favourite cardinal. This carpet-knight was admitted into the embraces of the Queen, and by her teeming belly, she found, within a few months, that she had hit upon a fit stallion to propagate the royal family of France.

It is generally thought, this gentleman was not so much the Queen's own choice, as that of Richelieu; and that this refined minister persuaded the Queen to entertain Monsieur Le Grand for her gallant, out of a mere principle of state; as being more likely to make the Queen a mother, than he himself was. And this is the rather believed; that it is generally known, that immediately after the Queen was found to be with child, Monsieur Le Grand was dismissed the court, upon the honourable pretence of being made lieutenant-criminal of Provence; the wily Cardinal fearing his intimacy with the Queen might prejudice him in her favour: and, indeed, after this job was done, the Cardinal had no more use for him, as the sequel made it too evident.

Pliny tells us a story of the wolf, that he never sees his sire; "Because (says he) he is murdered by the rest of the wolves, out of envy, that he was preferred by the she-wolf before them." The same fate had the father of this rapacious creature, Lewis the Fourteenth; for, being noosed into the conspiracy of Monsieur de Monmorency, he was beheaded at Tholouse, by the Cardinal's express command; who was unwilling the Queen should have an abler gallant, than himself, for the future.

I cannot but regret the fate of this poor gentleman, in being first brought to the bed of a Queen, and thereafter in having his head chopped off, merely that he might not tell tales, or give any jealousy to his rival, in the Queen's favour. Yet I judge him happy in this, that he did not live to see the monster he had begotten.

There happened a memorable passage at his death, which was this. Being all along, after his condemnation, laid asleep with an assurance of a pardon, even upon the scaffold; to the end he might not discover any of his criminal secrecies with the Queen; at last, being desired to lay down his head, for the blow, he came to understand, too late, that he was cheated out of his life; and just when he was beginning to express himself in these words: "O! la vanité d'estre aimé d'une feme cruele, &c." 'O! the vanity of being 'loved by a wonan cruel, and devoted to the villainous councils of a church-man.' Here the fatal axe did put an end to the sentence, and to his life together.

This end had Monsieur Le Grand, father of our august Monarch. And it is but just, his son should bear the name of *le Grand*, not as an epithet, but as the surname of his father, Le Grand; by way of epithet, being never his due. And thus was Cardinal Richelieu revenged upon him, for being a fitter and abler gallant to the Queen, than himself; though at first he was not only the privado, but the first encourager of their amours.

When I am on this subject, I cannot but mention a droll sort of letter, written about that time by Monsieur to the Duke of Lorrain, his brother-in-law, from Brussels; which was afterwards found among the Duke of Lorrain's papers, taken at St. Michael, which was to this purpose: 'Your Highness accuses me unjustly, for not obtaining from Mon-'sieur Le Grand, when he was with me, a declaration of his privacies with the Queen; 'which you say, would have mightily furthered my affairs. But, Sir, though Monsieur 'Le Grand, at some certain times, (out of a transport of fury against the Queen, for her 'unkindness, as he termed it,) would confess to me the whole secrets past betwixt the

'Queen and him; yet the very next moment, he would pass from all he had said, and 'affirm, that what he spoke formerly was but in jest. One night, when we were speaking of retiring from court, I brought him to promise, that he should wait on me the next 'morning, to give an ample declaration of what I sought of him: but he changed his mind 'that very night; and told me the next day, that he would do it some other time, when 'our affairs were better ripened. Being astonished at this sudden change, I found by enquiry, that the Cardinal had sent for him that very night, and that he was in his privy-'chamber above an hour together; and what past betwixt them two, I cannot divine, but 'by the event. Notwithstanding of all this, (concludes Monsieur's letter,) I cannot think 'but this unfortunate has left some such declaration in the hands of some of his friends, 'which if it could be fallen upon, would mightily conduce to the good of our affairs, '&c.'

In this letter, we see Monsieur asserts plainly, that Monsieur Le Grand confessed to him his privacies with the Queen, and had promised (in his angry fits) to declare them under his hand: though I must say, it was not generous on his part, let the Queen's ingratitude to him be what it will; and it is more than probable, that the taking vent of this affair hastened his ruin. It seems Madamoiselle (who is yet alive), daughter to Monsieur, was persuaded of the truth of this intrigue; and that her father had told her, how little right Lewis XIV. had to the crown; since, a great many years after, at the barricado of Paris, this princess went in person to the Bastile, and with her own hand, fired the first gun, against the King's forces, with this expression, "I know of no right he has here."

If likeness be a sign of a near relation, never were there two faces liker to one another, than these of our invincible Monarch, and Monsieur Le Grand. And I must acknowledge the wisdom of the Queen, in causing Monsieur Le Visme, her painter, to call in all the pictures of Monsieur Le Grand, that he could possibly get into his hands; when she found her son betrayed his true father by his physiognomy: for those, who have seen both the originals, will say, there was need of all this caution.

Thus the Cardinal Richelieu had the honour of being a gallant to a Queen, and upon trial of his own want of a prolific quality, had the goodness to provide another better qualified than himself. Notwithstanding of this obligation the nation has to him, I cannot forgive his insolence in ordering these words to be engraven in capital letters, upon the pedestal of Lewis XIII.'s statue, in the palace-royal, *Cardinalis Richlieus coadjutor suus in omnibus suis negotiis:* 'The Cardinal Richelieu, his helper in all his affairs.' As if it had not been enough to have cuckolded his master, without erecting him a statue, merely to tell the world that he did so.

As similitude in faces is often a sign of a relation in blood, so the likeness of condition is as often an incentive to love, and the motive to friendship: let nobody therefore blame Lewis the Great, for patronizing the little Prince of Wales. It is but reasonable the Great Bastard should protect the Little One, and endeavour to set upon the English throne just such a creature as is already upon the French one.

It is just with our Great Bastard, as with the fox in the fable, who had the misfortune to lose his tail; he would needs persuade his neighbours to cut off theirs, that thereby he might hide his own infirmity. It is certain Lewis the Fourteenth would be content that all the sceptres of Christendom were only swayed by bastards, that his own spuriousness might be the less taken notice of. And if it be true, that some lawyers affirm of the old law of Normandy, that by it bastards did exclude the lawfully begotten; nobody has reason to exclaim against Lewis le Grand's succession to the crown of France, since he is a Norman by birth, as born at St. Germain en Lye, the hithermost town of that province.

Methinks I hear the little Prince of Wales, or rather his true parents, exclaiming against me heavily, for calling him so often a bastard, and thus pleading against the injustice of my pen: 'What devil must inspire a man to call one a bastard, that is really 'begotten in lawful wedlock; and though he had the good fortune to be brought into

'Queen Mary's bed, by a skilful midwife, to be there owned for her own son, yet all 'this makes him not a bastard. And pray who would have refused to lend their son to 'the heir of three crowns?' I confess there is reason in all this; and I am very inclinable to excuse both the little impostor and his parents, since few would have refused such an offer; and I oblige myself, that if ever I happen to be in England, when the gentleman comes to be king, I shall beg his pardon for giving him a name he deserves not.

The whole and true Discourse of the Enterprises and secrete Conspiracies, that have bene made against the Person of Henry de Valois, most Christian King[1] of Fraunce and Poland: Wherupon followed his Death, by the Hand of a young Jacobin Frier[2], the first Day of August, 1589; whereby the Enemies of the Crown thought to have reduced and brought all Fraunce to their Will and Devotion. Together with the Assembly, that the King, before his Death, made of the Princes of the Blood, Lordes, and Gentlemen, that were in his Armie; with the Heads of the Straungers, to whom he declared his last Will. Englished out of the French Copie, printed at Caen in Normandie.

Imprinted by Thomas Purfoote, and are to bee soulde at his Shoppe, without New-gate, over against S. Sepulcher's Church. 1589.

[In black Letter. Octavo, containing Twelve Pages.]

YF the holy Scripture, yea, God himselfe, expresly forbid us, (and that with threatning us to fal into the indignation and judgment of the higher power,) that we should not in any wise touch or hurt the anoynted of the Lord; it is a matter worthy to bee wondred at, that hee, who calleth himselfe the preacher of the Gospel, should so far forget himselfe, as that hee neither knewe, nor understoode the will of God, who so greatly esteemeth, and ordaineth to bee honoured and respected, the partie to whom hee committeth the government of a common weale, although he use rigoure and severitie.

And who, I pray you, (from time out of man's memorie,) can give us testimonie of so wretched an act, and so worthie of everlasting blame, to have hapened, and to have bene committed and perpetrated in all Christiandome, as that, which is yet all bloodie in our Fraunce, committed against our so gracious and mercifull King, Henrie de Valois, King

[1] [Henry III.]

[2] [Jaques Clement, who was supposed to be instigated to this murderous deed by his prior, father Edmund Bourgoing, since by him the action was vindicated in his sermons, and the perpetrator compared to Judith. This comparison would also seem to have presented itself to Pope Sixtus the Fifth, in his oration before a consistory of Cardinals, on occasion of the same sanguinary event. See Vol. VII. of this Work.]

of Fraunce and Polande? An act, verily, utterlie unworthy a Christian, and that would not be beleived to have bin exercised amongest the most barbarous nations of the world.

We find, yea, in the holy Scriptures themselves, that there have bine revoultings, discontentments, contradictions, and murmurings; and that, in the ende, many people have raysed wars against their kings and princes, by reason of the great subsidies, impostes, and heavie burthens, and other charges, that were layde upon their shoulders, very hard and uneasie to be borne; but it is not found, that there hath an assault and murder ben done, nor conspired, against the soveraigne authoritie.

Wee read of Salomon, who had imposed and layd upon the backes of the people, that were committed unto him by the authoritie of God, importable burdens, wherewith the subjects felt themselves overturned and wholy opressed. Jeroboam, his welbeloved servant, albeit hee had received newes by Abias, the auncient prophet of God, that hee shold raigne over tenne tribes of Israell, and that there should but one of the tribes remaine in the house of David; yet the saide Jeroboam, being at difference and division with his mayster, had rather to flie from the face of his mayster Salomon, and to go into Egipt, then to quarrell with him. Notwithstanding, when Salomon was dead, and his eldest sonne, Roboam, succeeded in the kingdome, Jeroboam, by the advertisement of the people, was enformed howe all matters went; who, when hee was returned, togither with the people, exhibited a supplication to the king to ease them of those heavie burdens, that his father had layde uppon them: whereto King Roboam woulde not yeilde, and they went there waies, very greatly discontented. And the saide Jeroboam raigned over tenne of the tribes of Israell, who crowned him kinge and ruler over them. But they long continued not in that estate, but the vengeance of God fel uppon them after the death of the saide Roboam. And amongest all that is written of this goodly historie, in the book of Paralipomenon, the thirteenthe and fourteenthe chapters, and in the firste booke of Kinges, the firste, seconde, thirde, fourthe, and other chapters following, there is no mention made (though there wanted no meanes) of the practising amongest them of any other meanes, nor of any other kinde of assaulting the king (though hee were constrained to flee unto Jerusalem), nor of Abias his sonne, that raigned after him. Wee finde also, that in the warres, many kinges have bene smitten and slaine; others also, by the just judgment of God, have bene killed and wounded by diverse straunge mortall woundes. The reverence due to the king, aswell in the warres as otherwise, hath bene and yet is in so great accompt, that there is an observation in the warres, when the king is there in person, to crie aloude, 'Save the kinge, save the kinge.'

They will aledge, it was done uppon wrath and indignation, for that which was executed uppon Mounsire De Guyse by hys Majesties commaundement.

I aunsweare them: It is not the part of a servaunt, nor of any other whomsoever, to make himselfe equall and evenlyke, nor to compare himselfe with the aucthority, power, or highnes, of an emperor, kinge, or magistrate, who executeth and disposeth of his affaires, as pleaseth himselfe, and according to his good counsell. After whose example, and in imitation of hym, if perticuler persons shoulde take uppon them to make ordinaunces, and to entermeddle in the rule and government of the civil estate and the affaires of the kingdome, what order, what government, what justice shoulde wee have therein? To whom might it bee saide, that the obedience were due, which wee protest to yeild, in the name of God, to our superiours, whome hee hath ordeined and established over his people.

There is no question, nor controversie, but that a long time there hath bene verie secret practising against the Kinge; for his Majesties owne selfe hath often discovered verie evident tokens thereof, whereby hee might easilie bee perswaded of their canckred heartes toward him; as may appeare by the serching and sifting, that the house of Guyse hath made, as being descended from Charlemaine, upholding the bull of Pope Stephen, in the behalfe of Pepin, kinge of Fraunce, and of his wife, with their two issues males, one of the which was the same Charlemaine: the which bull (next after the consecrating and anoynting of the regality, in the person of the saide Pepin and his wife, by the same

Pope) conteineth a judgment of curse against them that shoulde presume to enterprise the French scepter, and prevaile to obtaine the same, except they were such, as shoulde discend from the saide Pepin and his race. There have bene other sufficient occasions brought to light, which I will passe in silence.

But I wonder why they laid that so long aside, and opposed not themselves, to them that have raigned sithence that time. I wotte well, that they have ruled and governed in Fraunce in their time, and that nothing was done, but what they allowed for the most part.

And to alleadge at this daie, that the Kinge had hardely dealt with them: hee that had brought to light so many dealinges, and enterprises, they indevoring and purposing to aide and defend themselves with a league and association (in a manner) of all the townes and communalties of all Fraunce, where they could get audience. This kinde of proceeding was, in truth, concluded and determined from the councel of Trent: and being assured of a great number of people, as well churchmen, as gentlemen, and of the thirde estate, under colour of the reuniting of fayth and religion, and also of the asswaging and lessening of the impositions, taxes, and subsidies, that the Kinge demanded, by reason of the necessity of the affaires of his kingdome; and of other prankes, wherwith, I may well say, a great number of folke were bewitched, forsaking their kinge, who onlye hath power and authoritie in his kingdome to take order in all such matters, the which people stayed themselves upon certaine perticuler persons, that have not any meane to accomplish the same, but only by taking their swordes in hande, and altogether to inforce the Kinge to graunt to their minds, or else to constraine him to yeild up his scepter; and intending thus to winne the authority that they seeke to have over all Fraunce; to bring all things into confusion and disorder; to murder all them that should refuse to be obeidient to their will; to sease their goods and possessions; to recompence the heades of these warres, for their good service imployed for this league, at their costes. These matters are wel ynough knowne to many, by the actions that they have committed; yea, and after what sort they have led the King's Majestie about; who, for a certaine space, distrusted not their hipocrisie and dissimulation. But they could not so covertlye and cunningly playe their game, but it was espyed how they had deliberated to shutte the Kinge up in a religious house, there to finish the rest of his dayes.

Now when this confederacie and league was thus confirmed and setled, and the time of the execution of their intent drewe neere; we know howe the Kinge was constrained to withdrawe himself from Paris, and all those matters that ensued theruppon, untill the assembly of his general estats at Bloys. At which place, in the beginning, the Kinge of Navarra, and all those of his race, are declared to be unmeet and uncapable to succeed to the crowne of Fraunce, as men attainted and convicted of heresie, in their onely judgement, with confiscation of all their possessions. In which place they thought veryly to have accomplished and attained to the perfection of their secrete intents and complots. But when matters stirred and turned otherwise then they expected, and the estates ceased, they must needes open the closet of their heartes, whereby were revealed their fautors and assisters. And, even as there was left but one tribe of the children of Israell in the house of David, in the handes of Kinge Roboam; the lawfull and naturall sonne, and rightfull successor of his father Salomon; so did the Kinge finde himselfe stripped of all his good townes, noblemen, and an infinit number of men at armes, so that he had no sure accesse nor place of retrait, saving in the lesser part of his kingdome; though there were many of his side in the Protestant townes, but the force was not in their hands. Seeing themselves then thus strong, they cried, "God save the league; God save the *league:*" the which word, because it seemed odious, they have changed into *union.*

The Kinge weighing and considering this kinde of proceeding, and perceiving their demeanors, pride and ambition, setling and rooting in the hartes of these hypocrites; the taking of his townes, borroughes, castels, and strong holdes, with double assurance of men in pay, and out of pay; it was necessarie for him to crave aid els where: and as hee was alwaies well assured of the good will of the King of Navarra, his brother-in-law, toward

him, so did he not sticke nor make any difficultie to call him to his aide. Whereto the saide lord would not in any respect disobey, notwithstanding the rigour of the edicts and declarations, that the saide King of Fraunce had made against my saide lord the King of Navarra, and his aiders, and had caused their goods and possessions, both movable and unmovable, to bee solde, according to the desire of his enemies the leaguers; besides other matters which they caused the saide deceased Kinge to doe by force, for the most part, and wherein most often hee knew not what hee did. Which matters, the saide lord, the Kinge of Navarra, hath sufficiently set downe at large in all his protestations that he hath made to his Majestie.

Now Sathan, 'seeking like a roaring lion whom he may devour,' perceiving this good and holie agreement and reconciliation, with the good will of the faithfull Protestantes of the King's side; he could no longer stay himselfe in assurance, forasmuch as his devises went evill forward. For these of the Kinges side taking courage, have brought manie sheepe backe againe to their owne fold. Herewithall, hee perceived howe the straunger tooke the cause in hand, and stirred against the disturbers of the common tranquilitie. They coulde not otherwise judge, for the behoof of the cause, but to persecute the head, that the members might be the sicker.

In this judgment and opinion, there bee many sortes of folke. For some of them ought to bee plaine and continent in their willes; others are bolde and ignorant, ledde by their owne affection without judgment; other some, contrarie to their solitarines, are forerunners, who, contrary to their profession, entermeddle to doe things cleane contrarie to all honest conversation; which causeth them to be evill liked of such, as desire to walke plainlie in their vocation. All the which kindes of folke, thus put together, cannot, in their particular passions, which are without all holines and pietie, rightly nor fitly give any good counsell for such matters as are to be done: for they prefer their wicked intention (which is transported with pride and unsatiable covetousnes) before all good affection, and the saftie of the common weale. And all of them so put together, without foresight of that which is to come, rejecting all manner of knowledge of God, cannot deliberate any other thing, saving onely the cutting away of the head of the tree, that the branches might wither away the sooner.

This counsell was holden at Paris, whereat were present at that time the principall heads of this league, in which place, Sathan offered one worse then Judas; for Judas kissed his maister after he had sold him, and acknowledged his offence afterwards. But this yong man, a Jacobin frier of religion, hath made no difficulty nor sticking, to wound to death him, that so hartily loved that order above all the whole nations of religious persons, who had cherished them, as they that were welcome about his person. This will I say, it is no noveltie that they begin to doe evill. I will produce an emperour that was poysoned by a halowed hoast, empoisoned notwithstanding, which was presented unto him by a Jacobin. This order of friers-preachers have alwaies bene very desirous to bee welcome amongest men of high calling, and to undertake odious offices; as to be of the inquysition of fayth, and others. These of the league, upon consideration thereof, provoke and styrre more and more thys poore cursed wretch; within whose hart Sathan lodged, to keepe him alwaies in this cursed mind. Upon the resolution hereof, they prepared him a knife for this purpose, which they double poisoned with such kind of poyson, that though the party stryken with thys instrument dye not presentlie, yet it shall not be possible for him to escape, nor live long after.

Upon Tuesday, the first of August, very early in the morning, this divelish person taketh his jorney, purposing to find his Majesty at S. Clou, two small leagues from Paris: attending his uprising, for feare of losing the occasion to speake with him; being well assured to have entrance to him, in respect of the favor that the Kinge bore unto them; having in his hand a letter or missive, to deliver unto him from the first president of Paris, as the report goeth, whom they detaine prisoner.

Assoone as hee was advertised that hee might conveniently speake with the Kinge, hee entereth with a bolde face, as hardy as a lyon, and, like a bloody traitor, gave him the *Jube*,

with a very low and humble curtesie; offering unto him the said pretended writing of the same president; and comming neer to his Majestie, hee signified unto him, how hee had another secret to declare unto him. The King, hearing the same, caused two gentlemen to goe out, that served him at his uprising. Then this Jacobin, continuing in his wicked mind, drew this knife, and therewith thrust the Kinge into the little belly, as they call it; the which stroke entred not into his body, neyther dyed hee presentlie. The Kinge seeing this, and being mooved, laid hold of a dagger that lay neere unto hym, and therwith stroke the saide monke, who, being hurt with the stroke, and much affrighted, fell presently down for fear: howbeit not dead, but, as is commonly sene, a malefactor is never settled and assured in conscience, when he goeth about to execute such a crueltie. Thys wretched monk, being worse feared[3] then hurt, had leysure to speake.

Upon the which noise, the saide gentlemen sodenly came in againe, with others, who (by the King's commandement) slue him not, but tooke him up. After the Kinge was dressed, even so far, that hee had seven stitches with a needle, as the report goeth; hee gave commandement for the examination of the saide monke, which was accomplished; and he declared who set him on, the authors, and all other informations, with his name and vocation, and that he was not counterfayted, but of the saide order. Which being finished, through impatiency he was kylled, suffering above a hundred thrusts with daggers; and (which is worthy the marvayling at) it is reported, that the saide monkes flesh became as black as a very raven; which ys easie to be beleeved, because Sathan dwelt wythin hym, and then the judgement of God that appeareth to men in divers sorts: behold here a pytyfull tragedy.

But as God will serve his purpose with men, by many and diverse sortes, the Kinge (being yet of good chere, with the hope which hee had conceived that his wound might mend) sent with speede for his brother-in-lawe the King of Navarra, the lordes of his court, governours, captaines that were in his armie, and especially the heads of the straungers that were in his countrie; to the intent that, if it so fell out that hee died, the disorder and misrule should not be so great, that all the armie should be broken up, nor an unmeasurable confusion ensue thereupon. When they were all thus assembled, God put into the Kinges mouth so stedfast and stated speach, as though he had felt no griefe; and began to signify to the assemblie, that the lawfull succession of the royall estate of Fraunce fell not to any other, saving in the person of Burbon[4]; and, declaring at that time the Kinge of Navarra first successor, he prayed and exhorted the whole companie so to acknowledge him, and to be faithfull unto him; and to protest all with one voice the acknowledging and taking in good part of this deede, and true obedience, as to the true and lawfull heire; and to cause the like promise and acknowledgment to bee made in the campe by all true and faithfull captaines and souldiers, that could not bee present at the saide assembly, aswell naturall Frenchmen as straungers; who all, with gladness of hart (though otherwise sad and sorrowfull for his Majesties wound) swore to execute the Kinges will.

Upon the ordering and disposing of all matters in this sorte, the Kinge sent letters into all places, where he had yet the full government, and especially to Caan to Mounsyr de la Verune, governour and bayly at Caan, and to the court of parliament established at the saide place; with hope that there was no danger of death. Asmuch was written unto them from Mounsyr de Mountpensier, governour-general for his Majestie in Normandy, who was then at Andely upon the river of Seyne, where hee caused his whole armie to take the like oath; exhorting the heades to maintaine the Kinges will. Whiche was accorded unto him, with hope (as the saide lord governour demed) that there shold be no daunger of the Kinges death, by God's helpe.

But, the next daie following, the saide lorde governour chaunged that kind of language,

[3] [Frighted.]

[4] [Afterwards the celebrated Henry IV. the first of the house of Bourbon who sat upon the throne of France, and the monarch who fell himself by the hand of that phrenetic assassin Ravilliac; an account of whose cruel execution occurs in the last tract of Vol. VI.]

writing to the saide bayly of Caan; whereby hee gave him to understand, how the Kinge dyed the Wednesdaie next following the daie wherein he was wounded.

An assembly was holden at Caan, upon Sonday the sixt daie of August, of all the citizens and inhabitantes of the same place, in the presence of the bayly of Caan, and the court of parliament, the bodie of the towne, and the gentlemen of the countrie, where the skilful person Mounsyr de Lisores, president in the saide court of parliament, did sit as president; and when he had delivered and shewed to all the whole company what matters had happened, with admiration of the speach of thys lord, as protesting perfect loyalty on his owne behalfe; publication of his Majesties letters, and of Mountpensier's letters, was publiquely made, where all uniformally sware their acknowledgment and fidelity; every man protesting to mayntayne the will of Henry de Valois thus deceased, in all thinges that it conteineth.

His Majesty's Speech in this last Session of Parliament concerning the Gunpowder-Plot; as near his very Words, as could be gathered at the Instant. Together with a Discourse of the Manner of the Discovery of this late intended Treason, joined with the Examination of some of the Prisoners[1].

Imprinted at London, by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty, Anno 1605.[2]

[Quarto; containing Ninety-two Pages.]

The Printer to the Reader.

HAVING received (gentle reader) the copy of the King's last speech to the Parliament, as near to the life of his own words, as they could be gathered; and being about to commit them to the press, as I did his former; there is presently come to my hands a discourse of this late intended most abominable treason against his Majesty, and the whole state. And because, that a great part of his Majesty's speech was grounded upon that fearful accident, whereof this discourse doth make an ample declaration; I have thought it would not be unpleasing unto thee to join them together in the press. And so, leaving thee to make thy best use of both, I bid thee heartily farewell.

MY Lords spiritual and temporal, and you the knights and burgesses of this parliament; It was far from my thoughts till very lately before my coming to this place, that this subject should have been ministred unto me, whereupon I am now to speak. But now it so falleth out, that whereas, in the preceding session of this parliament, the princi-

[1] [See Vol. III. p. 131.] [2] See Oldys' Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 150.

pal occasion of my speech was, to thank and congratulate all you of this house, and in you, all the whole commonwealth, as being the representative body of the state, for your so willing and loving receiving and embracing of me in that place, which God and nature, by descent of blood, had in his own time provided for me: so now my subject is, to speak of a far greater thanksgiving than before I gave to you, being to a far greater person, which is to God! for the great and miraculous delivery he hath at this time granted to me, and to you all; and consequently to the whole body of this estate.

I must therefore begin with this old and most approved sentence of divinity, *Misericordia Dei supra omnia opera ejus.* For Almighty God did not furnish so great matter to his glory, by the creation of this great world, as he did by the redemption of the same. Neither did his generation of the little world, in our old and first Adam, so much set forth the praises of God in his justice and mercy, as did our regeneration in the last and second ADAM.

And now I must crave a little pardon of you, that since kings are, in the Word of GOD itself, called Gods, as being his lieutenants and vicegerents on earth; and so adorned and furnished with some sparkles of the Divinity; to compare some of the works of GOD the Great King, towards the whole and general world, to some of his works towards me, and this little world of my dominions, compassed and severed by the sea from the rest of the earth. For as God, for the just punishment of the first great sins in the original world, (when the sons of God went in to the daughters of men, and the cup of their iniquities of all sorts was filled, and heaped up to the full,) did, by a general deluge and overflowing of waters, baptize the world to a general destruction, and not to a general purgation, only excepted Noah and his family, who did repent and believe the threatenings of God's judgment: so now, when the world shall wax old as a garment, and that all the impieties and sins, that can be devised against both the first and second table, have and shall be committed to the full measure; God is to punish the world the second time by fire, to the general destruction, and not purgation thereof. Although as was done in the former to Noah and his family by the waters; so shall all we that believe be likewise purged, and not destroyed by the fire. In the like sort, I say, I may justly compare these two great and fearful doomsdays, wherewith God threatened to destroy me, and all you of this little world that have interest in me. For although I confess, as all mankind, so chiefly kings (as being in the higher places like the high trees, or stayed mountains, and steepest rocks,) are most subject to the daily tempest of innumerable dangers; and I amongst all other kings have ever been subject unto them, not only ever since my birth, but even as I may justly say before my birth, and while I was yet in my mother's belly; yet have I been exposed to two more special and greater dangers than all the rest.

The first of them, in the kingdom where I was born, and passed the first part of my life: and the last of them here, which is the greatest. In the former I should have been baptized in blood, and, in my destruction, not only the kingdom wherein I then was, but ye also, by your future interest, should have tasted of my ruin. Yet it pleased God to deliver me, as it were, from the very brink of death, from the point of the dagger[3], and so to purge me by my thankful acknowledgment of so great a benefit. But in this, which did so lately fall out, and which was a destruction prepared not for me alone, but for you all that are here present, and wherein no rank, age, nor sex, should have been spared; this was not a crying sin of blood, as the former, but it may well be called a roaring, nay a thundering sin of fire and brimstone; from the which God hath so miraculously delivered us all. What I can speak of this, I know not: nay, rather what can I not speak of it? And therefore, I must for horror, say with the poet, *Vox faucibus hæret.*

In this great and horrible attempt (whereof the like was never either heard or read) I observe three wonderful, or rather miraculous events.

First, in the cruelty of the plot itself, wherein cannot be enough admired the horri-

[3] [An allusion probably to the risk he run in the affair called Gowrie's Conspiracy. See Vol. III. p. 78.]

ble and fearful cruelty of their device, which was not only for the destruction of my person, nor of my wife and posterity only, but of the whole body of the state in general; wherein should neither have been spared, or distinction made, of young nor of old, of great nor of small, of man nor of woman. The whole nobility, the whole reverend clergy, bishops, and most part of the good preachers, the most part of the knights and gentry; yea, and if that any in this society were favourers of their profession, they should all have gone one way: the whole judges of the land, with the most of the lawyers and the whole clerks: and as the wretch himself, that is in the Tower, doth confess, it was purposely devised by them, and concluded to be done in this house; that where the cruel laws, as they say, were made against their religion, both place and persons should all be destroyed and blowed up at once. And then, consider therewithal the cruel form of that practice: for, by three different sorts in general, may mankind be put to death.

The first, by other men, and reasonable creatures, which is least cruel; for then both defence of men against men may be expected; and likewise, who knoweth what pity God may stir up in the hearts of the actors at the very instant? Besides the many ways and means, whereby men may escape in such a present fury.

And the second way, more cruel than that, is by animal and unreasonable creatures; for as they have less pity than men, so it is a greater horror and more unnatural for men to deal with them. But yet with them both resistance may avail, and also some pity may be had, as was in the lions, in whose den Daniel was thrown; or that thankful lion, that had the Roman slave in his mercy.

But the third, which is most cruel and unmerciful of all, is the destruction by insensible and inanimate things, and amongst them all, the most cruel are the two elements of water and fire; and of those two, the fire most raging and merciless.

Secondly, How wonderful it is, when you shall think upon the small, or rather no ground, whereupon the practisers were enticed to invent this tragedy. For, if these conspirators had only been bankrupt persons, or discontented upon occasion of any disgraces done unto them, this might have seemed to have been but a work of revenge. But for my own part, as I scarcely ever knew any of them, so cannot they allege so much as a pretended cause of grief: and the wretch himself in hands doth confess, that there was no cause moving him or them, but merely and only religion. And especially that Christian men (at least so called), Englishmen, born within the country, and one of the specials of them my sworn servant in an honourable place, should practise the destruction of their king, his posterity, their country and all: wherein their following obstinacy is so joined to their former malice, as the fellow himself, that is in hand, cannot be moved to discover any signs or notes of repentance; except only, that he doth not yet stand to avow, that he repents for not being able to perform his intent.

Thirdly, The discovery hereof is not a little wonderful, which would be thought the more miraculous by you all, if you were as well acquainted with my natural disposition, as those are, who be near about me. For, as I ever did hold suspicion to be the sickness of a tyrant, so was I so far upon the other extremity, as I rather contemned all advertisements, or apprehensions of practices. And yet now, at this time was I so far contrary to myself, as, when the letter was shewed to me by my secretary, wherein a general obscure advertisement was given of some dangerous blow at this time, I did[4] upon the instant interpret and apprehend some dark phrases therein, contrary to the ordinary grammar construction of them; and in another sort, than I am sure any divine or lawyer, in any university would have taken them, to be meant by this horrible form of blowing us up all by powder; and thereupon ordered that search to be made, whereby the matter was discovered, and the man apprehended. Whereas, if I had apprehended or interpreted it to

[4] [See the King's claim to this discovery refuted by the Earl of Salisbury, in the note on page 255.]

any other sort of danger, no worldly provision or prevention could have made us escape our utter destruction.

And, in that also, was there a wonderful providence of God, that when the party himself was taken, he was but new come out of his house from working; having his fire-work for kindling ready in his pocket, wherewith (as he confesseth) if he had been taken but immediately before, when he was in the house, he was resolved to have blown up himself with his takers.

One thing, for my own part, have I cause to thank God in; that if God for our sins had suffered their wicked intents to have prevailed, it should never have been spoken nor written in ages succeeding, that I had died ingloriously in an ale-house, a stews, or such vile place, but my end should have been with the most honourable and best company, and in that most honourable and fittest place for a King to be in, for doing the turns most proper to his office; and the more have we all cause to thank and magnify God for this his merciful delivery. And especially, I for my part, that he hath given me yet once leave, whatsoever should come of me hereafter, to assemble you, in this honourable place; and here in this place, where our general destruction should have been, to magnify, and praise him for our general delivery; that I may justly now say of my enemies and yours, as David doth often say in the Psalm, *Inciderunt in foveam quam fecerunt.* And since Scipio, an ethnick, led only by the light of nature, that day when he was accused by the tribunes of the people of Rome, for mispending and wasting in his Punic wars the city's treasure, even upon the sudden broke out with that diversion of them from that matter, calling them to remembrance how that day was the day of the year, wherein God had given them so great a victory against Hannibal; and therefore, it was fitter for them all, leaving other matters, to run to the temple, to praise God for that so great delivery, which the people did all follow with one applause: how much more cause, have we that are Christians, to bestow this time, in this place, for thanksgiving to God for his great mercy; though we had no other errand of assembling here at this time? Wherein, if I have spoken more like a divine, than would seem to belong to this place, the matter itself must plead for my excuse. For being here come, to thank God for a divine work of his mercy, how can I speak of this deliverance of us from so hellish a practice, so well as in language of Divinity, which is the direct opposite to so damnable an intention? And therefore may I justly end this purpose, as I did begin it with this sentence, 'The mercy of God is above all his works.'

It resteth now, that I should shortly inform you what is to be done hereafter, upon the occasion of this horrible and strange accident. As for your part, that are my faithful and loving subjects of all degrees, I know that your hearts are so burnt up with zeal in this errand, and your tongues so ready to utter your dutiful affections, and your hands and feet so bent to concur in the execution thereof, (for which, as I need not to spur you, so can I not but praise you for the same); as it may very well be possible, that the zeal of your hearts shall make some of you, in your speeches, rashly to blame such as may be innocent of this attempt: but, upon the other part, I wish you to consider, that I would be sorry that any, being innocent of this practice, either domestical or foreign, should receive blame or harm for the same. For although it cannot be denied, that it was only the blind superstition of their errors in religion, that led them to this desperate device; yet doth it not follow, that all professing the Romish religion were guilty of the same. For as it is true, that no other sect of hereticks (not excepting Turk, Jew, nor Pagan, no, not even those of Calicut, who adore the devil) did ever maintain, by the grounds of their religion, that it was lawful, or rather meritorious (as the Romish Catholicks call it) to murder princes, or people, for quarrel of religion. And although particular men, of all professions of religion, have been some thieves, some murderers, some traitors; yet ever, when they came to their end and just punishment, they confessed their fault to be in their nature, and not in their profession, these Romish Catholicks, only excepted: yet it is true,

on the other side, that may honest men, blinded peradventure with some opinions of popery, as if they be not sound in the questions of the real presence, or in the number of the sacraments, or some such school-question; yet do they either not know, or, at least, not believe all the true grounds of popery, which is, indeed, the mystery of iniquity. And, therefore, do we justly confess, that many Papists, especially our forefathers, laying their only trust upon Christ, and his merits, at their last breath, may be, and oftentimes are saved; detesting, in that point, and thinking the cruelty of Puritans worthy of fire, that will admit no salvation to any Papist. I, therefore, thus do conclude this point, That as, upon the one part, many honest men, seduced with some errors of popery, may yet remain good and faithful subjects; so, upon the other part, none of those, who truly know and believe the whole grounds and school-conclusions of their doctrine, can ever prove either good Christians, or faithful subjects. And, for the part of foreign princes and states, I may so much the more acquit them, and their ministers, of their knowledge and consent to any such villainy, as I may justly say, that in that point, I better know all Christian kings by myself, that no king nor prince of honour will ever abase himself so much, as to think a good thought of so base and dishonourable a treachery: wishing you, therefore, that as God hath given me an happy peace and amity, with all other Christian princes, my neighbours, (as was even now very gravely told you, by my Lord[5] Chancellor,) that so you will reverently judge and speak of them in this case. And, for my part, I would wish, with those ancient philosophers, that there were a crystal window in my breast, wherein all my people might see the secretest thoughts of my heart; for then might you all see no alteration in my mind for this accident, further than in these two points: the first, caution and wariness in government, to discover and search out the mysteries of this wickedness, as far as may be; the other, after due trial, severity of punishment upon those that shall be found guilty of so detestable and unheard-of villainy. And now, in this matter, if I have troubled your ears with an abrupt speech, undigested in any good method or order; you have to consider, that an abrupt and unadvised speech doth best become, in the relation of so abrupt and unorderly an accident.

And although I have ordained the proroguing of this parliament, until after Christmas, upon two necessary respects; whereof the first is, that neither I, nor my council, can have leisure, at this time, both to take order for the apprehension and trial of these conspirators, and also to wait upon the daily affairs of the parliament, as the council must do: and the other reason is the necessity, at this time, of divers of your presences, in your shires, that have charges and commandments there. For as these wretches thought to have blown up, in a manner, the whole world of this Island; (every man being now come up here, either for public causes of parliament, or else for their own private causes in law, or otherwise;) so these rebels, that now wander through the country, could never have gotten so fit a time of safety in their passage, or whatsoever unlawful actions, as now; when the country, by the aforesaid occasions, is, in a manner, left desolate and waste unto them. Besides that, it may be, that I shall desire you, at your next session, to take upon you the judgment of this crime; for as so extraordinary a fact deserves extraordinary judgment, so can there not, I think (following even their own rule) be a fitter judgment for them, than that they should be measured with the same measure, wherewith they thought to measure us: and that the same place and persons, whom they thought to destroy, should be the just avengers of their so unnatural a parricide. Yet, not knowing that I will have occasion to meet with you myself, in this place, at the beginning of the next session of parliament, (because, if it had not been for the delivering of the articles, agreed upon by the commissioners of the Union, which was thought most convenient to be done in my presence, where both head and members of the parliament were met together, my presence had not otherwise been requisite here, at this time;) I have, therefore, thought good, for conclusion of this meeting, to discourse to you somewhat about the true nature and definition

[5] [Sir Thomas Egerton, baron of Ellesmere and viscount Brackley: the founder of the Bridgewater family.]

of a Parliament, which I will remit to your memories, till your next sitting down, that you may then make use of it, as occasion shall be ministered.

For albeit it be true, that at the first session of my first parliament, which was not long after my entry into this kingdom, it could not become me to inform you of any thing belonging to law or state here, (for all knowledge must either be infused or acquired; and seeing the former part thereof is now, with prophecy, ceased in the world; it could not be possible for me, at my first entry here, before experience had taught it me, to be able to understand the particular mysteries of this state;) yet, now that I have reigned almost three years amongst you, and have been careful to observe those things, that belong to the office of a King; albeit that time be but a short time for experience in others, yet in a king, may it be thought a reasonable long time; especially in me, who, although I be but, in a manner, a new king here, yet have been long acquainted with the office of a king in such another kingdom, as doth, nearest of all others, agree with the laws and customs of this state. Remitting to your consideration, to judge of that which hath been concluded by the commissioners of the Union, wherein I am, at this time, to signify unto you, that as I can bear witness to the aforesaid commissioners, that they have not agreed nor concluded therein any thing, wherein they have not foreseen as well the wealth and commodity of the one country, as of the other; so can they all bear me record, that I was so far from pressing them to agree to any thing, which might bring with it any prejudice to this people; as, by the contrary, I did ever admonish them, never to conclude upon any such union, as might carry hurt or grudge with it to either of the said nations; for the leaving of any such thing could not but be the greatest hindrance that might be to such an action, which God, by the laws of nature, had provided to be in his own time, and hath now, in effect, perfected in my person; to which purpose my Lord-Chancellor hath better spoken, than I am able to relate.

And, as to the nature of this high court of Parliament, it is nothing else but the king's great council, which the king doth assemble, either upon occasion of interpreting, or abrogating old laws, or making of new; according as ill manners shall deserve, or for the public punishment of notorious evil-doers, or the praise and reward of the virtuous and well-deservers, wherein these four things are to be considered:

First, Whereof this Court is composed.
Secondly, What Matters are proper for it.
Thirdly, To what End it is ordained.
And, Fourthly, What are the Means and Ways, whereby this End should be brought to pass.

As for the thing itself, it is composed of a head and a body; the head is the King, the body are the Members of the Parliament: this body again is subdivided into two parts, the Upper and Lower House: the Upper compounded partly of Nobility, temporal men, who are heritable counsellors to the high court of Parliament, by the honour of their creation and lands; and partly of Bishops, spiritual men, who are likewise, by the virtue of their place and dignity, counsellors, life-renters, or *ad vitam* of this court: the other House is composed of Knights for the shires, and Gentry and Burgesses for the towns. But because the number would be infinite, for all the gentlemen and burgesses to be present at every parliament, therefore a certain number is selected, and chosen out of that great body, serving only for that parliament, where their persons are the representation of that body.

Now the Matters, whereof they are to treat, ought therefore to be general, and rather of such matters, as cannot well be performed without the assembling of that general body, and no more of these generals neither, than necessity shall require; for, as *in corruptissimâ republicâ sunt plurimæ leges*, so doth the life and strength of the law consist, not in heaping up infinite and confused numbers of laws, but in the right interpretation, and good execution of good and wholesome laws. If this be so then, neither is this a place, on the one

side, for every rash and hair-brained fellow to propose new laws of his own invention; nay, rather, I could wish these busy heads to remember that law of the Lacedemonians, that whosoever came to propose a new law to the people, behoved publicly to present himself with a rope about his neck, that in case the law were not allowed, he should be hanged therewith; so wary should men be of proposing novelties, but most of all, not to propose any bitter or seditious laws, which can produce nothing but grudges and discontentment between the prince and his people. Nor yet is it, on the other side, a convenient place for private men, under the colour of general laws, to propose nothing, but their own particular gain; either to the hurt of their private neighbours, or to the hurt of the whole state in general; which, many times, under fair and pleasing titles, are smoothly passed over, and so, by stealth, procure without consideration, that the private meaning of them tendeth to nothing, but either to the wreck of a particular party, or else under the colour of a public benefit to pill the poor people, and serve, as it were, for a general impost upon them, for filling the purses of some private persons.

And as to the End for which the Parliament is ordained, being only for the advancement of God's glory, and the establishment and wealth of the king and his people: it is no place then for particular men to utter there their private conceipts, nor for satisfaction of their curiosities; and least of all, to make show of their eloquence, by tyning[6] the time with long studied and eloquent orations. No, the reverence of God, their king, and their country, being well settled in their hearts, will make them ashamed of such toys; and remember that they are there as sworn counsellors to their king, to give their best advice for the furtherance of his service, and the flourishing weal of his estate.

And, lastly, if you will rightly consider the Means and Ways how to bring all your labours to a good End, you must remember, that you are here assembled by your lawful King, to give him your best advices, in the matter proposed by him unto you, being of that nature, which I have already told; wherein you are gravely to deliberate, and upon your consciences plainly to determine, how far those things propounded do agree with the weal, both of your king and of your country, whose weals cannot be separated. And as for myself, the world shall ever bear me witness, that I never shall propose any thing unto you, which shall not as well tend to the weal-publick, as to any benefit for me: so shall I never oppose myself to that which may tend to the good of the commonwealth, for which I am ordained, as I have often said. And as you are to give your advice in such things as shall by your king be proposed: so is it on your part your duties to propose any thing that you can (after mature deliberation) judge to be needful, either for these ends already spoken of, or otherwise, for the discovery of any latent evil in the kingdom, which, peradventure, may not have come to the king's ear. If this then ought to be your grave manner of proceeding in this place, men should be ashamed to make show of the quickness of their wit here, either in taunting, scoffing, or detracting the prince or state in any point, or yet in breaking jests upon their fellows; for which the ordinaries, or alehouses, are fitter places, than this honourable and high court of parliament.

In conclusion then, since you are to break up, for the reasons I have already told you, I wish such of you, as have any charges in your countries, to hasten you home for the repressing of the insolencies of these rebels, and apprehension of their persons, wherein as I heartily pray to the Almighty for your prosperous success; so do I not doubt, but we shall shortly hear the good news of the same; and that you shall have an happy return, and meeting here to all our comforts."

Here the Lord-Chancellor spoke touching the proroguing of the parliament. And having done, his Majesty rose again, and said:

"Since it pleased God to grant me two such notable deliveries upon one day of the week,

[6] [Losing, Sc.]

which was Tuesday, and likewise one day of the month, which was the fifth; thereby to teach me, that as it was the same devil that still persecuted me; so it was one and the same God that still mightily delivered me: I thought it therefore not amiss, that the twenty-first day of January, which fell to be upon Tuesday, should be the day of meeting of this next session of parliament; hoping and assuring myself, that the same God, who hath now granted me and you all so notable and gracious a delivery, shall prosper all our affairs at that next session, and bring them to an happy conclusion.

And now I consider God hath well provided it, that the ending of this parliament hath been so long continued: for as for my own part, I never had any other intention, but only to seek so far my weal and prosperity, as might conjunctly stand with the flourishing state of the whole commonwealth, as I have often told you; so on the other part I confess, if I had been in your places at the beginning of this parliament, (which was so soon after my entry into this kingdom, wherein you could not possibly have so perfect a knowledge of my inclination, as experience since hath taught you,) I could not but have suspected and misinterpreted divers things, in the trying whereof now, I hope, by your experience of my behaviour and form of government, you are well enough cleared and resolved."

A Discourse of the Manner of the Discovery of this late intended Treason, joined with the Examination of some of the Prisoners.

THERE is a time, when no man ought to keep silence. For it hath ever been held as a general rule and undoubted maxim, in all well governed commonwealths, whether Christian, and so guided by the divine light of God's word; or ethnick, and so led by the glimmering twilight of nature; yet, howsoever their profession was, upon this ground have they all agreed, that when either their religion, their king, or their country, was in any extreme hazard, no good countryman ought then to with-hold either his tongue or his hand, according to his calling and faculty, from aiding to repel the injury, repress the violence, and avenge the guilt upon the authors thereof. But if ever any people had such an occasion ministered unto them, it is surely this people now; nay this whole Isle, and all the rest belonging to this great and glorious monarchy. For if, in any heathenish republick, no private man could think his life more happily and gloriously bestowed, than in the defence of any one of these three, that is, either *pro aris, pro focis*, or *pro patre patriæ;* and that the endangering of any one of these would at once stir the whole body of the commonwealth, not any more as divided members, but as a solid and individual lump: how much more ought we the truly Christian people, that inhabit this united and truly happy Isle, under the wings of our gracious and religious monarch? Nay, how infinitely greater cause have we to feel and resent ourselves of the smart of that wound, not only intended and execrated, nor consecrated, for the utter extinguishing of our true Christian profession, nor jointly therewith, only for the cutting off of our head and father politick, *sed ut nefas et sacrilegiosum parricidium omnibus modis absolutum reddi possit?* And, that nothing might be wanting for making this sacrilegious parricide a pattern of mischief, and a crime (nay, a mother or store-house of all crimes) without example, they should have joined the destruction of the body to the head, so as *grex cum rege, aræ cum focis, lares cum penatibus,* should all at one thunder-clap have been sent to heaven together: the King our head, the Queen our fertile mother, and those young and hopeful olive-plants, not theirs, but ours; our reverend clergy, our honourable nobility, the faithful counsellors, the grave judges, the greatest part of the worthy knights and gentry, as well as of the wisest burgesses; the whole clerks of the crown, council, signet, seals, or of any other principal judgment-seat; all the learned lawyers, together with an infinite number of the common people; nay, their furious rage should not only have lighted upon reasonable and sensible creatures without distinction either of degree, sex, or age; but, even the in-

sensible stocks and stones should not have been free of their fury: the hall of justice; the house of parliament; the church, used for the coronation of our kings; the monuments of our former princes; the crown, and other marks of royalty; all the records, as well of parliament, as of every particular man's right, with a great number of charters and such like, should all have been comprehended under that fearful chaos. And so the earth, as it were opened, should have sent forth out of the bottom of the Stygian lake such sulphured smoke, furious flames, and fearful thunder, as should have, by their diabolical doomsday, destroyed and defaced, in the twinkling of an eye, not only our present living princes and people, but even our insensible monuments reserved for future ages. So as not only ourselves that are mortal, but the immortal monuments of our ancient princes and nobility, that have been so preciously preserved from age to age, as the remaining trophies of their eternal glory, and have so long triumphed over envious time, should now have been all consumed together; and so not only we, but the memory of us and ours, should have been thus extinguished in an instant.

The true horror therefore of this detestable device hath stirred me up to bethink myself, wherein I may best discharge my conscience in a cause so general and common; if it were to bring but one stone to the building, or, rather, with the widow, one mite to the common box. But, since to so hateful and unheard-of invention, there can be no greater enemy than the self; the simple truth thereof being once publicly known and divulged; and that there needs no stronger argument to bring such a plot in universal detestation, than the certainty that so monstrous a thing could once be devised, nay, concluded upon, wrought in, in full readiness, and within twelve hours of the execution. My threefold zeal to those blessings, whereof they would have so violently made us all widows, hath made me resolve to set down here the true narration of that monstrous and unnatural-intended tragedy; having better occasion, by the means of my service, and continual attendance in court, to know the truth thereof, than others, that, peradventure, have it only by relation at the third or fourth hand. So that, whereas those worse than Catilines thought to have extirpated us and our memories, their infamous memory shall by these means, remain to the end of the world, upon the one part; and, upon the other, God's great and merciful deliverance of his anointed, and us all, shall remain in never-dying records; and God grant that it may be, in marble tables of thankfulness, engraven in our hearts!

WHILE this land and whole monarchy flourished in a most happy and plentiful peace, as well at home, as abroad, sustained and conducted by these two main good pillars of all good government, Piety and Justice; no foreign grudge, nor inward whispering of discontentment any way appearing: the King being upon his return from his hunting exercise at Royston, upon occasion of the drawing near of the parliament-time, which had been twice prorogued already, partly in regard of the season of the year, and partly of the term: as the winds are ever stillest immediately before a storm; and, as the sun bleaks often hottest to foretel a following shower; so, at that time of greatest calm, did this secretly hatched thunder begin to cast forth the first flashes, and flaming lightnings of the approaching tempest. For, the Saturday of the week immediately preceding the King's return, which was upon a Thursday (being but ten days before the parliament) the Lord Monteagle, son and heir to the Lord Morley, being in his own lodging, ready to go to supper, at seven of the clock at night, one of his footmen (whom he had sent of an errand over the street) was met by a man of a reasonable tall personage, who delivered him a letter; charging him to put it in my Lord his master's hands; which my Lord no sooner received, but that, having broken it up, and perceiving the same to be of an unknown, and somewhat unlegible hand, and without either date or superscription, did call one of his men unto him, for helping him to read it. But no sooner did he conceive the strange contents thereof, although he was somewhat perplexed what construction to make of it (as whether of a matter of consequence, as indeed it was, or whether some foolish devised pasquil by some of his enemies to scare him from his attendance at the parliament), yet

did he, as a most dutiful and loyal subject, conclude not to conceal it, whatever might come of it. Whereupon, notwithstanding the lateness and darkness of the night in that season of the year, he presently repaired to his Majesty's palace at Whitehall, and there delivered the same to the Earl of Salisbury, his Majesty's principal secretary. Whereupon, the said Earl of Salisbury having read the letter, and heard the manner of the coming of it to his hands, did greatly encourage and commend my Lord for his discretion; telling him plainly, that whatsoever the purport of the letter might prove hereafter, yet did this accident put him in mind of divers advertisements he had received from beyond the seas, wherewith he had acquainted as well the King himself, as divers of his privy-counsellors, concerning some business the Papists were in, both at home and abroad, making preparations for some combination amongst them against this parliament-time, for enabling them to deliver at that time to the King some petition for toleration of religion, which should be delivered in some such order, and so well backed, as the King should be loth to refuse their requests; like the sturdy beggars, craving alms with one open hand, but carrying a stone in the other, in case of refusal. And therefore did the Earl of Salisbury conclude with the Lord Monteagle, that he would, in regard of the King's absence, impart the same letter to some more of his Majesty's council; whereof my Lord Monteagle liked well, only adding this request, by way of protestation, That whatsoever the event hereof might prove, it should not be imputed to him, as proceeding from too light and too sudden an apprehension, that he delivered this letter; being only moved thereunto for demonstration of his ready devotion, and care for preservation of his Majesty and the state. And thus did the Earl of Salisbury presently acquaint the Lord-Chamberlain[7] with the said letter. Whereupon they two, in presence of the Lord Monteagle, calling to mind the former intelligence already mentioned, which seemed to have some relation with this letter; the tender care which they ever carried to the preservation of his Majesty's person, made them apprehend, that some perilous attempt did thereby appear to be intended against the same, which did the more nearly concern the said Lord-Chamberlain to have a care of, in regard that it doth belong to the charge of his office to oversee, as well all places of assembly where his Majesty is to repair, as his Highness's own private houses. And therefore did the said two counsellors conclude, that they should join unto themselves three more of the council, to wit, the Lord-Admiral[8], the Earls of Worcester and Northampton, to be also particularly acquainted with this accident, who, having all of them concurred together to the re-examination of the contents of the said letter, they did conclude, that, how slight a matter it might at the first appear to be, yet was it not absolutely to be contemned, in respect of the care which it behoved them to have of the preservation of his Majesty's person: but yet resolved for two reasons, first, to acquaint the King himself with the same, before they proceeded to any further inquisition in the matter, as well for the expectation and experience they had of his Majesty's fortunate judgment, in clearing and solving obscure riddles and doubtful mysteries; as also, because the more time would, in the mean time, be given for the practice to ripen, if any was; whereby the discovery might be more clear and evident, and the ground of proceeding thereupon more safe, just, and easy. And so, according to their determination, did the said Earl of Salisbury repair to the King in his gallery upon Friday, being Allhallows-day, in the afternoon, which was the day after his Majesty's arrival; and none but himself being present with his Highness at that time, where, without any other speech, or judgment given of the letter, but only relating simply the form of the delivery thereof, he presented it to his Majesty. The contents whereof follow:

'My Lord,

'OUT of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation: 'therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse, to shift off 'your attendance at this parliament: for God and man have concurred to punish the

[7] [The Earl of Suffolk.] [8] [The Earl of Nottingham.]

'wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement; but retire your-'self into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For, though there 'be no appearance of any stir, yet I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this parlia-'ment, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, 'because it may do you good, and can do you no harm, for the danger is past as soon as 'you have burnt the letter; and I hope God will give you grace to make good use of it; 'to whose holy protection I commend you.'

The King no sooner read the letter, but, after a little pause, and then reading it once again, he delivered his judgment of it in such sort, as he thought it was not to be contemned, for that the style of it seemed to be more quick and pithy, than is usual to be in any pasquil or libel, the superfluities of idle brains. But the Earl of Salisbury, perceiving the King to apprehend it deeplier than he looked for, knowing his nature, told him, that he thought, by one sentence in it, that it was like to be written by some fool, or madman, reading to him this sentence in it: 'For the danger is past, as soon as you have burnt the 'letter:' which, he said, was likely to be the saying of a fool; for, if the danger was past, so soon as the letter was burnt, then the warning behoved to be of little avail, when the burning of the letter might make the danger to be eschewed. But the King, on the contrary, considering the former sentence in the letter, 'That they should receive a terrible 'blow at this parliament, and yet should not see who hurt them,' joining it to the sentence immediately following, already alleged, did thereupon conjecture, that the danger mentioned should be some sudden danger by blowing up of powder[9]. For no other insurrection, rebellion, or whatsoever other private and desperate attempt could be committed, or attempted, in time of parliament, and the authors thereof unseen; except only if it were by a blowing up of powder, which might be performed by one base knave in a dark corner. Whereupon, he was moved to interpret and construe the latter sentence in the letter, alleged by the Earl of Salisbury, against all ordinary sense and construction in grammar, as if by these words, 'For the danger is past, as soon as you have burnt the 'letter,' should be closely understood the suddenness and quickness of the danger, which should be as quickly performed and at an end, as that paper should be a blazing up in the fire; turning that word of 'as soon' to the sense of 'as quickly;' and therefore wished, that, before his going to the parliament, the under-rooms of the Parliament-house might be well and narrowly searched. But, the Earl of Salisbury wondering at this his Majesty's commentary, which he knew to be so far contrary to his ordinary and natural disposition, who did rather ever sin upon the other side, in not apprehending, nor trusting due advertisements of practices and perils, when he was truly informed of them, whereby he had many times drawn himself into many desperate dangers; and interpreting rightly this extraordinary caution at this time to proceed from the vigilant care he had of the whole state, more than of his own person, which could not but have all perished together, if this designment had succeeded, he thought good to dissemble still unto the King, that there had been any just cause of such apprehension; and, ending the purpose with some merry jest upon this subject, as his custom is, took his leave for that time. But, though he seemed so to neglect it to his Majesty, yet his customable and watchful care of the King and the state still boiling within him, and having (with the blessed virgin Mary) laid up in his heart the King's so strange judgment and construction of it, he could not be at rest, till he acquainted the foresaid lords what had passed between the King and him in private.

[9] [The discovery of the Gunpowder-plot has been attributed to the sagacity of King James, by most of our historical writers, and particularly by Sanderson and Harris, in their lives of the King. But the following authentic account of that transaction was given by Lord Salisbury himself, in a letter to Sir Charles Cornwallis, dated Nov. 9, 1605. 'As soon as Lord Monteagle imparted the letter to me, being loth to trust my own 'judgment alone, &c., I imparted it to the Earl of Suffolk, to the end I might receive his opinion: where-'upon, perusing the words of the letter, and observing the writing that the blow should come without know-'ledge who hurt them, *we both* conceived that it could not be more proper than the time of *parliament*, nor by 'any other way like to be attempted than with *powder*, while the King was sitting in that assembly.' Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 171.]

Whereupon, they were all so earnest to renew again the memory of the same purpose to his Majesty, that it was agreed, that he should the next day, being Saturday, repair to his Highness; which he did in the same privy gallery, and renewed the memory thereof, the Lord-Chamberlain then being present with the King. At which time it was determined, that the said Lord-Chamberlain should, according to his custom and office, view all the Parliament-houses, both above and below; and consider what likelihood or appearance of any such danger might possibly be gathered by the sight of them. But yet, as well for staying of idle rumours, as for being the more able to discern any mystery, the nearer that things were in readiness, his journey thither was ordained to be deferred till the afternoon before the sitting down of the parliament, which was upon the Monday following. At which time he (according to this conclusion) went to the Parliament-house, accompanied with my Lord Monteagle; being, in zeal to the King's service, earnest and curious to see the event of that accident, whereof he had the fortune to be the first discoverer; where, having viewed all the lower rooms, he found, in the vault, under the upper house, great store and provision of billets, faggots, and coals; and, enquiring of Whyneard, keeper of the wardrobe, "To what use he had put those lower rooms and cellars?" He told him, "That Thomas Percy had hired both the house, and part of the cellar, or vault, under the same; and that the wood and coal therein were the said gentleman's own provision." Whereupon, the Lord-Chamberlain, casting his eye aside, perceived a fellow standing in a corner there, calling himself the said Percy's man, and keeper of that house for him; but indeed was Guido Fawkes, the owner of that hand, which should have acted that monstrous tragedy.

The Lord-Chamberlain, looking upon all things with a heedful indeed, yet, in outward appearance, with but a careless and rackless eye, as became so wise and diligent a minister, he presently addressed himself to the King in the said privy gallery; where, in the presence of the Lord-Treasurer, the Lord-Admiral, the Earls of Worcester, Northampton, and Salisbury, he made his report what he had seen and observed there; noting, that Monteagle had told him, that he no sooner heard Thomas Percy named to be the possessor of that house, but, considering both his backwardness in religion, and the old dearness in friendship between himself and the said Percy, he did greatly suspect the matter, and that the letter should come from him. The said Lord-Chamberlain also told, that he did not wonder a little at the extraordinary great provision of wood and coal in that house, where Thomas Percy had so seldom occasion to remain; as likewise it gave him in his mind, that his man looked like a very tall and desperate fellow.

This could not but increase the King's former apprehension and jealousy; whereupon, he insisted, as before, that the house was narrowly to be searched, and that those billets and coals should be searched to the bottom, it being most suspicious, that they were laid there only for covering of the powder. Of this same mind also were all the counsellors then present; but upon the fashion of making of the search was it long debated. For, upon the one side, they were all so jealous of the King's safety, that they all agreed, that there could not be too much caution used for preventing his danger; and yet upon the other part, they were all extreme loth and dainty, that in case this letter should prove to be nothing but the evaporation of an idle brain, then a curious search being made, and nothing found, should not only turn to the general scandal of the King and the state, (as being so suspicious of every light and frivolous toy,) but likewise lay an ill-favoured imputation upon the Earl of Northumberland, one of his Majesty's greatest subjects and counsellors; this Thomas Percy being his kinsman and most confident familiar. And the rather were they curious upon this point, knowing how far the King detested to be thought suspicious or jealous of any of his good subjects, though of the meanest degree; and therefore, though they all agreed upon the main ground, which was to provide for the security of the King's person, yet did they much differ in the circumstances, by which this action might be best carried with least din and occasion of slander. But the King himself still persisting, that there were divers shrewd appearances, and that a narrow search of those places could prejudge no man that was innocent, he at last plainly resolved them, that

either must all the parts of those rooms be narrowly searched, and no possibility of danger left unexamined, or else he and they all must resolve not to meddle in it at all, but plainly to go the next day to the parliament, and leave the success to fortune; which, he believed, they would be loth to take upon their conscience; for, in such a case as this, an half-doing was worse than no doing at all. Whereupon it was at last concluded, that nothing should be left unsearched in those houses; and yet, for the better colour and stay of rumour, in case nothing were found, it was thought meet, that upon a pretence of Whyneard's missing some of the King's stuff or hangings, which he had in keeping, all those rooms should be narrowly ripped for them. And, to this purpose, was Sir Thomas Knevet (a gentleman of his Majesty's privy-chamber) employed, being a justice of peace in Westminster, and one, of whose ancient fidelity both the late Queen and our now Sovereign have had large proof; who, according to the trust committed unto him, went, about the midnight next after, to the Parliament-house, accompanied with such a small number as was fit for that errand. But, before his entry in the house, finding Thomas Percy's alleged man standing without the doors, his clothes and boots on, at so dead a time of the night, he resolved to apprehend him; as he did; and thereafter went forward to the searching of the house, where, after he had caused to be overturned some of the billets and coals, he first found one of the small barrels of powder, and afterwards all the rest, to the number of thirty-six barrels, great and small; and thereafter, searching the fellow, whom he had taken, found three matches, and all other instruments fit for blowing up the powder, ready upon him; which made him instantly confess his own guiltiness; declaring also unto him, "That, if he had happened to be within the house, when he took him, as he was immediately before (at the ending of his work), he would not have failed to have blown him up, house and all."

Thus, after Sir Thomas had caused the wretch to be surely bound, and well guarded by the company he had brought with him, he himself returned back to the King's palace, and gave warning of his success to the Lord-Chamberlain, and Earl of Salisbury, who immediately warning the rest of the council, that lay in the house; as soon as they could get themselves ready, came, with their fellow-counsellors, to the King's bed-chamber, being, at that time, near four of the clock in the morning. And at the first entry of the King's chamber-door, the Lord-Chamberlain, being not any longer able to conceal his joy for the preventing of so great a danger, told the King, in a confused haste, "That all was found and discovered, and the traitor in hands and fast bound."

Then, order being first taken for sending for the rest of the council that lay in the town, the prisoner himself was brought into the house, where, in respect of the strangeness of the accident, no man was stayed from the sight, or speaking with him. And, within a while after, the council did examine him; who, seeming to put on a Roman resolution, did, both to the council, and to every other person that spoke with him that day, appear so constant and settled upon his grounds, as we all thought we had found some new Mutius Scævola born in England. For, notwithstanding the horror of the fact, the guilt of his conscience, his sudden surprizing, the terror which should have been struck in him, by coming into the presence of so grave a council, and the restless and confused questions, that every man, all that day, did vex him with; yet was his countenance so far from being dejected, as he often smiled in scornful manner; not only avowing the fact, but repenting only, with the said Scævola, his failing in the execution thereof, whereof, he said, "the devil, and not God, was the discoverer;" answering quickly to every man's objection, scoffing at any idle questions which were propounded unto him, and jesting with such as he thought had no authority to examine him. All that day could the council get nothing out of him, touching his accomplices; refusing to answer to any such questions, which he thought might discover the plot, and laying all the blame upon himself; "Whereunto (he said) he was moved, only for religion and conscience sake; denying the King to be his lawful sovereign, or the anointed of God, in respect he was an heretick;" and giving himself no other name, than John Johnson, servant to Thomas Percy. But, the

next morning, being carried to the Tower, he did not there remain above two or three days, being twice or thrice, in that space, re-examined, and the rack only offered and shewed unto him, when the mask of his Roman fortitude did visibly begin to wear and slide off his face; and then did he begin to confess part of the truth, and, thereafter, to open the whole matter, as doth appear, by his depositions immediately following.

The true Copy of the Deposition of Guido Fawkes, taken in the Presence of the Counsellors, whose Names are underwritten.

I CONFESS, that a practice, in general, was first broken unto me, against his Majesty, for relief of the Catholic cause, and not invented or propounded by myself. And this was first propounded unto me about Easter last was twelve-month, beyond the seas, in the Low-countries, of the Archduke's obeisance, by Thomas Winter; who came, thereupon, with me into England, and there we imparted our purpose to three other gentlemen more, namely, Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, and John Wright, who, all five, consulting together, of the means how to execute the same; and taking a vow, among ourselves, for secrecy; Catesby propounded to have it performed by gunpowder and by making a mine under the Upper House of Parliament; which place we made choice of, the rather, because, religion having been unjustly suppressed there, it was fittest that justice and punishment should be executed there.

This being resolved amongst us, Thomas Percy hired an house at Westminster for that purpose, near adjoining to the Parliament-house, and there we began to make our mine, about the eleventh of December, 1604.

The five, that first entered into the work, were Thomas Percy, Robert Catesby, Thomas Winter, John Wright, and myself; and, soon after, we took another unto us, Christopher Wright, having sworn him also, and taken the sacrament for secrecy.

When we came to the very foundation of the wall of the house, which was about three yards thick, and found it a matter of great difficulty, we took unto us another gentleman, Robert Winter, in the like manner, with oath and sacrament as aforesaid.

It was about Christmas, when we brought our mine unto the wall, and about Candlemas, we had wrought the wall half through: and, whilst they were in working, I stood as sentinel, to descry any man that came near, whereof I gave them warning; and so they ceased, until I gave notice again to proceed.

All we seven lay in the house, and had shot and powder: being resolved to die in that place, before we should yield or be taken.

As they were working upon the wall, they heard a rushing in a cellar, of removing of coals; whereupon we feared we had been discovered; and they sent me to go to the cellar, who finding that the coals were a selling, and that the cellar was to be let, viewing the commodity thereof for our purpose, Percy went and hired the same for yearly rent.

We had, before this, provided and brought into the house twenty barrels of powder, which we removed into the cellar, and covered the same with billets and faggots, which were provided for that purpose.

About Easter, the parliament being prorogued till October next, we dispersed ourselves, and I retired into the Low-countries, by advice and direction of the rest; as well to acquaint Owen with the particulars of the plot, as also, lest, by my longer stay, I might have grown suspicious, and so have come in question.

In the mean time, Percy, having the key of the cellar, laid in more powder and wood into it. I returned, about the beginning of September next, and, then, receiving the key again of Percy, we brought in more powder and billets to cover the same again, and so I went, for a time, into the country, till the thirtieth of October.

It was further resolved amongst us, that, the same day, that this act should have been performed, some other of our confederates should have surprized the person of the Lady

Elizabeth, the King's eldest daughter, who was kept in Warwickshire, at the Lord Harrington's house [10], and presently have proclaimed her queen, having a project of a proclamation ready for that purpose; wherein we made no mention of altering religion, nor would have avowed the deed to be ours, until we should have had power enough to make our party good, and then we would have avowed both.

Concerning Duke Charles, the King's second son, we had sundry consultations, how to seize on his person: but, because we found no means how to compass it, (the Duke being kept near London, where we had not force enough,) we resolved to serve our turn with the Lady Elizabeth.

The Names of other principal Persons, that were made privy afterwards to this horrible Conspiracy.

Everard Digby, Knt.
Ambrose Rookwood.
Francis Tresham.
John Grant.
Robert Keyes.

Commissioners.

Nottingham, Suffolk, Worcester, Devonshire, Northampton, Salisbury, Marre, Dunbarr, Popham.

Edward Coke.
W. Waad.

And in regard, that before this discourse could be ready to go to the press, Thomas Winter, being apprehended, and brought to the Tower, made a confession, in substance agreeing with this former of Fawkes, only larger in some circumstances; I have thought good to insert the same likewise in this place, for the further clearing of the matter, and greater benefit of the reader.

Thomas Winter's Confession, taken the Twenty-third of November 1605, in the Presence of the Counsellors, whose Names are underwritten.

My most honourable Lords,

NOT out of hope to obtain pardon; for, speaking of my temporal part, I may say, the fault is greater than can be forgiven; nor affecting hereby the title of a good subject; for I must redeem my country from as great a danger, as I have hazarded the bringing of her into, before I can purchase any such opinion; only at your Honours' command I will briefly set down my own accusation, and how far I have proceeded in this business; which I shall the faithfuller do, since I see such courses are not pleasing to Almighty God, and that all, or the most material parts, have been already confessed.

I remained with my brother in the country from Allhallows-tide, until the beginning of Lent, in the year of our Lord 1603, the first year of the King's reign; about which time Mr. Catesby sent thither, entreating me to come to London, where he, and other my friends, would be glad to see me. I desired him to excuse me; for I found myself not very well disposed; and, which had happened never to me before, returned the messenger without my company. Shortly I received another letter, in any wise to come. At the second summons, I presently came up, and found him with Mr. John Wright, at Lambeth; where he broke with me, how necessary it was not to forsake our country, (for he knew I had then a resolution to go over,) but to deliver her from the servitude in which she

[10] [At Coombe-Abbey.]

remained, or at least to assist her with our uttermost endeavours. I answered, that I had often hazarded my life upon far lighter terms, and now would not refuse any good occasion, wherein I might do service to the Catholic cause; but for myself, I knew no mean probable to succeed. He said that he had bethought him of a way at one instant to deliver us from all our bonds, and without any foreign help to replant again the Catholic religion; and withal told me in a word, it was to blow up the Parliament-house with gunpowder; "for (said he) in that place have they done us all the mischief, and perchance God hath designed that place for their punishment." I wondered at the strangeness of the conceit, and told him that true it was, this struck at the root, and would breed a confusion fit to beget new alterations; but if it should not take effect (as most of this nature miscarried), the scandal would be so great which the Catholic religion might hereby sustain, as not only our enemies, but our friends also, would with good reason condemn us. He told me, the nature of the disease required so sharp a remedy, and asked me if I would give my consent. I told him, "Yes; in this or what else soever, if he resolved upon it, I would venture my life." But I proposed many difficulties, as want of an house, and of one to carry the mine, noise in the working, and such like. His answer was, "Let us give an attempt, and where it faileth, pass no further. But first, (quoth he,) because we will leave no peaceable and quiet way untried, you shall go over and inform the Constable of the state of the Catholicks here in England; entreating him to solicit his Majesty, at his coming hither, that the penal laws may be recalled, and we admitted into the rank of his other subjects: withal, you may bring over some confident gentleman, such as you shall understand best able for this business;" and named unto me Mr. Fawkes. Shortly after, I passed the sea, and found the Constable at Bergen near Dunkirk, where, by help of Mr. Owen, I delivered my message; whose answer was, that he had strict command from his master, to do all good offices for the Catholicks; and for his own part, he thought himself bound in conscience so to do, and that no good occasion should be omitted, but spoke to him nothing of this matter.

Returning to Dunkirk with Mr. Owen, we had speech, whether he thought the Constable would faithfully help us, or no. He said, he believed nothing less; and that they sought only their own ends, holding small account of Catholicks. I told him that there were many gentlemen in England, who would not forsake their country, until they had tried the uttermost, and rather venture their lives, than forsake her in this misery. And to add one more to our number, as a fit man both for counsel and execution of whatsoever we should resolve, wished for Mr. Fawkes, whom I had heard good commendations of: he told me the gentleman deserved no less; but was at Brussels, and that, if he came not, as haply he might, before my departure, he would send him shortly after into England. I went soon after to Ostend, where Sir William Stanley, as then, was not, but came two days after. I remained with him three or four days, in which time I asked him, "If the Catholicks in England should do any thing to help themselves; whether he thought the Archduke would second them?" He answered, "No; for all those parts were so desirous of peace with England, as they would endure no speech of other enterprise; neither were it fit (said he) to set any project a-foot, now the peace is upon concluding." I told him there was no such resolution; and so fell to discourse of other matters, until I came to speak of Mr. Fawkes, whose company I wished over into England: I asked of his sufficiency in the wars, and told him we should need such as he, if occasion required: he gave very good commendations of him. And as we were thus discoursing, and ready to depart for Newport, and taking my leave of Sir William, Mr. Fawkes came into our company, newly returned, and saluted us. "This is the gentlemen, (said Sir William,) that you wished for:" and so we embraced again. I told him, some good friends of his wished his company in England, and that if he pleased to come to Dunkirk, we would have further conference, whither I was then going: so taking my leave of them both, I departed. About two days after, came Mr. Fawkes to Dunkirk, where I told him that we were upon a resolution to do somewhat in England, if the peace with Spain helped us not, but as yet resolved upon nothing: such, or the like talk, we passed at Graveling, where I lay for a

wind; and when it served, came both in one passage to Greenwich, near which place we took a pair of oars, and so came up to London, and came to Mr. Catesby, whom we found in his lodging: he welcomed us into England, and asked me what news from the Constable? I told him, "Good words; but I feared the deeds would not answer." This was the beginning of Easter-term, and about the midst of the same term; whether sent for by Mr. Catesby, or upon some business of his own, up came Mr. Thomas Percy. The first word he spoke, after he came into our company, was, "Shall we always, gentlemen, talk, and never do any thing?" Mr. Catesby took him aside, and had speech about somewhat to be done, so as first we might all take an oath of secrecy, which we resolved within two or three days to do: so as there we met behind St. Clement's, Mr. Catesby, Mr. Percy, Mr. Wright, Mr. Guy Fawkes, and myself; and having, upon a primer, given each other the oath of secrecy, in a chamber where no other body was, we went after into the next room and heard mass, and received the blessed sacrament upon the same. Then did Mr. Catesby disclose to Mr. Percy; and I, together with Jack Wright, tell to Mr. Fawkes; the business for which we took this oath, which they both approved. And then was Mr. Percy sent to take the house, which Mr. Catesby in my absence had learned did belong to one Ferris, which with some difficulty, in the end, he obtained, and became, as Ferris before was, tenant to Whinniard. Mr. Fawkes underwent the name of Mr. Percy's man, calling himself Johnson, because his face was the most unknown; and received the keys of the house, until we heard the parliament was adjourned to the seventh of February. At which time, we all departed several ways into the country, to meet again at the beginning of Michaelmas-term. Before this time also, it was thought convenient to have a house that might answer to Mr. Percy's, where we might make provision of powder and wood for the mine, which being there made ready, should in a night be conveyed by boat to the house by the parliament; because we were loth to foil that with often going in and out. There was none that we could devise so fit as Lambeth, where Mr. Catesby often lay, and to be keeper thereof, (by Mr. Catesby's choice) we received into the number Keys, as a trusty honest man: this was about a month before Michaelmas.

Some fortnight after, towards the beginning of the Term, Mr. Fawkes and I came to Mr. Catesby at Morcrofts; where we agreed that now was time to begin, and set things in order for the mine. So as Mr. Fawkes went to London, and the next day sent for me to come over to him: when I came, the cause was, for that the Scottish lords were appointed to sit in conference of the union in Mr. Percy's house. This hindered our beginning until a fortnight before Christmas, by which time both Mr. Percy and Mr. Wright were come to London; and we, against their coming, had provided a good part of the powder; so as we all five entered with tools fit to begin our work, having provided ourselves of baked-meats, the less to need sending abroad. We entered late in the night, and we never saw, save only Mr. Percy's man, until Christmas-eve. In which time we wrought under a little entry to the wall of the Parliament-house, and underpropped it, as we went, with wood.

Whilst we were together, we began to fashion our business, and discoursed what we should do after this deed was done. The first question was, how we might surprize the next heir: the Prince haply would be at the parliament with the King his father, how should we then be able to seize on the Duke? This burthen Mr. Percy undertook, that by his acquaintance, he, with another gentleman, would enter the chamber without suspicion, and having some dozen others at several doors to expect his coming, and two or three on horseback at the court-gate to receive him, he would undertake (the blow being given, until which he would attend in the Duke's chamber) to carry him safe away; for he supposed most of the Court would be absent, and such as were there not suspecting, or unprovided for any such matter. For the Lady Elizabeth, it were easy to surprize her in the country by drawing friends together at an hunting, near the Lord Harrington's; and Ashby, Mr. Cateby's house, being not far off, was a fit place for preparation.

The next was for money and horses, which if we could provide in any reasonable mea-

sure, having the heir-apparent, and the first knowledge by four or five days, was odds sufficient.

Then what Lords we should save from the Parliament, which was first agreed in general, as many as we could that were Catholicks, or so disposed: but after we descended to speak of particulars.

Next, what foreign Princes we should acquaint with this before, or join with after. For this point we agreed, that first we could not enjoin princes to that secrecy, nor oblige them by oath, so to be secure of their promise; besides, we knew not whether they will approve the project, or dislike it. And, if they do allow thereof, to prepare before might beget suspicion; and, not to provide until the business were acted, the same letter, that carried news of the thing done, might as well entreat their help and furtherance. Spain is too slow in his preparations, to hope any good from in the extremities; and France too near and too dangerous; who with the shipping of Holland, we feared of all the world, might make away with us.

But, while we were in the middle of these discourses, we heard that the parliament should be a-new adjourned until after Michaelmas; upon which tidings, we broke off both discourse and working until after Christmas. About Candlemas, we brought over in a boat the powder which we had provided at Lambeth, and laid it in Mr. Percy's house, because we were willing to have all danger in one place.

We wrought also another fortnight in the mine against the stone wall, which was very hard to beat through; at which time we called in Kit Wright, and near to Easter, as we wrought the third time, opportunity was given to hire the cellar, in which we resolved to lay the powder, and leave the mine.

Now, by reason that the charge of maintaining us all so long together, besides the number of several houses, which, for several uses, had been hired, and buying of powder, &c. had lain heavy on Mr. Catesby alone to support, it was necessary for him to call in some others to ease his charge; and to that end desired leave, that he, with Mr. Percy, and a third, whom they should call, might acquaint whom they thought fit and willing to the business; " for many (said he) may be content that I should know, who would not therefore that all the company should be acquainted with their names." To this we all agreed.

After this, Master Fawkes laid into the cellar (which he had newly taken) a thousand billets, and five-hundred faggots, and with that covered the powder, because we might have the house free, to suffer any one to enter that would. Mr. Catesby wished us to consider, whether it were not now necessary to send Mr. Fawkes over, both to absent himself for a time, as also to acquaint Sir William Stanley and Mr. Owen with this matter. We agreed that he should (provided that he gave it them with the same oath that we had taken before), *viz.* ' To keep it secret from all the world.' The reason, why we desired Sir William Stanley should be acquainted herewith, was, to have him with us as soon as he could: and for Mr. Owen, he might hold good correspondency after with foreign princes. So Mr. Fawkes departed about Easter for Flanders, and returned, the latter end of August. He told me, that when he arrived at Brussels, Sir William Stanley was not returned from Spain; so as he uttered the matter only to Owen, who seemed well pleased with the business, but told him, that surely Sir William would not be acquainted with any plot, as having business now a-foot in the court of England; but he himself would be always ready to tell it him, and send him away as soon as it were done.

About this time did Mr. Percy and Mr. Catesby meet at the Bath, where they agreed, that the company being yet but few, Mr. Catesby should have the others' authority to call in whom he thought best; by which authority he called in after, Sir Everard Digby, though at what time I know not; and last of all, Master Francis Tresham. The first promised (as I heard Mr. Catesby say) fifteen-hundred pounds; the second, two-thousand pounds: Mr. Percy himself promised all that he could get out of the Earl of Northumberland's rents, which was about four-thousand pounds; and to provide many galloping horses, to the number of ten.

Meanwhile Mr. Fawkes, and myself alone, bought some new powder (as suspecting the first to be dank), and conveyed it into the cellar, and set it in order, as we resolved it should stand. Then was the parliament a-new prorogued until the fifth of November, so as we all went down until some ten days before, when Mr. Catesby came up with Mr. Fawkes to an house by Enfield-Chace, called White-Webbes, whither I came to them, and Mr. Catesby willed me to enquire, whether the young Prince came to the parliament. I told him, that I heard that his Grace thought not to be there. " Then must we have our horses (said Mr. Catesby) beyond the water, and provision of more company to surprize the Prince, and leave the Duke alone."

Two days after, being Sunday at night, in came one to my chamber, and told me, that a letter had been given to my Lord Monteagle, to this effect: ' That he wished his ' Lordship's absence from the parliament, because a blow would there be given.' Which letter he presently carried to my Lord of Salisbury.

On the morrow I went to White-Webbes, and told it Mr. Catesby; assuring him withal, that the matter was disclosed; and wishing him in any case to forsake his country. He told me, he would see further as yet, and resolved to send Mr. Fawkes to try the uttermost; protesting, if the part belonged to himself, he would try the same adventure.

On Wednesday, Master Fawkes went, and returned at night, of which we were very glad.

Thursday I came to London, and Friday Master Catesby, Master Tresham, and I, met at Barnet, where we questioned how this letter should be sent to my Lord Monteagle, but could not conceive; for Master Tresham forswore it, whom we only suspected.

On Saturday night, I met Mr. Tresham again in Lincoln's-Inn Walks; wherein he told such speeches, that my Lord of Salisbury should use to the King, as I gave it lost the second time, and repeated the same to Mr. Catesby, who hereupon was resolved to be gone; but staid to have Master Percy come up, whose consent herein we wanted. On Sunday, Mr. Percy, being dealt with to that end, would needs abide the uttermost trial.

The suspicion of all hands put us into such confusion, as Master Catesby resolved to go down into the country, the Monday that Master Percy went to Sion; and Master Percy resolved to follow the same night, or early the next morning. About five of the clock, being Tuesday, came the younger Wright to my chamber, and told me, of a nobleman, called the Lord Monteagle, saying, " Arise, and come along to Essex-house, for I am going to call up my Lord of Northumberland;" saying withal, " The matter is discovered." " Go back, Master Wright, (quoth I,) and learn what you can about Essex-gate." Shortly he returned, and said, " Surely all is lost; for Lepton is got on horseback at Essex-door, and as he parted, he asked, " If their Lordships would have any more with him?" and being answered, " No;" is rode fast up Fleet-street as he can ride. " Go you then, (quoth I to Mr. Percy,) for sure it is for him they seek, and bid him be gone; I will stay and see the uttermost." Then I went to the Court-gates, and found them straitly guarded, so as nobody could enter. From thence I went down towards the Parliament-house, and, in the middle of King-street, found the guard standing, that would not let me pass. And, as I returned, I heard one say, " There is a treason discovered, in which the King and the Lords should have been blown up." So then I was fully satisfied that all was known, and went to the stable where my gelding stood, and rode into the country. Mr. Catesby had appointed our meeting at Dunchurch, but I could not overtake them until I came to my brother's, which was Wednesday night. On Thursday, we took the armour at my Lord Windsor's, and went that night to one Stephen Littleton's house, where the next day (being Friday) as I was early abroad to discover, my man came to me, and said, " that an heavy mischance had severed all the company, for that Mr. Catesby, Mr. Rookwood, and Mr. Grant, were burnt with gunpowder;" upon which sight the rest dispersed. Master Littleton wished me to fly, and so would he. I told him, " I would first see the body of my friend, and bury him, whatsoever befel me." When I came, I found Mr. Catesby reasonably well, Master Percy, both the Wrights, Mr. Rookwood, and Master Grant. I asked them, " What they resolved to do?" They

answered, "We mean here to die." I said again, "I would take such part as they did." About eleven of the clock, came the company to beset the house, and as I walked into the court, I was shot into the shoulder, which lost me the use of my arm; the next shot was the elder Wright struck dead; after him the younger Mr. Wright; and fourthly Ambrose Rookwood. Then said Mr. Catesby to me, (standing before the door they were to enter,) "Stand by me, Tom, and we will die together." "Sir, (quoth I,) I have lost the use of my right arm, and I fear that will cause me to be taken." So, as we stood close together, Mr. Catesby, Mr. Percy, and myself, they two were shot (as far as I could guess, with one bullet), and then the company entered upon me, hurt me in the belly with a pike, and gave me other wounds, until one came behind, and caught hold of both my arms. And so I remain,

Yours, &c.

Commissioners.

Nottingham, Suffolk, Worcester, Devonshire, Northampton, Salisbury, Marr, Dunbar, Popham.

Edw. Coke. W. Waad.

The Names of those that were first in the Treason, and laboured in the Mine.

Robert Catesby, Robert Winter, Esqrs. Thomas Percy, Thomas Winter, John Wright, Christopher Wright, Guido Fawkes, Gentlemen. And Bates, Catesby's man.

Those that were made acquainted with it, though not personally labouring in the Mine, nor in the Cellar.

Everard Digby, Knt. Ambrose Rookwood, Francis Tresham, Esqrs. John Graunt, Gent. Robert Keyes.

BUT here let us leave Fawkes, in a lodging fit for such a guest, and taking time to advise upon his conscience; and turn ourselves to that part of the history, which concerns the fortune of the rest of their partakers in that abominable treason. The news was no sooner spread abroad that morning, which was upon a Tuesday, the fifth of November, and the first day designed for that session of parliament; the news, I say, of this so strange and unlooked-for accident was no sooner divulged, but some of those conspirators (namely, Winter, and the two brothers of Wrights) thought it high time for them to hasten out of the town, (for Catesby was gone the night before, and Percy at four of the clock in the morning the same day of the discovery,) and all of them held their course, with more haste than good speed, to Warwickshire toward Coventry; where the next day morning, being Wednesday, and about the same hour that Fawkes was taken in Westminster, one Graunt, a gentleman, having associated unto him some others of his opinion, (all violent Papists, and strong recusants,) came to a stable of one Benocke, a rider of great horses, and having violently broken up the same, carried along with them all the great horses that were therein, to the number of seven or eight, belonging to divers noblemen and gentlemen of that country, who had put them into the rider's hands to be made fit for their service. And so both that company of them which fled out of London, as also Graunt, and his accomplices, met all together at Dunchurch, at Sir Everard Digby's lodging, the Tuesday at night, after the discovery of this treacherous attempt; the which Digby had likewise, for his part, appointed a match of hunting, to have been hunted the next day, which was Wednesday; though his mind was, Nimrod-like, upon a far other manner of hunting, more bent upon the blood of reasonable men than brute beasts.

This company, and hellish society, thus convened, finding their purpose discovered, and their treachery prevented, did resolve to run a desperate course; and, since they could not prevail, by so private a blow, to practise, by a public rebellion, either to attain to their intents, or at least, to save themselves in the throng of others. And, therefore, gathering all the company they could unto them, and pretending the quarrel of religion; having intercepted such provision of armour, horses, and powder, as the time could per-

mit; thought, by running up and down the country, both to augment piece and piece their number, (dreaming to themselves, that they had the virtue of a snow-ball, which, being little at the first, and tumbling down from a great hill, groweth to a great quantity, by increasing itself with the snow that it meeteth by the way,) and also, that they, beginning first this brave show, in one part of the country, should, by their sympathy and example, stir up and encourage the rest of their religion, in other parts of England, to rise, as they had done there. But, when they had gathered their force to the greatest, they came not to the number of fourscore; and yet were they troubled, all the hours of the day, to keep and contain their own servants from stealing from them; who, notwithstanding all their care, daily left them, being far inferior to Gideon's host in number, but far more in faith or justness of quarrel.

And so, after that this Catholic troop had wandered a while through Warwickshire to Worcestershire, and from thence to the edge and borders of Staffordshire, this gallantly armed band had not the honour, at the last, to be beaten with a king's lieutenant, or extraordinary commissioner, sent down for the purpose; but only by the ordinary sheriff of Worcestershire[11] were they all beaten, killed, taken, and dispersed. Wherein ye have to note this following circumstance so admirable, and so lively displaying the greatness of God's justice, as it could not be concealed, without betraying, in a manner, the glory due to the Almighty for the same.

Although divers of the King's proclamations were posted down after these traitors with all the speed possible, declaring the odiousness of that bloody attempt, the necessity to have had Percy preserved alive[12], if it had been possible, and the assembly together of that rightly damned crew; now no more darkened conspirators, but open and avowed rebels; yet the far distance of the way, which was above an hundred miles, together with the extreme deepness thereof, joined also with the shortness of the day, was the cause that the hearty and loving affections of the King's good subjects, in those parts, prevented the speed of his proclamations. For, upon the third day after the flying down of these rebels, which was upon the Friday next after the discovery of their plot, they were most of them all surprized by the sheriff of Worcestershire, at Holbeech[13], about the noon of the day, and that in manner following.

Graunt (of whom I have made mention before, for taking the great horses), who had not, all the preceding time, stirred from his own house till the next morning, after the attempt should have been put in execution; he then laying his accounts without his host (as the proverb is), that their plot had, without failing, received the day before their hoped-for success; took, or rather stole, out those horses, as I said before, for enabling him, and so many of that foulest society, that had still remained in the country near about him, to make a sudden surprise upon the King's elder daughter, the Lady Elizabeth, having her residence near by that place; whom they thought to have used for the colour of their treacherous design, (his Majesty, her father, her mother, and male children, being all destroyed above,) and to this purpose, also, had that Nimrod, Digby, provided his hunting-match against that same time, that numbers of people being flocked together, upon the pretence thereof, they might the easilier have brought to pass the sudden surprise of her person.

Now the violent taking away of those horses, long before day, did seem to be so great a riot, in the eyes of the common people, that knew of no greater mystery: and the bold attempting thereof did engender such a suspicion of some following rebellion in the hearts of the wiser sort, as both great and small began to stir and arm themselves, upon this unlooked-for accident. But before twelve or sixteen hours past, Catesby, Percy, the Winters, Wrights, Rookwood, and the rest, bringing then the assurance that their main plot was failed and bewrayed, whereupon they had built the golden mountain of their glorious hopes; they then took their last desperate resolution, to flock together in a troop, and wan-

[11] [Sir Richard Walsh.]

[12] [An offer was issued from the King of £.1000 reward to the person who should bring in Percy alive: and John Streete, of Worcester, claimed either the reward or a life-annuity, for having had the fortune to shoot him. See Lodge's Illustr. iii. 300.]

[13] [The seat of Stephen Lyttelton, one of the conspiring combination.]

der, as they did, for the reasons aforetold. But as, upon the one part, the zealous duty to their God, and their Sovereign, was so deeply imprinted in the hearts of all the meanest and poorest sort of the people (although then knowing of no further mystery, than such public misbehaviours, as their own eyes taught them) as, notwithstanding of their fair shows and pretences of their Catholic cause, no creature, man or woman, through all the country, would once so much as give them, willingly, a cup of drink, or any sort of comfort or support, but, with execrations, detested them: so, on the other part, the sheriffs of the shires, through which they wandered, conveying their people with all speed possible, hunted as hotly after them, as the evilness of the way, and the unprovidedness of their people, upon that sudden, could permit them. And so at last, after Sir Richard Verney, sheriff of Warwickshire, had carefully and straitly been in chace of them to the confines of his county, (part of the meaner sort being also apprehended by him;) Sir Richard Walsh, sheriff of Worcestershire, did likewise dutifully and hotly pursue them through his shire. And, having gotten sure trial of their taking harbour at the house abovenamed, he did send trumpeters and messengers to them, commanding them, in the King's name, to render[14] unto him, his Majesty's minister; and knowing no more, at that time, of their guilt, than was publicly visible, did promise (upon their dutiful and obedient rendering unto him) to intercede, at the King's hands, for the sparing of their lives; who received only, from them, this scornful answer, (they being better witnesses to themselves of their inward evil consciences,) 'That he had need of better assistance, than of those few numbers that were with 'him, before he could be able to command or controul them.'

But here fell the wondrous work of God's justice, that while this message passed between the sheriff and them; the sheriff's and his people's hearts being justly kindled and augmented by their arrogant answer; and so, they preparing themselves to give a furious assault, and the other party making themselves ready, within the house, to perform their promise by a defence as resolute; it pleased God, that in the mending of the fire in their chamber, one small spark should fly out, and light among less than two pound weight of powder, which was drying a little from the chimney; which being thereby blown up, so maimed the faces of some of the principal rebels, and the hands and sides of others of them, (blowing up with it also a great bag full of powder, which, notwithstanding, never took fire,) as they were not only disabled and discouraged hereby, from any further resistance, (in respect Catesby[15] himself, Rookwood, Grant, and divers others of greatest account among them, were, thereby, made unable for defence,) but, also, wonderfully struck with amazement in their guilty consciences; calling to memory, how God had justly punished them with that same instrument, which they should have used for the effectuating of so great a sin, according to the old Latin saying, *In quo peccamus, in eodem plectimur*; as they presently (see the wonderful power of God's justice upon guilty consciences) did all fall down upon their knees, praying God to pardon them for their bloody enterprise; and, thereafter, giving over any further debate, opened the gate, suffered the sheriff's people to rush in furiously among them, and desperately sought their own present destruction: the three specials of them joining backs together, Catesby, Percy, and Winter, whereof two, with one shot, (Catesby and Percy,) were slain, and the third, Winter, taken and saved alive.

And thus these resolute and high-aspiring Catholicks, who dreamed of no less than the destruction of kings and kingdoms, and promised to themselves no lower estate, than the government of great and ancient monarchies, were miserably defeated, and quite overthrown in an instant, falling in the pit which they had prepared for others; and so fulfilling that sentence, which his Majesty did, in a manner, prophesy of them, in his oration to the parliament; some presently slain, others deadly wounded, stripped of their clothes, left lying miserably naked, and so dying, rather of cold, than of the danger of their wounds; and

[14] [Surrender.]

[15] Catesby, who was the first inventor of this treason in general, and of the manner of working the same by powder, in special; himself now first maimed with the blowing up of powder, and next, he and Percy both killed with one shot, proceeding from powder.

the rest, that either were whole, or but lightly hurt, taken and led prisoners by the sheriff, the ordinary minister of justice, to the jail, the ordinary place, even of the basest malefactors; where they remained till their sending up to London, being met with a huge confluence of people of all sorts, desirous to see them, as the rarest sort of monsters: fools to laugh at them, women and children to wonder, all the common people to gaze, the wiser sort to satisfy their curiosity, in seeing the outward cases of so unheard-of a villainy; and, generally, all sorts of people, to satiate and fill their eyes with the sight of them, whom, in their hearts, they so far admired and detested; serving so for a fearful and public spectacle of God's fierce wrath and just indignation.

What, hereafter, will be done with them, is to be left to the justice of his Majesty and the state; which, as no good subject needs to doubt, will be performed in its own due time, by a public and exemplary punishment; so have we, all that are faithful and humble subjects, great cause to pray earnestly to the Almighty, that it will please Him, who hath the hearts of all princes in his hands, to put it in his Majesty's heart, to make such a conclusion of this tragedy to the traitors, (but tragi-comedy to the King, and all his true subjects,) as, thereby, the glory of God, and his true religion, may be advanced; the future security of the King, and his estate, procured and provided for; all hollow and dishonest hearts discovered and prevented; and this horrible attempt, lacking due epithets, to be so justly avenged; that whereas they thought, by one catholic indeed, and universal blow, to accomplish the wish of that Roman tyrant, who wished all the bodies, in Rome, to have but one neck; and so, by the violent force of powder, to break up, as with a petard, our triple-locked peaceful gates of Janus, which, God be thanked, they could not compass by any other means; they may justly be so recompensed, for their truly viperous intended parricide[16], as the shame and infamy that, otherwise, would light upon this whole nation, for having unfortunately hatched such cockatrice-eggs, may be repaired, by the execution of famous and honourable justice upon the offenders; and so the kingdom purged of them may, hereafter, perpetually flourish in peace and prosperity, by the happy conjunction of the hearts of all honest and true subjects, with their just and religious Sovereign.

And thus, whereas they thought to have effaced our memories, the memory of them shall remain, but to their perpetual infamy; and we, as I said in the beginning, shall, with all thankfulness, eternally preserve the memory of so great a benefit. To which let every good subject say *Amen*.

[16] As Æneas Sylvius doth notably write concerning the murder of King James the First of Scotland, and the following punishment of the traitors, whereof himself was an eye-witness. Europa, cap. xlvi.

The Advice of that worthy Commander, Sir Edward Harwood, Colonel. Written by King Charles's Command, upon Occasion of the French King's Preparation; and presented in his Life-time, by his own Hand, to his Majesty: hitherto, being a private Manuscript. Also a Relation of his Life and Death. Whereunto is also annexed divers remarkable Instructions, written by the late, and ever-famous, Earl of Essex[1]. All tending to the Securing and Fortifying of this Kingdom, both by Sea and Land, and now seasonably published for the Benefit of these Times.

'A Word spoken in Season, is like Apples of Gold in Pictures of Silver.'
Prov. xxv. 11.

Printed at London, for R. Harford. 1642.[2]

[Quarto, containing Forty Pages.]

In Memoriâ Col. Harw. Equitis Aurati.

CARMINA quid canerem? Tristes imitantia Musas,
Carmina sunt meritis inferiora suis.
Vixit, quem dederat cursum Deus, ille peregit,
Gentis honos obiit, gloria, fama, decus.
Multa fides, pietasque viri, sic multa recursat
Nobilitas animi; plurima nota loquor.

Though Holland honour'd be, to keep the dust
Of such a soldier, valiant, wise, and just:
The basis of the universe not great
Nor vast enough, his merits on to seat:
Mars, Hermes, Phœbus, and chaste Theseus' son,
In Col'nel Harwood did meet all in one.
But, should I write his praise, it would be thought,
A nephew will commend the work, though nought.
I rather leave it to each reader's mind,
To judge thereof, as he the work shall find:
And, if they say, that he hath not done well,
Bid him, that blames him, shew his parallel.

M. DRAPER.

[1] [This was Robert, the second and most celebrated Earl of Essex, Queen Elizabeth's favourite.]
[2] See Oldys' Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 88.

To the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons, assembled in the High Court of Parliament.

RIGHT Honourable Lords, and worthy Gentlemen, we are all embarked in the ship, the Commonwealth; and as, in a ship, there are divers agents, whereof some of the chiefest sit at the stern to govern; others of an inferior rank climb the mast, hoist sails, and do inferior works in it; all of them according to their several ranks, as they do the duties of their several places; so have interest in the common good, and either do, or ought, to mind the public welfare of it. And as, in building of the Tabernacle, some of the chief sort brought gold, silver, and precious stones; others, of inferior sort, goats' hair and badgers' skins; every man, according to his ability, did contribute to the same. I, though but of the inferior rank in this ship, even the meanest of all others, yet embarked therein, see not but I ought to endeavour, though but in inferior works, the good of it; who, though I have not gold, silver, or precious stones, nor any thing besides my poor prayers to advance the glorious tabernacle, yet would, with Ahimaaz, run also, as one willing and desirous to do good, if I had any ability in myself, or opportunity. But having nothing of my own, finding this little manuscript among the papers of my dear deceased brother, and considering the troublesomeness of the times, the fears of the better sort, and hopes of the worse; I have adventured to make it public, which though written some time since, and upon another occasion, yet there may something be gathered out of it, (if I mistake not myself,) which may be of good use for these present times of our fears and sad apprehensions; wherein if there be any thing, which in your grave wisdoms, you may think fit to put in execution, it shall much rejoice me, that I brought it to the light; or at least, if it may but occasion your wisdoms to take into your serious consideration the subject-matter of it, which is the securing of the kingdom against all dangers that may come to it, and in your wisdoms to think upon better directions, that may remove the fears and apprehensions of most men in these tumultuous times, by reason of the insurrection of our neighbouring kingdom, and the just fears we have of these pestilent enemies of our church and commonwealth, the papists in this kingdom, and their adherents the prelates. Now as concerning my brother's manuscript, as it was penned in time of a great sea-preparation made by the French king some ten years past, so (as I had it from his own mouth) it gained the approbation and good liking of his Majesty, who commanded him to write his judgment and opinion of those preparations, and by what means, if they were intended against us, we might secure ourselves both for the present and in future; which though, for some reasons, was not thought fit to be put in execution, yet I have been encouraged by some of good judgment, now to publish it in these times, wherein we have some more apprehension of danger than formerly; partly by the actual rising of these many ill-affected to religion in Ireland, and also those proud threatening speeches lately given forth by the papists here at home, which if not by some such course, as is here propounded, prevented, may breed more danger, than most are sensible of.

Elijah's cloud rose but like a hand, which after overspread the whole heaven: what this may do, if suffered to enlarge itself; how far reach, we cannot directly say; but even to our own horizon we may well presume, if not repelled, or dispersed by a strong and swift gale. The mischief they carry with them cannot be contained in the neighbour kingdom, if they thus grow in their progress. What combination there may be with foreign states, I leave to deeper judgments; but, for my own part, I shall ever subscribe unto the opinion of that noble lord, concerning an old enemy the Spaniard: "That, if he ever find an opportunity, and advantage against us, he will not baulk it:" I cannot easily be drawn to a belief, that that great fleet they sent two years since upon our coast, when we and our true-hearted brethren, the Scots, were ready to enter into a bloody battle, was to guard only his soldiers, or treasure; but that there was a design in it upon this kingdom, though by God's mercy prevented. Never came such a fleet upon our coast, save in 88, when they intended a real invasion. But if it be objected, Was he not in league

with us? But alas! what security can we have thereby, in being in league with him, or any of that religion? When first, they hold that it is no fault to break faith with heretics. Secondly, If it be, the Pope's dispensation will take it away. Thirdly, If the Pope find it for his advantage, he will so charge them to break with us, that so conscience and obedience shall cure their malice and perfidiousness. I am bold to add to what my brother wrote, what once, long since, I read in a little treatise, which may something conduce to this, of that brave lord, the late Earl of Essex, expressed in an apology in the late Queen's time of happy memory; which may something strengthen my brother's opinion for making sea-preparations, which, with my brother's, I humbly offer to your considerations; there being none under heaven, to whom we can address ourselves, for power and fitness to correct the malignant aspect of these influences, besides your Honours. And now, most noble and grave Senators, the true and ever-renowned patriots of your country, if my zeal, for my country's freedom and prosperity, have borne me beyond my bounds, impute it to my error of judgment; and let your candour close with the good intentions of him, who is more in wishes and hearty desires, than in parts and abilities, for the felicity of his country. And he shall ever remain

Your Honours' most humble
and obsequious servant,
GEORGE HARWOOD.

The Life and Death of Colonel Harwood.

Gentle Reader,

THIS little manuscript, penned by my honoured friend Sir Edward Harwood, colonel of an English regiment in the Low-countries, was intended for the press, and ready thereunto; when, by God's gracious providence I coming over, (having had some experience of his worth,) and, in some respect, obliged unto him, was not a little glad to meet with an opportunity to shew my love and respects to him. I therefore desired leave of his brother, of whom I have now obtained it, (though with some difficulty,) to offer to the world some testimony of it, wherein I will forbear to say what I may, neither is there need for me in that kind to say any thing at all, in respect to those that knew him, and have been conversant with him: they have been eye-witnesses to more than I write; but for their sakes who did not know him, I desire a little to acquaint them with his worth; to the end, that they who have a love to that honourable profession, may have a worthy example to excite their imitation.

It being my portion to travel with him one whole night, not long before his decease, he was (beyond his custom) kept awake all that time by his own spirit; which constrained him to open his bosom to me, and to give me an epitome of his time, and God's dealing with him; of which, and my own observations concerning him, you may please to take this brief extract.

His birth was genteel, and from a root fit to ingraft his future education and excellency. Furnished he was with such learning as his age was capable of, and grew up in an especial respect unto the faithful dispensers of the Gospel, and accordingly reaped the fruits of it in God's season. His spirit (though sad enough) yet accompanied with much natural mettle and courage, and looked above other callings, to that which narrow-minded and effeminate men close not with.

He soon attended the school of war of those times, where quick and curious designs issued into daily action and execution. There my Lord Vere, who could well distinguish men, cast his eye upon him; by whose favour, exhaled by his own worth, he was not long ascending the usual step whereon the war placeth reward for its followers. As he grew skilful in his trade, so was he amiable to others. They live who know how dear he was to that justly-lamented Prince Henry, who took such delight in him, that his closet-thoughts were open to my noble friend, from whom that noble prince got no small advantage in his military way. He was also ever precious to King James, of blessed memory; so also

no less in the esteem of our now gracious Sovereign, witnessing their royal affection towards him in several expressions of their favours. To the illustrious princess, the Queen of Bohemia, who, hearing of his death, cried out in a great passion, "Oh! that ugly town of Maestricht, that hath bereaved me of so faithful a servant." Also to that mirrour of his time, the last Lord Harrington, to whom he was so endeared, that he offered to hazard estate, liberty, and life for his good, as by divers of his letters, still extant, appears. To the late Duke of Buckingham, who, after the defeat at the Isle of Ree, remembering what service he did at Cadiz voyage, in bringing off the retreat, cried out, "Oh! Ned Harwood! Ned Harwood! that I had had thee here." To the last Lord-Steward, to the old Earl of Southampton, to the late Earl of Bedford, to this now Earl of Essex, and to the now Earl of Leicester, who was some time his colonel; to the Earl of Warwick, to the Lord Carlton, and to most of the chief nobility of this kingdom; whose letters, found amongst his papers, mention such real affection as is scarcely credible, from men of their quality. Neither was he a little dear to that highly honoured lord, the Lord Craven (who, besides the late real expression of love to his brother, and, for his many, great, noble, and pious works, deserves to have his name written upon pillars of brass), who, when he heard of his death (as was related to his brother), cast himself on his bed, crying out, "he had lost his father:" such was his love and opinion of him.

Moreover, when his death was noised in the army, there was such a general lamentation for his loss, that his Excellency was fain to send special command to still it, lest the enemy should take courage, as thinking it were for some of greater quality. And his Excellency himself, in my own hearing, I, being appointed to go before his Excellency after the hearse, heard him say, to Count Ernest, "he had lost his right hand in the loss of Monsieur Harwood." To be brief, his name amongst soldiers was, *in omni ore, tanquam mel suavis, et tanquam instrumenta musica in convivio lauto.* He lived, desired; and died, lamented.

He soon ascended (in the state's service) to the highest step that Englishmen usually tread, and that was a colonel; in which condition, I had my knowledge of him: and these things my eye observed, that religion, fidelity, and prowess, so met in him, that there seemed a constant strife amongst them, which should most appear, and often shewed themselves together; by which he broke the back of that proverb, *Nulla fides pietasque viris qui castra sequuntur.*

The first of these shewed itself in attendance upon the word, intimate acquaintance with, and respect unto the faithfullest dispensers of it; the exercise of his family therein; his purse standing open to the advancement of every work of that nature, in England and Holland. He gave a large sum annually to the redeeming impropriations, the ruin whereof was none of his least griefs, together with the many souls that suffer by it: his conceit was, that nothing less than atheism and hellish malice could blast it. He kept a diary of his inward man, wherein he wrote his own slips, infirmities, and God's several ways of Providence towards him, which stood him in no small stead. He was very often in humiliations, and loved those days in his life-time, and to his death; being slain in a public day of fasting. In all his actions he gave testimony, that he thought as much of dying as of living. For the second, he was famous and precious to both the Princes of Orange, in that respect.

In the quelling the Arminian faction, he alone was trusted with a message to King James; and, upon his return, Barnevelt went to his last home. In the leaguer of the Busse, he had the charge of the Velloe, when Piccolomini was in the bowels of the country with ten-thousand men. His Excellency entrusted him with the sole trust, managing, and ordering of that service; without limiting his commission, left it, though a matter of main concernment, to his wisdom and fidelity; in which service, he watched thirty whole nights on horseback, and never in that time came to bed: and, in conclusion, by his providence and vigilancy, discharged that great trust, and fully secured the country.

At Cadiz voyage, which was a matter of trust and great difficulty, he had imposed him the charge of bringing up the rear; where, the enemy setting upon many scattered troops, he brought them off with safety, by an honourable retreat: for want of which, at

the isle of Ree, how many brave English lost their lives; and our nation, much of their honour?

Lastly, his valour was unstained, as all the services he was in can bear large testimony thereof. To be short, he was first hurt by a granado in the foot, at Maestricht, (a sufficient warrant to have exempted him from the service for that day,) yet would he not leave the prosecution of the design, though often dissuaded and advised of the great danger he adventured, by the worthy gentleman, Capt. Skippon, now serjeant-major-general, for the city of London; but, going often into the trenches to view the enemy's works, in a scarlet coat, gave the enemy so fair a mark, that he received from the wall a sudden shot out of a small brass piece, which struck him through the heart; and was from thence, by command of the Prince of Orange, carried to the Hague, where he was interred with as much honour, as ever was any that died in those parts, of his quality. In fine, thus much I must say of him; He was true to his principles, (a rare virtue in this age.) He was neither above, nor beneath his calling, but very adequate and true unto it. So sad, serious, and skilful in his way, that you may do well to believe what he writes. He was a good man, a good soldier, a good Christian, and is now wearing his crown. Much more I might have said, but I must not make the porch greater than the building, and therefore I conclude.

Sic, O precabor, usque vivere
Me posse, dein sic mori,
Mori me posse, dein sic vivere.

'So I desire of God, to live and die,
'And so to die, to live eternally.'

EPITAPH.

If rhymes might raise him columns, I believe,
Nor hearts, nor heads, nor pens would wanting be;
But, sure, such varnish can small lustre give
To blaze his worth, his friends may spare that fee:
For less desert, we may such pains yet keep;
Let's now remember Harwood, and then weep.

Hugh Peters.

Colonel Harwood's Advice to King Charles: Or, A Discourse on the Rumour of the French King's Preparation at Sea.

THE particulars of his preparations not being certainly known, there is no certain judgment to be made of them; I will therefore only take the case, as I suppose it will be granted, That the French King endeavours to make himself strong at sea, and that by two means; one, encouraging his subjects to trade at sea, giving his merchants great privileges and immunities; another, of his own proper cost, buying and building many great and good ships, and ordaining a yearly and brave proportion out of his revenue, for the increasing and maintaining his navy: as some say three-hundred-thousand pounds sterling; others, but three-hundred-thousand crowns; one or other are considerable, and may prove of danger to this state. For this disposition of his argues, that he intends either to enter into a new war with his Majesty, or, at least, to put himself into such a condition, as, when he shall think fit, he may do so, without his disadvantage. That this his arming at sea must be intended, in emulation of his Majesty's lordship of the narrow seas, to equal, or overtop him at sea, is probable: for against whom else? Not against the Hollanders, they are his obsequious friends, desirous of his friendship, fearful of his displeasure: not against the King of Spain, for he can more easily invade him by land, when he will, as Spain can him: besides, the French King shews no disposition to enter into open war

with him, for, having taken on him the protection of Mantua, and not well dealt with by him in the last treaty for Italy, making a peace in show, and yet after, taking his advantage, renewing the war in the Emperor's name; yet doth he not enter into open war with him, but will only be an assistant; else had it not been more easy for him to have invaded Flanders or Artois, and so by diversion aided the Duke of Mantua, than by sending an army into Italy in the winter? Therefore this preparation of the French King, for the sea, hath his chief aim, in present, or future, at his Majesty: I suppose, not to invade England, or it may be none of his Majesty's islands, though that is more than we can be assured of. Some of his ships of war were this winter on his Majesty's coast, went from harbour to harbour, doubtless to discover them, and not for any good to his Majesty. Besides, who can tell, since the islands of Guernsey and Jersey are the only remainders of the large dominions his Majesty's predecessors formerly have possessed in France, if he have not an itching to join them to France again: or, if not them, nor Wight; yet to share the dominion of the narrow seas with his Majesty, and that is to take it from him, if he can? To which hitherto he hath not pretended, as not being able to match his Majesty at sea; but if he continue these his preparations, and that his Majesty, out of hand, prepare not also against it, he will in short time undoubtedly effect it. It will be said (it may be) he hath no good ports or havens. That is an error: it is true, he hath not so many good harbours, as his Majesty hath, yet some he hath, not inferior to any of his Majesty's. It may be also said, that his subjects are not so proper for the sea, nor so affected to trade, as his Majesty's are. It is true: but if he continues to encourage his merchants; turn merchant himself; will not his princes, great lords, and gentlemen, follow his example? For sailors, if he gives great pay, and pay well, he will not want them of other nations: nay, if his Majesty's own subjects have not the like great and good payment, it is to be feared, he may draw many of his to his service, at first, until there be open wars betwixt the kingdoms; for do not, at this present, many hundreds (I might say, thousands) of his Majesty's subjects, serve other states at sea; as the Hollanders, nay, the Turks; without either leave, or knowledge of his Majesty?

Now, if the French King should come to be as powerful, or more, than his Majesty, at sea; he will be a more dangerous and fearful neighbour to England than Spain, whom hitherto this kingdom has of latter years only had cause to fear; for that, against Spain, the Low-countries will ever be a good bulwark; who, if the King of Spain at any time make any great preparations at sea, will be ever jealous it is intended against them, and so ever arm against him, and be always ready to join with and to assist his Majesty against Spain; which, it may be doubted, they will not so readily do against France, with whom they are in league, and not jealous of. Besides, the King of Spain hath not so populous a country, that he can easily prepare either a great fleet, or land-army, and much less both, without long time; and so his Majesty may have the more warning thereof. Then Spain is further from England, and so the journey is the longer; and from thence cannot come many horse, which are the forces most to be feared in England. Whereas, France being so near us, and so full of soldiers, both horse and foot, if it once come to be able to equal England at sea, by sudden and quick preparations, stealing opportunities, he may overtop England at sea, and then transport such an army of horse and foot, as we might justly be afraid of: for old soldiers, both horse and foot, France abounds in; and the French have a virtue proper to them, that not a gentleman thinks himself any thing, until he has seen the wars, and learned at least good and perfect use of his arms; and naturally they are all good horsemen. Their land affords horses fit for service, and every man almost knows how to use pistol and carabine; whereas in England, unless those which have been soldiers, few or none can use their arms, and of those which have been soldiers, it may be, not all can well use their arms, especially the musquet, which is of most offence; which our nation are not naturally so prompt to learn the use of, as the French are: and, for horse, this kingdom is so deficient, that it is a question, whether or not the whole kingdom could make two-thousand good horse, that might equal two-thousand French.

To redress these deficiencies, in all humility, I here present my poor and slender advice, under correction; and with submission to better judgments.

First, and principally, I would advise that his Majesty would arm at sea, for that is the surest defence, for we can never be hurt by a foreign enemy by land, till we be first beaten at sea: and therein I cannot give better advice, than to do what the French King doth; To repair and increase his own royal navy, which is the greatest and best-assured strength of England; and, to that end, to set a-part some certain large proportion of his revenue, that his seamen may have good pay, and be well paid; and, if there be good and strict courses taken, that there be no abuses in the musters, victualling, and consumption of ammunition, (which, without good payment, cannot well be executed,) his Majesty will be a gainer thereby in matter of profit, besides the reputation and advantage of his service. And it is my opinion, that there is no prince or state, but had better give forty in the hundred, for monies to pay his militia well, than not to pay well: then to encourage his merchants and other subjects to trade, and in making new plantations. For his land-forces, that his Majesty would take order, that the numbers of trained men were increased; or rather that the whole kingdom, from eighteen or twenty, to thirty-five or forty, as many men, as were able of body, were armed; one third with pikes and armours, another with musquets, and the third with calivers. That there were powder, bullets, and match through the whole kingdom; magazines thereof in sundry places of the kingdom in such a quantity, as that if it were invaded in one, or divers parts, there might be no want of ammunition in any place: for it would be then too late to fetch it elsewhere, and much worse than to make it, or send over seas for it. That there were care taken, that these men, then armed, might be well exercised; and, to that end, that there be in every hundred or wapentake, some old soldier, serjeant, or other inferior officer had out of the Low-countries well chosen, that might teach men the use of their arms; and that there were certain days set and appointed for the shewing their arms and exercising them. And, if the statutes, which were formerly for shooting in the long-bow, were revived, or converted (with deliberation) for the musquet and caliver to practise, by shooting at marks on ordinary holidays and such like times, and at some times some small prize for them that shoot nearest; under correction, I think it were much for the strength of the kingdom. Then, that there were good choice of the muster-masters; none to be, but such as had borne office in some actual war of reputation: for better there were none, and their allowances divided unto sundry inferior men, than for one to draw a great pay, that either knows not to do, or doeth not any thing for it. And because there are, or may be, such as have borne office in the wars, and yet discontinue so long, that they have forgotten their trade; or that the fashion of the wars and exercising be changed, since they were last soldiers; that every muster-master shall not only at his first entrance be approved, by such as are able to judge him, to be fit for that charge; but, to the end he may continue so, he be enjoined, once in four or five years to go personally, for the summer-time, into some actual war abroad (if any be), to retain and renew his knowledge. That the captains of the trained-bands be enjoined themselves to pass the seas to learn the duties of their places, or at least to keep, at their own charge, one that can discharge their place; and, if neither, to quit their commands to such, as will do the one, or the other.

By this means, his Majesty may have an army of foot on a sudden, in any part of England, to answer all occasions, without drawing his forces much far out of their proper countries; for an enemy may make a show of landing in one place, and having drawn the greatest strength of the kingdom thither (winds serving for it), suddenly transport himself to another, before that army can, by land, come thither.

Now, for horse (wherein this kingdom is more defective, than, I think, is any other), it were a work worthy of his Majesty seriously to take it into consideration how to amend it; and, though on a sudden it is not to be hoped to bring the work to any great perfection, yet, a good foundation once well laid, in process of time it may be effected, and for the present be much helped. It is so great a work, and my experience being not

so much that way, as in foot; I will not take upon me to deliver any certain grounds for it; but will only point at some ways, whereby, I conceive, it may be reformed. The defects consist chiefly in want of fit horses, and fit men to be horsemen, (which I take to be the greater want of the two,) and can but wonder, that so great a kingdom should be so defective in so brave and noble a strength, wherein our nearest neighbours so abound. In ancient times we were not so: it may be, one reason is, that now our nation is more addicted to running and hunting-horses, than in those elder times.

For remedy, under correction, first, That there were care taken, that there were a stronger breed of horses through the kingdom; then that his Majesty would begin at his court, and there convert his bands of pensioners into a brave troop of cuirassiers; their horses at least so ready, as to give and charge a pistol on; sometimes to exercise them, by shooting at a mark on horseback with their pistols, and always to keep this band so. To admit none to those places, but such as before were known to be horsemen, and could use a pistol on horseback. Then, that the lords, and others of his Majesty's great officers, and council, did follow this example, and every one to keep some great horses; to have arms, and pistols, and some such servants as were fit to be horsemen, and to induce other lords, and gentlemen of great estates, to do the like, and encourage them thereto; to reserve all personal honours (except experienced soldiers that had borne good command) for such noblemen and gentlemen as did in this conform themselves to do his Majesty and country service; whereby those, which never intended to make the wars their trade, might be brought so far, as to be enabled to do something for the defence of their king and country. If the noblemen and gentlemen would take this to heart, as they have done running of races for bells (which, I could wish, were converted to shooting at a mark, with pistols on horseback for the same bell), they would be sufficient for cuirassiers. Now, for other kinds of horse, I would that the trained-bands were increased, and all reformed to harquebusiers; but whether their pieces to be with firelocks or snaphaunces[3], is questionable; the firelock is more certain for giving fire, the other more easy for use. For the present, my opinion is; at first, it were best to take up the snaphaunce, until pistols be more frequent, which, being more difficult to use, are fittest, as before, for gentlemen to begin first to bring into use. When they have once brought them to be ordinary, it will be more easy to bring them into use amongst the inferior sort; and, for the present, this kingdom hath not (except in London, and it may be some few towns besides) artificers, that can make or mend firelocks. Then I would have a muster-master a-part, for the horse, as well as for the foot, well chosen, some old horseman out of the Low-countries; for that it is scarce possible to find men that are fit and able for both horse and foot. The kingdom thus armed and exercised, an enemy cannot land in any part of it, but (without unfurnishing the other parts) there will be a competent army presently found to make resistance.

It may be said, these advices will be found not practicable, or very difficult; so are all great works at first: but, I conceive, if his Majesty would take it to heart, and give encouragement of honour and preferments, to such as conform themselves to his pleasure herein, and make this the way of advancement, it would not be difficult: but if, without this way, honour and advancement may be had, well may many think, why should they take such pains, or be at such charge, for that which may more easily be had. And here I cannot but blame our nation in the general, (for, I believe, the most glorious of our neighbours will grant it as valiant a nation as is on the earth,) that they should not be more addicted to arms, but give themselves, for the most, to expensive pleasures, altogether unserviceable for king and country: whereas, there is not a French gentleman, that so soon as he begins to write *man*, but learns to ride, to use his arms on foot and horseback; and, whether younger or elder brother, puts himself into some actual war for some time, to learn the trade of a soldier, though he never intend to make it his profession.

[3] [*Snap-hance* is explained by Bailey, a gun that strikes fire without a match; and this seems to make it synonymous with *fire-lock*.]

I would further advise, that all the principal harbours and good landing-places were so fortified, as far as is possible, that no enemies' fleet should anchor in them, or much less land in them, without remarkable disadvantage. The command of which places I would have given to none, but experienced soldiers, and such as are sound in religion, and had borne commands in the wars for many years, and they to reside in them: not unto noblemen, or gentlemen of great estates, which seldom or never come at them; and much less to meaner men that are no soldiers; for maintenance whereof the charge once arrested, to repartite them on some revenue near adjoining, and, being well paid, to have strict oversight had, that there be always such, and so many able gunners and soldiers present in them, at his Majesty's pay, on all occasions to be used: if less will serve, then why should his Majesty be charged to pay more?

To conclude: If his Majesty would reserve the places properly belonging to the wars, (whereof he hath the fewest of any great prince of Christendom,) as, the governments of his islands, the keeping of the forts and castles, and places of command in Ireland, only for soldiers, and worthy soldiers, and men sound in religion; it would be a great encouragement to his subjects to follow the wars, to enable themselves to do him service (though to their cost and charge), when they have to hope, that though they serve a strange prince or state (to their no advantage), yet, thereby enabling themselves to do their own king service, they may, in time, be provided for in their own country: whereas, if charges of command, advancements of honour, may be had better cheap, by staying at home and following their pleasures; there will but few ever take the pains and labour, or be at the charges to enable themselves, by following the wars abroad; all men being led, either by honour, or profit, or both.

The late Earl of Essex's Instructions for England's Safety.

AFTER I had resolved to publish this manuscript of my brother's, I remembered I had read something long since, in a little treatise, written by that brave and worthy commander, the late Earl of Essex, concerning sea-preparations (though then written in a time when we had an open enemy, and now no such occasion, yet we know not how soon we may); which, though but short, yet my brother's judgment concurring with it, which was, 'That the safest and surest defence for this kingdom was our Navy; and that 'we could never be hurt by land by a foreign enemy, unless we were first beaten at sea:' I thought it not amiss to annex it to this of my brother's; and, by that occasion, (reading the whole discourse from which I had it,) I found in it, besides, what concerns this point, which was, 'Directions for the Securing of this Kingdom,' some such worthy expressions, which, as they did much affect me in the reading, so I conceive, they might be of some use also for these times; as, some for imitation, others for other purposes; I thought it not amiss to revive and bring them again to light. Some things were spoken by that great Lord of himself, some others are related by him of those ancient and renowned Romans, where we may see a braveness of spirit, even in those that were but Heathens. Now, if there were such brave spirits in them that had nothing but the light of nature to direct them; what should be then in Christians, that have a sun to their candle? Shall they come short of them, in love and affection to their country? Will it not one day rise up in judgment against us, as our Saviour saith of Tyre and Sidon, that have such principles and such encouragements of rewards above them? They had but honour and reputation; I may say, a vain and windy motive: we have the command of God, and a heavenly reward promised, even a kingdom, and that everlasting: and shall we come so short of them, as not to venture any thing for God, his Gospel, and our religion? Did a Roman say, he cared not to leave to bury him, so the commonwealth might flourish? What shall a Christian do for his country? Shall he not lay aside all private respects of his own, and only seek God's honour, in his care of the common good?

Now, most noble Lords and Gentlemen, God having called you unto it, let your country see, and all the world know, that there is more power in religion, than in heathenish principles: join all your forces together to promote his Gospel, and your country's good.

O that the reviving of these few sparks that I have, by this occasion, brought to light, might add fervour to your brave English spirits! What though there be some so degenerate, as, to raise their fortunes, and keep their honours, care not what becomes of the commonwealth, and Gospel of Christ: yet we have found there are many, yea, many, that still retain that ancient virtue in them, and do, even at this time, practise it. To such I will say, "Go on, noble Lords and Gentlemen, do worthily in Bethlehem, and you shall be famous in Ephrata; set aside all private respects, and, as you have begun with unwearied pains and patience (which in all due thankfulness we do humbly acknowledge), go on still to continue your care of us, and our country's good; and for all others contrarily minded, the Lord either convert them, or suddenly confound them."

In this ensuing relation, I shall only use that honourable Lord's own words. I leave their application to all true-hearted Englishmen. The heads are these:

First, His advice for sea-preparations; which are not (as I conceive) unuseful for this present time.

Secondly, His protestation of his affection to his country; worthy the imitation of men of his quality.

Thirdly, His extraordinary affection to soldiers and men of war; the favouring and cherishing of whom will be no small security to this kingdom.

Fourthly, His judgment concerning pluralities of religion, tolerated in a state; a thing worthy of due consideration.

Fifthly, The sweet harmony betwixt a loving prince and loyal subjects; a desirable and imitable thing.

Lastly, A sweet reprehension of the superfluous expence of these times, which, if some course were taken therein to limit them, I see not, but it would make much to the general good of this commonwealth.

First, For his advice for sea-preparations, it was this; That, if her Majesty would be pleased but to raise up a sum of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year, and put it into the hands of an honest and sufficient treasurer, for the wars; and to be issued by a council of war well chosen, it would fully and sufficiently maintain the war with Spain: yea, such a force should be maintained thereby, as her Majesty having a convenient number of her own ships, and repairing and furnishing them, as yearly she doth; the enemy should bring no fleet into the seas for England, or Ireland, or Low-countries, but should be beaten; nor seek to gather one into Spain, but the parts of it should be defeated, before the whole could be assembled: yea, those services should be done upon the enemy, that the poorest prince or state in Christendom should have little cause to fear his malice.

Secondly, For his protestation of his affection to his country, it was, that the reputation of a most faithful subject and zealous patriot, with the hazard of his life and decay of his estate, he had sought to purchase; and when he was offered by the King of Spain, what title, sum of money, or pension he would desire, so as he might be won to take their part, he did profess, that if God had not put him back, and arrested him by contrary winds and tempests that summer, he would have taught that proud King what effects his proffer had wrought in him; and the longer the will of God and his Sovereign did restrain him, with the greater interest he hopes to pay him in the end, that had sought him out as a fit man to betray his Queen and country.

Thirdly, For his respect to soldiers and men of war, he professed he did entirely love them. First, for his own sake; for he found sweetness in their conversations, strong assistance in their employments with him, and happiness in their friendship: that he loved them for their virtue's sake, and for their greatness of mind, (for little minds, though never so full of virtue, can be but little virtuous,) and for their great understanding; for to un-

derstand little things, or things not of use, is little better than to understand nothing at all: that he loved them for their affections; for self-loving men love ease, pleasure, and profit; but they that love pains, danger, and fame, shew that they love public profit, more than themselves: that he loved them for his country's sake, for they are England's best armour of defence, and weapons of offence: if we have peace, they have purchased it; if we should have war, they must manage it. Yea, while we are doubtful, and in treaties, we must value ourselves by what may be done; and the enemy will value us, by that which hath been done by our chief men of action. Before action, Providence made him cherish them for the service they can do; and, after action, experience and thankfulness made him love them for the service they had done.

Fourthly, Concerning plurality of religion, professed, in one estate, that it was against the policy of all states; because, where there is no unity or order in the state, it is the manifest ruin of that state: for as the mingling of poison with wholesome liquor, in one vessel, doth not correct that which is lethal, but corrupts that which is wholesome; so the poisoned doctrine of those Hispaniolized Jesuits, once brought in that state, will not endure any profession, save their own.

Fifthly, For the sweet harmony, betwixt a loving prince and loyal subjects; thus doth he say, We (thanks be to God) have a Queen, who hath never been wasteful in her private expence; yet will she sell her plate and jewels in the Tower, before her people shall be undefended. We are a people that will turn our silken-coats into iron-jacks, and our silver-plate into coats of plate, rather than our Sovereign shall be unserved.

Sixthly, and lastly, His pleasing reprehension of the superfluous expences of those times, it is (by way of objection that was made in those times) that they could neither have a good peace, or just war; and, of two evils, it were better to have a patched peace, than an insupportable war. To which he answers, That those, that did so think, were injurious: first, to our men of war, that fight for them, and defend them, in thinking their arms (which have ever done honour to our nation, and struck terror into the hearts of our enemies) less able to defend our country than their treaties, which have never been free from scorn and disadvantage: injurious they are to the country that bred them; which, being one of the bravest, strongest, and happiest states in Christendom, is judged, by these men, to be as weak as their own weak hearts: injurious they are to her Majesty; who, being so great, so glorious, and so victorious a queen, shall be judged unable to maintain war, when she cannot have peace, but at the pleasure of her enemy: yea, injurious, and most unthankful they are to God himself; who hath hitherto fought for them; in that, for an unsafe peace, with an idolatrous and irreligious nation, they would leave an honourable and just war. But when some objections might be made, that her Majesty's treasure was drawn deep into, and if there were any weakness in our means, to make war, it was in our treasure. To this he answers, That though her Majesty's treasure be drawn deep into, and the poor husbandman, by the late hard years past, hath now left scarce any means to live; yet, if our sumptuous buildings, our surfeiting diet, our prodigality in garments, our infinite plate, and costly furniture of our houses, be well considered, England cannot be thought poor. Can we exceed all nations, in Christendom, in wasteful vanities; and can we not arm ourselves against one nation, whom we have ever beaten, for our necessary defence? Was Rome so brave a state, that the very ladies, to supply the common treasure, and to maintain the wars, spoiled themselves of their jewels and rich ornaments: and is England so base a state, as that the people therein will not bestow some part of their superfluous expences, to keep themselves from conquest and slavery? Did the godly kings, and religious people, which we read of in the Old Testament, to maintain war against the enemies of God, sell the ornaments of the Temple, and the things consecrated to holy uses? And shall not we, that have as holy a war, spare those things we have dedicated to our own idle and sensual pleasures? Could our own nation, in those gallant former ages (when our country was far poorer, than now it is), levy armies, maintain wars, achieve great conquests in France, and make our powerful armies known, as far as the Holy-Land? And is this such a degenerate age, as we shall not be able to defend England? No, no;

there is yet left some seed of that ancient virtue. I remember, with what spirit and alacrity, the gentlemen of England have put themselves voluntarily into our late actions; there will ever be found some Valerii, which, so the state may stand and flourish, care not though they leave not wherewith to bury themselves, though others bury their money, not caring in what case they leave the state.

The Conclusion.

THUS far are his own words; and here I intended to have finished this discourse, but my thoughts pressed me to a new task: and what shall I say, most noble Lords and worthy Gentlemen? I will say to you, even as Abraham did to God: 'Seeing (saith he) I have 'begun to speak unto my Lord, that am but dust and ashes; let not my Lord be angry, 'I will speak but this once.' Seeing I have taken upon me to publish something, that, I hope, may tend to the good of our bodies; give me leave now to add something, which, I hope, may be no less for the good of souls, and that is this: Most humbly to crave, that you will be pleased to take to your most wise and grave considerations that noble and pious work happily begun, and successively proceeded in, of the feoffees for redeeming in impropriations, of which body, before it was suppressed, I was (though unworthy) a member; and, therefore, can say the more: of which I dare be bold to say, it was one of the most glorious works that ever was undertaken in this kingdom of late years, and did more conduce to the spreading abroad of the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ, than any I ever understood or heard of. Of which I may truly say, as Solomon of the virtuous housewife, 'Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou surmountest them all.' I deny not, but it is good to give to hospitals, to repairing of churches, setting up of free-schools, building of alms-houses, and the like; but I have ever thought, such as concern souls, to be as far above them, as the soul is above the body.

This pious work, it was well approved by his Majesty, as we were informed, at our first undertaking of it; and I am sure, of all his best subjects, only the Diotrephes's that St. John speaks of, that love pre-eminence, and thrust their brethren out of the church; the prelates of our time; that never did further, but ever hinder any good work, that tended to the advancement of the Gospel of Christ, if it did not comply with their ambitions. But of them I will say no more; you have said so much and so well: but, for this pious work, I dare be bound to say, if it had continued, and not been suppressed by their means, that by this time, most of the impropriations of this kingdom had been brought in, and laid unto the church again. A work fit for such an age as this, that hath enjoyed the Gospel so long, to have propagated it to the dark corners of this kingdom; and this to be effected and done, not by a forced and strained exaction, but by a free and willing contribution of such as understand the nature of it, and saw the present good fruits and effect of it, which adds much to the glory of it. The contributions, at first, were very encouraging, and some underwrit yearly good sums; others, to every impropriation we brought, certain sums; but, towards the time of our unhappy dissolution, the contribution grew much greater; for, not a week before we were suppressed, a lady, yet living, sent us word, she would give a thousand pounds presently, to the furtherance of the work; and many wills have since been altered, that we heard of, that gave brave proportions to it. I never heard of, nor can yet see, any such way to spread the Gospel to the remote and blind corners of this kingdom; neither can we, for aught I know, ever hope to see popery quelled, till a godly painful ministry be established; and that will never be, till competent means be provided: both these had been effected, and the effects, in time, would have manifested what I have said, and the benefit thereof would not only have extended to the church, but also to the commonwealth; for where a good ministry is placed in a town, there idleness will be abolished, the poor and impotent children and vagrant set on work, and his Majesty have gained true and loyal subjects, such as he may repose himself in their loves and fidelities. It is the glory of our religion, it was never stained with those hellish plots, massacres, and treacheries against their Sovereign; and if ever popery be

put down to purpose, it must be by the means of establishment of a powerful ministry; then shall we see Satan fall down like lightning: it must be the breath of the Lord that must abolish the man of sin. I deny not, but good laws do well; but, what through favour, conniving, and want of execution, we daily see they have not such good effect, as were to be wished: that I am confident, it must be the powerful conscionable preaching-ministry of the Gospel, that must especially effect it; and to procure that, nothing will more conduce, than a full, free, and plentiful provision for the dispensers of it; and not for such as do least, to have most. The Lord, in mercy, direct you, bless and prosper your proceedings, and, in his good time, give us to enjoy the happy fruits and effects of your great, long, and unwearied pains!

The Process and Pleadings in the Court of Spain, upon the Death of Anthony Ascham[1], Resident for the Parliament of England, and of John Baptista Riva[2], his Interpreter, who were killed by John Guillim, William Spark, Valentine Progers, Jo. Halsal, William Arnet, and Henry Progers: Who are all in close Prison in Madrid for the said Fact, except Henry Progers, who fled to the Venetian Ambassador's House, and so escaped. Sent from Madrid, from a Person of Quality, and made English[3].

London, printed by William Dugard, Printer to the Council of State, 1651.[4]

[Quarto, containing Twenty Pages.]

To his truly honoured Friend Sir W. Butler, Knight.

SIR,

YOUR desires to me are equivalent to decrees, which I shall be always ready to put in execution, as far as I can, and never be found in contempt: therefore, according to the contents of your last, I have sent you by this post the plea concerning the English gentlemen that are under close restraint here in the King's prison, for the death of Mr. Ascham, and your old acquaintance John Baptista Riva, his interpreter; we cannot conjecture yet what

[1] [Ascham was a scholar, and had been concerned in drawing up the mock-trial of Charles I. He had also written a book to determine on what length of time allegiance was due from subjects to their sovereigns, &c.; a speculation which the parliament of England felt disposed to cherish. Though unacquainted with business and unskilled in language, this new agent was therefore dispatched to the court of Spain with letters for the King; but on his arrival at Madrid, some English officers, who had served in the Spanish armies, conspired to take away his life; and very soon effected their purpose in the manner this tract describes: their avowed motive for doing so, being hatred to the new republick of England. See Clarendon's History of the Rebellion.]

[2] [A renegado Franciscan friar, who had been bred in Spain, and was well versed in the language.]

[3] [By that most indefatigable but ill-requited penman, James Howell; who, according to Wood, 'having no 'beneficial employment, wrote books to the last.']

[4] See Oldys' Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 38

will become of them, for the Church stands firm for them; and you well know what predominant influences the Church hath in this clime.

The Lord Cottington and Sir Edward Hyde[5] are parted, and departed from this court; the first to Valladolid, the other for Flanders: and since that time Mr. Fisher appears abroad in some lustre with his coach and lackeys; whereas, before, he kept retired and invisible. Catalonia is like to be reduced this summer; for there are mighty forces both by land and sea, to that purpose.

Madrid, this 8th of May, 1651.

No more, but that I am always
Your ready and most real servant,
R. W.

The whole Discourse analysed.

This Plea doth partition itself into sundry Particulars.

First. THE manner and circumstance of the fact is punctually related, with the names and distinction of the actors.

Secondly, The atrocity and heinousness of the fact is aggravated, being committed upon the person of a public minister of state; *viz.* the Ambassador or Resident of England, whose person should merit more particular respect in the Catholic court, in regard of the precedencies which were always given in England to the Spanish ambassadors.

Thirdly, Divers testimonies are produced how that the persons and office of ambassadors are sacred, &c.

Fourthly, It is proved that this public minister had the safe-conduct, and consequently the protection of his Catholic Majesty; which makes the offence reflect upon him, and is punishable by his own royal justice; and so the delinquents are not to be transmitted elsewhere for their punishment.

Fifthly, A parallel betwixt the death of Ascham and Abner, who had King David's safe-conduct.

Sixthly, The holy Church cannot protect so proditorious a murder, as it is proved by forcible reasons.

Seventhly, Important arguments for a sudden execution of justice upon the offenders, &c.

The learned and elaborate Charge of Dr. Don Augustin de Hierro, Knight of the Order of Calatrava, and Fiscal (or Attorney-General) of the Council-Royal; against Don John Guillim, William Spark, Valentine Progers, William Arnet, and Jo. Halsal, Englishmen, who say they are, and are detained in the Royal-Prison of this Court, for having traitorously, and upon prepense Malice, killed Anthony Ascham, Ambassador, or Resident of the Parliament of England, who came and entered into this Court by Virtue of the Safe-Conduct of the King our Lord (whom God preserve), and John Baptista Riva, a Genoese, being Interpreter, or Secretary, of the said Resident. The Immunity of the Church (which they pretend) cannot avail them; nor ought the Plea of that Immunity hinder the Imposing and Executing upon the said Delinquents the Punishment that corresponds with their Offences, as will be proved in the ensuing Charge.

The Accusation or Charge.

1. THE disaster and death of Charles Stuart, King of England, happened the ninth of February, N. S. 1649. The Parliament of England, governing the kingdom afterwards, sent an ambassage to the King our lord, (whom God guard); and Besoldus saith,

[5] [Ambassadors from Charles the Second, who had been in Spain since 1649.]

that *qui à belli ducibus gubernatoribúsque provinciarum liberis mittuntur, sunt legati:* 'Those, who from generals of war and free governors of provinces are sent any where, 'are ambassadors.' I could produce a cloud of authors upon this argument, who treat of, and declare, who have capacity to send ambassadors,; as, the Earl of Fontanar, Don Christoval de Benevente, in his advertencies to princes and ambassadors; the dissertations of Don John Vella, Conrado Bruno, and the Count Don Juan Antonio de Vera in his book, called, 'The Ambassador,' do amply aver. But whether the person sent lately by the Parliament of England was an ambassador, or agent, or resident, (as the delinquents term him,) or most properly an orator, for he came to deprecate peace; whether he was all these, or any of these, it matters not; for any of these may style him a Legate, and make him deserve that title; and the same security is due to all those titles, as Hotoman upon his theme resolves the point, with others.

2. This Ambassador, or Resident, sent by the Parliament of England, called Anthony Ascham, arrived at the Bay of Cales the twenty-fourth of March, 1650, with an interpreter, and three or four servants; and not meeting there with the Duke of Medina Celi, he went in quest of him to the port Santa Maria, and did let him know that he was sent by the Parliament of England, in quality of an agent to the Court of Spain. The Duke lodged him thereupon, and according to his accustomed attention and prudence, by which he always operates, sent to tell him, that in regard it was the first negotiation between Spain and the Parliament of England, he could do nothing in the business, till he had first given an account to his Majesty, as he did the twenty-seventh of March, which came to Madrid, the second of April, and the same day the King referred the letter to his council; and the fourth of April, there was order sent to the Duke to treat him as resident, and see him conveyed to the court accordingly in safety. The twentieth of April, the Resident (having been sick before) began his journey, being accompanied by the camp-master, Don Diego de Moreda,[6] and the second of June they came to Toledo, whence the camp-master sent to the court for further order; and order was sent that he should pursue his journey and that the Resident might take a house where he pleased in the court: so they arrived at court the Sunday following at five in the evening; and Monday next after, at six in the morning, John Baptista Riva (who was, he said, a Genoese) went in company of a servant of the camp-master, to Hieronymo de la Torre, knight of the order of Calatrava, and secretary of state: the said Riva complained of the illness and incommodity of the lodging. But when the Resident and his train lighted at their lodging, it was observed, there passed by some that went muffled thereabouts, who were overheard to say, *essos son*, 'These are they:' so Riva delivered the secretary two letters from the Parliament, saying that the Resident came under the protection of his Majesty. The secretary answered, that they had done ill, not to have given account at the very point of their arrival; the Resident being the person he was, and being in the Catholic court he was secure enough; and he would advertise his Majesty of his coming accordingly, which he did within a quarter of an hour; charging the camp-master's servant, that he should tell his master to continue in assisting the Resident. But an hour and half before this, the fore-mentioned delinquents did proditoriously, out of prepense malice, murder the said Resident, and the said John Baptista Riva, according to the circumstances which shall follow. Now these men well knew, that the said Resident came to treat of peace; and they spontaneously confess they knew it; and that he entered into this court, by order from his Majesty, and with his passport; so that, besides the treachery and malice of the act, they committed capital treason, *Crimen læsæ majestatis in primo capite.* Now for every offence there is a corresponding punishment, and for this certainly there is undoubted pain of death; therefore, they have made themselves unworthy of the immunity of the Church, which they pretend.

The business briefly doth branch itself into two articles:

First, The grievousness of the delict[7] is to be considered, and the quality of the person upon whom it was committed, one, who had a safe-conduct from his Majesty; therefore, it is *crimen læsæ majestatis*, and perpetrated in a most treacherous and malicious manner.

Secondly, The Church cannot give them sanctuary; therefore the pain of death is to be

[6] [In order that he might proceed with the greater security to Madrid, says Clarendon.]

[7] [*Delictum*, offence.]

executed upon them according to the merit of the delict; in declaring the circumstances whereof I will leave all curiosities, and go to the pinch of the business, without extending myself to any extravagant impertinencies.

The First Article.

Touching the necessity and utility of ambassies, Besoldus prosecutes this subject at large, together with Pascalio Benavente and Marsellaert, in their learned dissertations. But Pedro Ærodo may be said to comprehend all, in these elegant words: *Legatorum munus perquàm utile est, ac perquàm necessarium, nam sine iis nec fœdera iniri possunt, nec belli leges pacisque dici; inimicitiæ essent immortales, insidiæ, cædes, incendiaque ubique essent:*' 'The function of ambassadors is most profitable and necessary, for without them 'there can no confederation be made, nor any laws of peace or war enacted; enmities 'would prove immortal, slaughterings, perfidiousness; deceit and combustions would be 'every where.' This so necessary and profitable a ministry was justly called, *Santo officio y ministerio de los Angelos*, 'the holy office and ministry of angels;' and the persons of those, who did exercise it, were held for sacred in all men's opinions: *Sancti habebantur legati, eorumque corpora sancta sunt.* 'Ambassadors were held holy, and their bodies 'holy,' saith Marcus Varro; therefore they should be protected from all human injury. Cicero also saith, *Sentio jus legatorum tum hominum præsidio munitum esse, tum etiam divino jure vallatum:* 'I hold the right of ambassadors not only to be fortified with human 'safe-guard, but intrenched with divine safety.' I could muster up a whole squadron of authors, both modern and ancient, upon this subject, especially Don Alonso, who makes this security of ambassadors his own, and defends it so: and this security is due to any ambassador, though he be suspected and false, as friar Don Gonçalez resolves the point in his history of China; and Besoldus also; and although the said ambassador come to deceive and collude, or that he be an enemy, yet having a safe-conduct, he is to be protected, as the Count de la Roca saith, *Fides enim, quando promittitur, etiam hosti servanda est contra quem bellum geritur, quantò magis amico pro quo pugnatur.* And if this security be due to an ambassador, that comes to entrap; yea, to an enemy; how much more to an English friend, in whose country the ambassador of Spain hath, and always hath had the pre-eminence of the ambassadors of all other princes?

Now that England should still be our friend, *in statu quo nunc*, and that peace should be continued with her, proceeds from right; for peace is not only made with the king, but with the kingdom also, and, although the first expires, the last remains. For, put the case that a peace be concluded with a country, without including the king, (either by carelessness, or some other accident,) yet the peace stands good; for so the Polish magistrates answered the emperor Ferdinand the Second, *Faltando el rey, se conservan con el reyno:* 'The 'king failing, yet peace is to be conserved with the kingdom.' So Bodin holds, and urgeth a pregnant example to this purpose, lib. de Repub. cap. iv. fol. 63. where he allegeth the answer which the ambassadors of France made to Edward the Fourth, king of England, desiring aid from France against some rising subjects of his, by virtue of the league between them; which answer was, 'That the King of France could not help him; for con-'federations betwixt France and England were made betwixt the kings and kingdoms; so 'that, though King Edward was dispossessed thereof, yet the league and amity remained 'still with the kingdom, and with the king regnant.' Just so the peace betwixt the kings and kingdoms of Spain with England, though Charles Stuart, the king, be wanting, yet it may be kept entire with the kingdom: and his Majesty himself insinuates so much unto us, continuing still his ambassador in England. For, when a peace is established betwixt kings and kingdom, people, persons, and vassals; though the king fail, and the kingdom receive a differing form of government, yet the peace holds good still, because it aimed principally at the people and persons of both nations; and upon these terms the peace was renewed betwixt Spain and England, 1630, as the French Mercury relates.

Therefore, these delinquents failed much in the foresaid reverence due to the sacred persons of ambassadors, as also to the safe-conduct of his Majesty, by laying violent hands

upon his person, much more by murdering him. Joab did treacherously kill Abner, who came with David's safe-conduct; whereupon David said to all the people that were about him, *Scindite vestimenta vestra*, and, reinforcing his sorrow, *levavit David vocem suam, et flevit super tumulum Abner; flevit autem et omnis populus:* 'David lifted up his voice upon 'Abner's tomb, and wept; yea, all the people wept.' Moreover, David erected a tomb for Abner, being so treacherously killed, notwithstanding that he had his safe-conduct, and the privilege of an ambassador. The Romans raised statues to ambassadors that were killed. *Interfecto legato statua debetur*, saith Besoldus, through all his chapter of Legations.

Moreover, it is observable that David did not only weep, but he burst out into this deprecation, *Si ante occasum solis gustavero panem vel aliud quidquam:* 'If, before the set-'ting of the sun, I taste bread, or any thing else,' &c. Now, this sorrow of David did much please the people, *Populus audivit, et placuerunt iis cuncta quæ fecerat rex in conspectu totius populi;* as the holy text hath it, 'The people heard, and were pleased with every 'thing that David did.'

Here it is to be observed, that the people were to be satisfied herein; nor was a bare sorrow only satisfactory for this murder, but a due punishment must expiate the offence, which, in regard that David himself could not do it in his life-time, he left it in his charge to his son Solomon, in these words: *Facies ergo juxta sapientiam tuam, et effudit sanguinem belli in pace:* 'Thou shalt do according to thy own wisdom,' (exaggerating his speech with a reason,) 'and he shed the blood of war in peace.'

So his Catholic Majesty (God guard him!) hath done out of a resentment he had of this treacherous murder, by recommending the business to so great a tribunal: *Facietis ergo juxta sapientiam vestram, effudit sanguinem belli in pace:* 'Proceed according to your 'own high prudence,' (by punishing these delinquents, who have murdered the Ambassador of the Parliament of England, though he came with a royal passport,) 'and so shed 'the blood of war in time of peace.'

Moreover, this death of the Ambassador, by hindering the procedure of his ambassy, is no single offence, but it reflects upon many. As the great Civilian saith, *Si quis autem legationem impedit, non unius, sed multorum profectum avertit; et sicut multis nocet, à multis arguendus est:* 'Whosoever shall impede an ambassy, he averts not the benefit of one 'man, but of many; and, as he hurts many, so he is to be argued by many.' Now, many are the accusers of these men; many are interested in the business; and most especially the King, our liege lord, who gave a passport, and allowed of the Ambassador, and of the Parliament of England that sent him. Therefore these men had need to have many lives to lose, for to satisfy so many whom the business concerns; so Magalotti hath it, 'That the 'punishment is to be double, in regard of the persons concerned.'

But hence may result a question, Whether the punishment be to be inflicted where the delict was perpetrated, and the king's security violated; or whether the murderers be to be sent to the ambassador's master, whom he represents? This was an old difference betwixt Romulus and Tacius, who reigned together; as Pedro Ærodo relates the business briefly, yet elegantly. Romulus was of opinion, that the offenders were to be sent to the ambassador's master. But this transferring of the offender to the party offended, was always held to proceed rather from urbanity than justice; as it appears in the case of Rincon and Fregoso, which is amply related in the Annals of the Emperor Charles the Fifth: it was a loud clamorous business, whereof all the corners of Christendom do ring, and every chronicler hath it, therefore I will not molest you with so trite a thing. Tacius was of a different sentiment: for he would have the delict to be punished where it was perpetrated; and the reasons which the doctors give, are, Because the lord of the territory is the more interested, and obliged to punish the offence on the party, to vindicate his own wrongs; as in this cause his Catholic Majesty is most injured, because his royal passport is violated: and why should he have recourse to a foreign power to desire justice, when, by the law of nations, he may avenge the affront at home by his own? And, it is most fitting, they should receive punishment in this court rather than any where else, where, in regard of

the greatness of our King, there are continually so many ambassadors residing, whose security may be much confirmed by the exemplary punishment of these delinquents; and, in particular, the very ambassadors of England themselves, who are sojourning here now, though opposites to the dead Ambassador, in regard of the dissensions now in England; all which must be done by a just infliction of punishment.

But the delinquents think to escape, by the immunities of the church where they fled, and sheltered themselves from so grievous and atrocious a crime, aggravated by so many circumstances, by so many accusers and interested persons; nor, according to their defence, do they confess to have committed any offence or sin at all, but they vaunt to have performed an heroic act. Now, it is a rule, that *jactantia aggravat peccatum;* 'Boasting 'of mischief makes the sin the worse.' St. Augustin, in defining sin, saith, that it is *dictum, factum vel concupitum contra legem æternam;* 'a thing spoken, done, or wished, 'against the eternal law.' Him followed Thomas Aquinas: and, citing Gregorio de Valentia, father Granados pursueth the opinion, and Vasquez. Sin also is defined *transgressio legis,* 'a transgression of the law.' Now the delict of murder is opposite to all laws, both divine and human; as also to violate the security of an ambassador, much more to murder, is condemned by all laws of heaven and earth: therefore, this can be no other but a delict, and much more precisely a sin, and a sin *non nominandum*, an infandous sin, much less an heroic action, or exploit of gallantry.

The Second Article.

That these delinquents cannot make themselves capable of the protection of any sanctuary, will be justified by two mediums, in form of a syllogizing argument.

He who commits *crimen læsæ majestatis,* 'a crime of high-treason,' cannot have the protection of the Church.

But these delinquents have committed a crime of high-treason.

Ergò, They cannot have the protection of the Church.

The second argument is of no less force.

He, who commits a treacherous murder, cannot have the protection of the Church.

But these delinquents have committed a treacherous murder.

Ergò, They cannot have the benefit of the Church.

For proof of the first, Ambrosinus's, Bosius's, and Julius Clarus's opinions are clear; Gambacarta, Diana, and others concur with them: among other high-treasons, they instance in killing the king's eldest son, his brother, or any of the race royal; or the king's wife (because she is the one-half of him), or a privy-counsellor of his, &c. as also, he who violates the king's *salvo conducto,* whereon they insist much. Now, touching that large bull of Gregory the Fourteenth, touching the immunities of the Church, it is the opinion of all the civil doctors on this side the Alps, that it is not available in all provinces; nay, it hath been petitioned against by divers; and to this day it is not put generally in practice. They are the words of Evia de Bolanos, in his 'Curia Filippica.' It was petitioned against in Portugal; nor could this bull take footing in Spain, which never had such exorbitant privileges, but observed the common canonical right, which makes more for the reverence of the Church. And, whereas it may be alleged, that the said safe-conduct was not to be observed by the said delinquents, because it was not published, and that it binds only from that time; whereas it may be alleged also, that the king's safe-conduct is only by royal letters, or some public instrument, all this is of little or no validity at all; for the delinquents voluntarily confess, that they had notice, by letters from England, that this Resident was to come to treat of peace, and correspond with Spain. The delinquents, besides, may aver, that the observation of this *salvo conducto* did not aim at them, being no vassals here. But this argument is of little vigour likewise: for all people, whether vassals or not vassals, are obliged to observe the laws, in the territories of that prince where they sojourn; and if this law takes hold on the natural vassals of any country, much more on strangers, who must not be encouraged, by any immunity, to come and offend in another country, without incurring the same severity of law.

Nor will it serve their turn to say, that all treasons are either *in odium* or *contemptum regis;* neither whereof could induce them to that act, because they were militant in his Majesty's army, and served him with all exact fidelity; for all this concurred in Joab; for he was ever faithful, and a confident of King David's, and son to his sister Serviah.

For proof of the second argument of our discourse, *viz.* That he, who commits a treacherous or proditorious murder, cannot have the protection of the Church, the determination of his Holiness Clement the Eighth shall serve; who saith, that 'not only he who 'kills one proditoriously, but he who kills a reconciled enemy, is deprived of the benefit of 'sanctuary.' Now, these delinquents destroyed this public minister of state *per insidias, appensatè, animo deliberato, et proditoriè;* 'fraudulently, by forecast, with a deliberate 'mind, and proditoriously:' therefore, they are far from deserving the shelter of the holy Church.

The sacred Scripture takes us out of all doubt, by the act of holy and religious Solomon, when (in execution of the just commandment of David his father) he consulted how to punish Joab for having slain Abner, who had David's safe-conduct, 'for which he fled to 'the church and to the altar:' *Fugit ergo Joab in tabernaculum Domini, et apprehendit cornu altaris.* And Benaias (who had the charge of executing him), returning with this news to Solomon, he answered, *Vade, interfice eum,* 'Go and kill him.' Benaias, going again to Joab, told him the King's command, and bid him come out: Joab replied, 'I will not come out, but I will die here.' Thereupon, Benaias going back to Solomon to inform him what Joab had said, the King rejoined, *Fac sicut locutus est, et interfice eum:* 'Do as he hath said, and kill him.' So Benaias, the son of Jehoiada, went up to the altar, and, assaulting Joab, he killed him. Now, it is a great question among the theologues, whether Solomon sinned in doing this? Abulensis excuseth him, giving this reason: *Quia non illi profecit tenuisse aram, quia nullum homicida insidiator habet præsidium:* 'Because 'the altar could not profit him, in regard that no treacherous man-slayer hath any protec-'tion.' Add hereunto what Gasper Sanchez and Ruperto allege touching the same fact: *Nihil debet illi fides altaris, qui per dolum occidendo proximum omnem fidem perdidit:* 'The 'faith of the altar oweth him nothing, who lost all faith in slaying his neighbour feloni-'ously.' But Cajetan, with others, find no way how to excuse Solomon touching this business, in regard that he might, by his pretorian troops and veteran soldiers, have taken him both from the altar and the tabernacle; and so, without any note of violating religion, he might have dispatched him in some profane place; as the priest Jehoiada commanded Athaliah to be taken out of the temple, and killed without. This is a great and precise lesson for the lords Alcaldes; for they need not fear to put these men to death, in regard they are not now materially in the church.

To prove the minor of the second syllogism, *viz.* That these men did voluntarily, of set purpose, with a deliberate mind, and proditoriously murder the Ambassador of the Parliament of England, shall be thus proved.

Certain men espied the said Ambassador lighting at his lodging, the same night he came; the next day, William Spark and Henry Progers (who is fled) spoke with John Baptista Riva, the Ambassador's servant, and Henry, going down, said to William, "Let us go here below;" (where the other three delinquents were), and said, "Let us kill the Resident for a destroyer of our nation." So they swore among themselves, 'That if one 'died, all would die with him in so heroic an act.' Whence this circumstance may be drawn, That this murder was committed by former consultation and with a deliberate mind. What is formerly related, is confessed by the delinquents themselves, and that they came to perform this exploit two by two; for, being come to the lodging, two remained at the foot of the stairs, two on the top, and two entered. William Spark went in first; seeing two sitting at the table, he pulled off his hat, and said, "I kiss your hands: which is the Resident?" And, when they knew who he was, Don John Guillim came, and (snatching him by the hair) with a naked dagger he gave him a thrust, that overthrew him; then came William Spark and gave him another; so that they gave him five stabs in all. John Baptista Riva thinking to retire to his chamber, there went four of them after him and gave

him four wounds, whereof he presently expired: whereby it appears most evidently, that the murder of the Ambassador was committed *per insidias, appensatè, animo deliberato, et proditoriè;* therefore the Church cannot protect them. It was done proditoriously, in regard that *prodere est unum actibus ostendere, et aliud in mente gerere; unde homicidium proditorium est cædes hominis nihil tale suspicantis;* as Augustine Barbosa affirms. Just so was Abner killed by Joab; according to the text, he killed Abner in a dishonourable way, *viz.* fraudulently, when he spoke to him peaceably; therefore Joab deserved to be deprived of the immunity of the temple: and just so was this Ambassador killed, and it may be thought, they deserve not the shelter of the sanctuary, as Joab did not.

But, methinks, I hear the delinquents, to extenuate their delict, whisper, 'That they 'killed the said Ambassador for an heretick, for a disturber of the public peace, who par- 'ticularly fomented the death of the King, and the change of government; and they did 'operate this, to vindicate the death of their King upon a regicide, an enemy to his coun- 'try, and on an impostor.' Moreover, one of the delinquents saith, 'That, in this rebel- 'lion, he killed a brother of his, with whom he had a particular enmity.' To these arguments I may say, as John Garcia said, in his Gloss. Nobilit., *Adducuntur leviuscula quædam argumenta, quæ meritò subtaceri poterant; sed satisfaciendum est doctis paritèr ac indoctis:* 'Certain light arguments are alleged, which might have been spared; but we 'must satisfy the unlearned, as well as the learned.' And, concerning the first,

They say, they killed the Ambassador for an heretick: so was their King, whom, they pretend, he had helped to murder. But the Catholic church never held yet, That it was lawful to kill a man only for his religion: besides, this Ambassador had a royal passport, and was attended all the way, from the sea-side, by his Majesty's servants; and ministers of any religion may have passports for their safety, as John Huss had, and as Charles the Emperor gave Luther.

They say, this Ambassador came to seduce and deceive by a book of his, which was found among his papers, and a medal which he had; which had, on the one side, *Nebart*, and on the other, XII. and the word *Obstricti;* and they say it signifies those twelve, which gained *Nebart*, and occasioned the wars. Hence they infer, that he came to deceive. There was also found a crown stabbed with a poniard. This same argument Joab propounded to David, when he said, *Ignoras Abner filium Ner, quoniam ad hoc venit ad te, ut deciperet te, ut sciret exitum tuum, et introïtum tuum, et nôsse omnia quæ agis:* 'Thou 'knowest not Abner the son of Ner; for he is come hither to deceive thee, to know thy 'going out and thy coming in, and to pry into all things thou doest:' as the sacred text tells us. But this could not excuse Joab for killing Abner, who came hither all the way with a safe-conduct; and it is the prerogative only of that prince, who gave him the safe-conduct, to know the cause of his coming.

To come now to a conclusive point, and final period of this plea. The punishment of these men, for having fraudulently, by prepense malice, with a deliberate mind, and proditoriously, murdered the Ambassador of the Parliament of England, according to the foregoing circumstances, and by their own spontaneous confessions; I say, the speedy chastisement of these men to death (notwithstanding the depending process, touching the immunity of the Church) is required by five parties that are interested therein, *viz.*

1. By God himself.
2. By the King.
3. By his subjects.
4. By the public cause.
5. By the fiscal of the council.

First, God requires it, who watcheth over all crimes, especially those of blood, which cry for vengeance more than any: therefore the procrastination hereof would be offensive to his Divine Majesty.

Secondly, The King (whom God preserve!) requires speedy execution; in regard some grave doctors do doubt, whether it was a sin in David to delay the punishment of Joab

till after his death, by bequeathing the execution of justice to his son Solomon, as a legacy.

Thirdly, The subjects of the King our lord require a hastening of the punishment; because it troubles them to see, hard before the King's eyes, and in the Catholic court, so horrid and sudden a murder committed: *Quando accidunt aliqua mala & horrenda, quæ sunt penitùs inopinata, solent homines nimiùm turbari, etiamsi ad illos mala illa non pertineant: quia ergo mors Abner erat malum quoddam rarum & inopinatum, subitò, illo audito, turbati sunt omnes Israelitæ:* 'When some horrid, unexpected, and unusual mischiefs happen, 'people use to be strangely troubled, though it nothing belongs unto them; therefore, be-'cause Abner's death was a kind of extraordinary, sudden mischief, all Israel was troubled 'at it;' as Abulensis speaks, upon the second of Kings.

Fourthly, The public cause requires a sudden execution of justice upon these delinquents, because they murdered two men by fraud, *quorum opera utilis videbatur futuræ reipublicæ;* 'whose negotiation was to be profitable to the commonwealth;' as Gaspar Sanchez saith.

Lastly, The fiscal requires justice for God, for the King, for his fellow-subjects, for the public cause, and for himself; who concludes with Cokier, in his treatise *de Legato*,

Ac perde has animas, patriam bonus eripe noxâ.

To shut up all: the justified cause cries out for speedy justice; in regard that these delinquents murdered an Ambassador of the Parliament of England. Now to every ambassador there is owing an extraordinary respect, especially to the ambassadors of England; they slew him, though they knew that he had his Majesty's safe-conduct; they slew him in the Catholic court, where the right of nations useth to be kept inviolable, and more solemnly than any where else; whereby they committed not only a foul, treacherous murder, but treason in a high degree against his Majesty: they surprized the Ambassador and his secretary at dinner, a harmless hour; they came in like friends; wherefore it may justly be inferred, that this murder was committed *per insidias, animo deliberato, appensatè, & proditoriè;* 'by fraud, with a deliberate mind, by forecast, and treacherously.' Touching the circumstances, their own spontaneous confessions make them good; therefore both God, the King, all the vassals of this court, the public cause, and the fiscal of the council, demand a speedy and actual execution of justice upon them; notwithstanding the depending process, and pretensions touching the immunities of the Church.

Salva in omnibus, &c.

Such was the charge in the court of Spain, which was delivered, with much aggravation, by the said Dr. Hieronymo Hierro, knight of the order of Calatrava, against John Guillim, William Spark, Valentine Progers, Jo. Halsal, William Arnet, and Henry Progers, who are detained still in prison for killing Anthony Ascham, resident for the Parliament of England, and John Baptista Riva, his interpreter; all, except Henry Progers, who being formerly known to the Venetian ambassador, fled to his house for protection, and so made an escape. The suit is still depending, and no resolution taken, in regard the Church stand so earnestly for them; insomuch that it is not known when it will be determined.[8]

[8] [The issue of this affair may be gleaned from Clarendon, vol. iii. part ii. book 13. It was briefly this. The Pope's nuncio required the re-delivery of the prisoners to the Church, and the English Parliament threatened vengeance, if exemplary justice was not inflicted on those who had murdered their envoy. In the end, the prisoners were proceeded against, and were all condemned to die. But as soon as the sentence was declared, they were again delivered over to the Church, where opportunity was afforded them to make their escape; which they all did, except one, who being a Protestant was closely followed, apprehended, carried back, and put to death; and this proved all the satisfaction that the Parliamentarians could obtain.]

Killing no Murder: briefly discoursed in three Questions. By William Allen[1].

'And all the People of the Land rejoiced, and the City was quiet, after that 'they had slain Athaliah with the Sword.' 2 Chron. xxiii. 21.

'Now after the Time that Amaziah did turn away from following the Lord, 'they made a Conspiracy against him in Jerusalem, and he fled to Lachish; 'but they sent to Lachish after him, and slew him there.' 2 Chron. xxv. 27.

Reprinted in the Year 1689.[2]

[Quarto, containing Thirty Pages.]

To his Highness Oliver Cromwell.

May it please your Highness,

HOW I have spent some hours of the leisure, your Highness hath been pleased to give me, this following paper will give your Highness an account: how you will please to interpret it, I cannot tell; but I can with confidence say, my intention in it, is to procure your Highness that justice nobody yet does you, and to let the people see, the longer they defer it, the greater injury they do both themselves and you. To your Highness justly belong the honours of dying for the people; and it cannot choose but be an unspeakable consolation to you, in the last moments of your life, to consider, with how much benefit to the world you are like to leave it. It is then only, my Lord, the titles, you now usurp, will be truly yours: you will then be, indeed, the Deliverer of your country, and free it from a bondage, little inferior to that from which Moses delivered his. You will then be that true Reformer, which you would now be thought; religion shall then be restored, liberty asserted, and parliaments have those privileges they have fought for. We shall then hope, that other laws will have place, besides those of the sword; and that justice shall be otherwise defined, than the Will and Pleasure of the Strongest: and we shall then hope, men will keep oaths again, and not have the necessity of being false and perfidious, to preserve themselves, and be like their rulers. All this we hope from your Highness's happy expiration, who are the true father of your country; for while you live, we can call nothing ours, and it is from your death that we hope for our inheritances. Let this consideration arm and fortify your Highness's mind against the fears of death, and the terrors of your evil conscience, that the good you will do, by your death, will somewhat balance the evils of your life. And if, in the black catalogue of high malefactors, few can be found that have lived more to the affliction and disturbance of mankind, than your Highness hath done; yet your greatest enemies will not deny, but there are likewise as few that have expired more to the universal benefit of mankind, than your Highness is like to do. To hasten this great good, is the chief end of my writing this paper;

[1] [Or rather, as the Restoration revealed, by Silas Titus, whom Charles the Second made a groom of his bedchamber, and gave him a colonel's commission. Cromwell is said to have been exceedingly terrified at the publication of this spirited performance; and, as some imagined, was almost instigated by it to take the author's advice, from a dread of falling by some ignoble hand. It was answered, with very inferior effect, by Michael Hawke of the Middle Temple, in a tract intitled, 'Killing is Murder, or no Murder, or an Exercitation; concerning a scurrilous pamphlet of one Will. Allen, a jesuitical impostor,' &c. 1657.]

[2] [First printed in 1657; again in 1659.]

and, if it have the effects I hope it will, your Highness will quickly be out of the reach of men's malice, and your enemies will only be able to wound you in your memory, which strokes you will not feel. That your Highness may be speedily in this security, is the universal wish of your grateful country: this is the desire and prayer of the good and of the bad, and, it may be, is the only thing wherein all sects and factions do agree in their devotions, and is our only common prayer. But, amongst all that put in their requests and supplications, for your Highness's speedy deliverance from all earthly troubles, none is more assiduous, nor more fervent, than he, that (with the rest of the nation) hath the honour to be, may it please your Highness,

Your Highness's present slave and vassal,

W. A.

To all those Officers and Soldiers of the Army, that remember their Engagements, and dare be honest.

I HEARTILY wish, for England's sake, that your number may be far greater, than I fear it is; and that his Highness's frequent purgations may have left any amongst you, that, by these characters, are concerned in this dedication. That I, and all men, have reason to make this a doubt; your own actions, as well as your tame sufferings, do but too plainly manifest. For you, that were the champions of our liberty, and to that purpose were raised; are not you become the instruments of our slavery? And your hands, that the people employed to take off the yoke from our necks; are not those the very hands that now do put it on? Do you remember, that you were raised to defend the privileges of parliament, and have sworn to do it; and will you be employed to force elections, and dissolve parliaments; because they will not establish the tyrant's iniquity, and our slavery, by a law? I beseech you, think upon what you have promised, and what you do; and give not posterity, as well as your own generation, the occasion to mention your name with infamy, and to curse that unfortunate valour and success of yours, that only hath gained victories (as you use them) against the commonwealth. Could ever England have thought to have seen that army, that was never mentioned without the titles of religious, zealous, faithful, courageous, the fence of her liberty at home, the terror of her enemies abroad, become her jailers? Not her guard, but her oppressors? Not her soldiers, but a tyrant's executioners; drawing to blocks and gibbets all that dare be honester than themselves. This you do, and this you are; nor can you ever redeem your own honour, the trust and love of your country, the estimation of brave men, or the prayers of good, if you let not, speedily, the world see you have been deceived: which they will only then believe, when they see your vengeance upon his faithless head that did it. This, if you defer too long to do, you will find too late to attempt, and your repentance will neither vindicate you, nor help us. To let you see you may do this, as a lawful action; and to persuade you to it, as a glorious one; is the principal intent of this following paper: which, whatever effects it hath upon you, I shall not absolutely fail of my ends; for, if it excites not your virtue and courage, it will yet exprobrate your cowardice and baseness. This is from one that was once amongst you, and will be so again, when you dare be as you were.

IT is not any ambition to be in print, (when so few spare paper and the press,) nor any instigations of private revenge or malice, (though few, that dare be honest, now want their causes,) that have prevailed with me to make myself the author of a pamphlet; and to disturb that quiet, which, at present, I enjoy, by his Highness's great favour and injus-

tice. Nor am I ignorant, to how little purpose I shall employ that time and pains, which I shall bestow upon this paper. For to think, that any reasons or persuasions of mine, or convictions of their own, shall draw men from any thing, wherein they see profit or security; or to any thing, wherein they fear loss, or see danger; is to have a better opinion, both of myself and them, than either of us both deserve.

Besides, the subject itself is of that nature, that I am not only to expect danger from ill men, but censure and disallowance from many that are good: for these opinions, only looked upon, not looked into (which all have not eyes for), will appear bloody and cruel; and these compellations I must expect from those that have a zeal, but 'not according to knowledge.' If, therefore, I had considered myself, I had spared whatever this is of pains; and not distasted so many, to please so few, as are, in mankind, the honest and the wise. But, at such a time as this, when God is not only exercising us with a usual and common calamity, of letting us fall into slavery, that used our liberty so ill; but is pleased so far to blind our understandings, and to debase our spirits, as to suffer us to court our bondage, and to place it amongst the requests we put up to him; indignation makes a man break that silence, that prudence would persuade him to use; if not to work upon other men's minds, yet to ease his own.

A late pamphlet tells us of a great design, discovered against the person of his Highness, and of the Parliament's coming (for so does that junto profane that name) to congratulate, with his Highness, his happy deliverance from that wicked and bloody attempt. Besides this, that they have ordered that God Almighty shall be mocked with a day of thanksgiving, as I think the world is with the plot; and that the people shall give public thanks for the public calamity, that God is yet pleased to continue his judgments upon them, and to frustrate all means that are used for their deliverance. Certainly, none will now deny, that the English are a very *thankful* people. But, I think, if we had read in Scripture, that the Israelites had cried unto the Lord, not for their own deliverance, but the preservation of their task-masters; and that they had thanked God, with solemnity, that Pharaoh was yet living; and that there were still great hopes of the daily increase of the number of their bricks: though that people did so many things, not only impiously and profanely, but ridiculously and absurdly; yet, certainly, they did nothing, we should more have wondered at, than to have found them ceremoniously thankful to God for plagues, that were commonly so brutishly unthankful for mercies; and we should have thought, that Moses had done them a great deal of wrong, if he had not suffered them to enjoy their slavery, and left them to their tasks and garlick.

I can with justice say, my principal intention, in this paper, is not to declaim against my Lord-Protector, or his accomplices; for, were it not more to justify others, than accuse them, I should think their own actions did that work sufficiently, and I should not take pains to tell the world what they knew before. My design is, to examine whether, if there hath been such a plot as we hear of, and that it was contrived by Mr. Sindercombe[3], against my Lord-Protector; and not by my Lord-Protector, against Mr. Sindercombe; which is doubtful, whether it deserves those epithets, Mr. Speaker is pleased to give it, of bloody, wicked, and proceeding from the Prince of Darkness. I know very well, how uncapable the vulgar are of considering what is extraordinary and singular in every case, and that they judge of things, and name them, by their exterior appearances, without penetrating at all into their causes or natures. And, without doubt, when they hear the Protector was to be killed, they straight conclude, a man was to be murdered, not a malefactor punished: for they think, the formalities do always make the things themselves; and that it is the judge and the crier that makes the justice, and the jail the criminal. And, therefore, when they read, in the pamphlet, Mr. Speaker's speech, they certainly think, he gives these plotters their right titles; and, as readily as a high-court of justice, they condemn them, without ever examining whether they would have killed a magis-

[3] [See much relating to Mr. Miles Sindercombe, in Clarendon's Hist. iii. part. 2. or Biog. Brit. iv. 505. edit. 2.]

trate, or destroyed a tyrant, over whom every man is naturally a judge, and an executioner; and whom the laws of God, of nature, and of nations, expose, like beasts of prey, to be destroyed as they are met.

That I may be as plain as I can, I shall first, make it a question (which, indeed is none), Whether my Lord-Protector be a tyrant or not? Secondly, if he be, Whether it is lawful to do justice upon him, without solemnity; that is, to kill him? Thirdly, if it be lawful, Whether it is likely to prove profitable or noxious to the commonwealth?

The civil law makes tyrants of two sorts; *tyrannus sine titulo*, and *tyrannus exercitio*: the one called a tyrant, because he hath no right to govern; the other, because he governs tyrannically. We will briefly discourse of them both; and see whether the Protector may not, with great justice, put in his claim to both titles.

We shall sufficiently demonstrate who they are that have not a right to govern, if we shew who they are that have; and what it is that makes the power just, which those, that rule, have over the natural liberty of other men. To fathers, within their private families, nature hath given a supreme power. Every man, says Aristotle, of right governs his wife and children; and this power was necessarily exercised, every where, whilst families lived dispersed, before the constitutions of commonwealths; and, in many places, is continued after, as appears by the laws of Solon, and the most ancient of those of Rome. And, indeed, as by the laws of God and nature, the care, defence, and support of the family lies upon every man whose it is; so, by the same law, there is due unto every man, from his family, a subjection and obedience, in compensation of that support. But, several families uniting themselves together, to make up one body of a commonwealth, and being independent one of another, without any natural superiority or obligation; nothing can introduce, amongst them, a disparity of rule and subjection, but some power that is over them; which power none can pretend to have, but God and themselves. Wherefore all power, which is lawfully exercised over such a society of men, which, from the end of its institution, we call a commonwealth, must necessarily be derived, either from the appointment of God Almighty (who is Supreme Lord of all and every part), or from the consent of the society itself, who have the next power to his, of disposing of their own liberty, as they shall think fit, for their own good. This power God hath given to societies of men, as well as he gave it to particular persons; and when he interposes not his own authority, and appoints not himself who shall be his vicegerents, and rule under him; he leaves it to none, but the people themselves, to make the election, whose benefit is the end of all government. Nay, when he himself hath been pleased to appoint rulers for that people, which he was pleased particularly to own, he, many times, made the choice, but left the confirmation and ratification of that choice to the people themselves. So Saul was chosen by God, and anointed king by his prophet, but made king by all the people of Gilgal. David was anointed king by the same prophet; but was afterwards, after Saul's death, confirmed by the people of Judah, and, seven years after, by the elders of Israel, the people's deputies, at Hebron. And it is observable, that though they knew that David was appointed king by God, and anointed by his prophet, yet they likewise knew, that God allowed to themselves, not only his confirmation, but likewise the limitation of his power; for, before his inauguration, they made a league with him; that is, obliged him, by compact, to the performance of such conditions, as they thought necessary for the securing their liberty. Nor is it less remarkable, that when God gives directions to his people, concerning their government, he plainly leaves the form to themselves. For he says not, when thou shalt have come into the land which the Lord thy God gives thee, *Statues super te regem*; but, *Si dixeris, statuam*[4]. God says not, 'Thou shalt appoint a King over thee;' but, 'If thou shalt say, I will appoint;' leaving it to their choice, whether they would say so or no. And it is plain, in that place, that God gives the people the choice of their king, for he there instructs them whom they shall choose, *è medio fratrum tuorum*, 'one 'out of the midst of thy brethren.' Much more might we say, if it were a less manifest

[4] Deut. xvii. 14.

truth, that all just power of government is founded upon these two bases; of God's immediate command, or the people's consent. And, therefore, whosoever arrogates to himself that power, or any part of it, that cannot produce one of those two titles, is not a ruler, but an invader; and those, that are subject to that power, are not governed, but oppressed.

This being considered, have not the people of England much reason to ask the Protector this question, *Quis constitutit te virum principem et judicem super nos?* 'Who made thee 'a prince and a judge over us?' If God made thee, make it manifest to us: if the people, where did we meet to do it? Who took our subscriptions? To whom deputed we our authority? And when and where did those deputies make the choice? Sure these interrogations are very natural; and, I believe, would much trouble his Highness, his council, and his junto, to answer. In a word, that I may not tire my reader, (who will not want proofs for what I say, if he wants not memory,) if to change the government without the people's consent: if to dissolve their representatives by force, and disannul their acts: if to give the name of the People's Representatives to confederates of his own, that he may establish iniquity by a law: if to take away men's lives, out of all course of law, by certain murderers of his own appointment, whom he names, 'A High Court of 'Justice!' if to decimate men's estates, and, by his own power, to impose upon the people what taxes he pleases; and to maintain all this by force of arms: if, I say, all this does make a tyrant; his own impudence cannot deny, but he is as complete a one, as ever hath been since there have been societies of men. He that hath done, and does all this, is the person, for whose preservation the people of England must pray: but, certainly, if they do, it is for the same reason, that the old woman of Syracuse prayed for the long life of the tyrant Dionysius; lest the devil should come next.

Now, if instead of God's command, or the people's consent, his Highness hath no other title but force and fraud, which is to want all title: and if to violate all laws, and propose none to rule by, but those of his own will, be to exercise that tyranny he hath usurped, and to make his administration conformable to his claim; then the first question we proposed, is a question no longer.

But before we come to the *second*, (seeing things are more easily perceived and found by the description of their exterior accidents and qualities, than the defining their essences,) it will not be amiss to see, whether his Highness hath not as well the outward marks and characters by which tyrants are known, as he hath their nature and essential properties: whether he hath not the skin of the lion, and tail of the fox; as well as he hath the violence of the one, and deceit of the other? Now, in this delineation which I intend to make of a tyrant, all the lineaments, all the colours will be found so naturally to correspond with the life, that it cannot but be doubted, whether his Highness be the original or the copy; whether I have, in drawing the tyrant, represented him; or in representing him, expressed a tyrant. And, therefore, lest I should be suspected to deal unsincerely with his Highness, and not to have applied these following characters, but made them; I shall not give you any of my own stamping, but such as I find in Plato, Aristotle, Tacitus, and his Highness's own evangelist, Machiavel.

2. Almost all tyrants have been first captains and generals for the people, under pretences of vindicating and defending their liberties: *Ut imperium evertant, libertatem præferunt; cùm perverterunt, ipsam aggrediuntur*, says Tacitus; 'To subvert the present 'government, they pretend liberty for the people; when the government is down, they 'then invade that liberty themselves:' this needs no application.

2. Tyrants accomplish their ends much more by fraud than force; neither virtue nor force, says Machiavel, are so necessary to that purpose, as *una astutia fortunata*, 'a lucky 'craft;' which, says he, without force has been often found sufficient, but never force without that. And in another place he tells us, their way is *Aggirare icervelli de gli huomini con astutia*, &c. 'with cunning plausible pretences to impose upon men's under-'standings;' and in the end, they master those that had so little as to rely upon their faith and integrity.

It is but unnecessary to say, that had not his Highness had a faculty to befluent in his

tears, and eloquent in his execrations: had he not had spongy eyes, and a supple conscience; and besides to do with a people of great faith, but little wit: his courage, and the rest of his moral virtues, with the help of his janisaries, had never been able so far to advance him out of the reach of justice, that we should have need to call for any other hand to remove him, but that of the hangman.

3. They abase all excellent persons, and rid out of the way all that have noble minds; *et terræ filios extollunt*, 'and advance sons of the earth.'

To put Aristotle into other words, they purge both Parliament and Army, till they leave few or none there, that have either honour or conscience; either wit, interest, or courage to oppose their designs. And in these purgations, saith Plato, tyrants do quite contrary to physicians; for they purge us of our humours, but tyrants of our spirits.

4. They dare suffer no assemblies, not so much as horse-races[5].

5. In all places, they have their spies and dilators, that is, they have their Fleetwoods, their Broghills, and their St.-Johns; besides innumerable small spies, to appear discontented, and not to side with them; that under that disguise they may get trust, and make discoveries: they likewise have their emissaries to send with forged letters. If any doubt this, let him send to Major-general Brown, and he will satisfy him.

6. They stir not without a guard, nor his Highness without his life-guard.

7. They impoverish the people, that they may want the power, if they have the will to attempt any thing against them. His Highness's way is by taxes, excise, decimations, &c.

8. They make war to divert and busy the people; and besides to have a pretence to raise monies, and to raise new levies, if they either distrust their old forces, or think them not sufficient. The war with Spain serveth his Highness to this purpose; and upon no other justice was it begun at first, or is still continued.

9. They will seem to honour and provide for good men; that is, if the ministers will be orthodox and flatter; if they will wrest and torture the Scripture to prove his government lawful, and furnish his title; his Highness will likewise then be content to understand Scripture in their favour, and furnish them with titles.

10. Things that are odious and distasteful, they make others executioners of; and when the people are discontented, they appease them with sacrificing those ministers they employ. I leave it to his Highness's major-generals to ruminate a little upon this point.

11. In all things they pretend to be wonderful careful of the publick; to give general accounts of the money they receive, which they pretend to be levied for the maintenance of the state, and the prosecuting of the war. His Highness made an excellent comment upon this place of Aristotle, in his speech to the Parliament.

12. All things set aside for religious uses they set to sale; that while those things last, they may expect the less of the people. The Cavaliers would interpret this of the dean and chapters lands.

13. They pretend inspirations from gods, and responses from oracles, to authorize what they do: his Highness hath been ever an enthusiast. And as Hugh Capet, in taking the crown, pretended to be admonished to it in a dream by St. Valery and St. Richard; so I believe will his Highness do the same, at the instigation of St. Henry and St. Richard, his two sons.

14. Lastly, above all things they pretend a love to God and religion. This Aristotle calls *artuæ tyrannicariæ potissimam;* 'the surest and best of all the arts of tyrants:' and we all know his Highness hath found it so by experience. He hath found indeed, that 'in 'godliness there is great gain;' and that preaching and praying, well managed, will obtain other kingdoms as well as that of heaven. His, indeed, have been pious arms; for he hath conquered most by those of the church, by prayers and tears. But the truth is, were it not for our honour to be governed by one that can manage both the spiritual and temporal sword; and, Roman like, to have our emperor, our high-priest; we might have

[5] [The assemblies then convened under pretence of cock-matches, horse-races, &c. were political associations, in which the Cavaliers contrived to carry on their projects against the Republicans.]

had preaching at a much cheaper rate, and it would have cost us but our tithes, which now costs us all.

Other marks and rules there are mentioned by Aristotle, to know tyrants by; but they being unsuitable to his Highness's actions, and impracticable by his temper, I insist not on them. As, among other things, Aristotle would not have a tyrant insolent in his behaviour, and not strike people: but his Highness is naturally choleric, and must call men rogues, and go to cuffs. At last he concludes, he should so fashion his manners, as neither to be really good, nor absolutely bad; but half one, half the other. Now this half-good is too great a proportion for his Highness, and much more than his temper will bear.

But to speak truths more seriously, and to conclude this first question. Certainly whatever these characters make any man, it cannot be denied but his Highness is; and then, if he be not a tyrant, we must confess we have no definition nor description of a tyrant left us, and may well imagine there is no such thing in nature, and that it is only a notion and a name. But if there be such a beast, and we do at all believe what we see and feel; let us now enquire (according to the method we proposed), Whether this be a beast of game, that we are to give law to; or a beast of prey, to destroy with all means, that are allowable and fair?

In deciding this question, authors very much differ, as far as it concerns supreme magistrates, who degenerate into tyrants. Some think they are to be born with as bad parents, and place them in the number of those mischiefs, that have no other cure, but our patience. Others think they may be questioned by that supreme law of the people's safety, and that they are answerable to the people's representatives for the breach of their trust. But none, of sober sense, make private persons judges of their actions; which were indeed to subvert all good government. But on the other side, I find none, that have not been frighted or corrupted out of their reason, that have been so great enemies to common justice and the liberty of mankind, as to give any kind of indemnity to a usurper, who can pretend no title but that of being stronger; nor challenge the people's obedience, upon any other obligation but that of their necessity and fear. Such a person, as one out of all bounds of human protection, all men make the Ishmael, against whom, is every man's hand, as his is against every man. To him they give no more securiry, than Cain, his fellow-murderer and oppressor, promised to himself, to be destroyed by him, that found him first.

The reason why a tyrant's case is particular, and why in that every man hath that vengeance given him, (which in other cases is reserved to God and the magistrate,) cannot be obscure, if we rightly consider what a tyrant is, what his crimes are, and in what state he stands with the commonwealth, and with every member of it. And certainly, if we find him an enemy to all human society, and a subverter of all laws, and one that by the greatness of his villainies secures himself, against all ordinary course of justice; we shall not at all think it strange, if then he have no benefit from human society, no protection from the law, and if, in his case, justice dispenses with her forms. We are therefore to consider that the end, for which men enter into society, is not barely to live, (which they may do dispersed, as other animals,) but to live happily, and a life answerable to the dignity and excellency of their kind. Out of society this happiness is to be had; for singly we are impotent and defective, unable to procure those things, that are either of necessity or ornament for our lives; and as unable to defend and keep them, when they are acquired. To remedy these defects, we associate together, that what we can neither enjoy nor keep singly, by mutual benefits and assistances one of another, we may be able to do both. We cannot possibly accomplish these ends, if we submit not our passions and appetites to the laws of reason and justice; for the depravity of man's will makes him as unfit to live in society, as his necessity makes him unable to live out of it; and if that perverseness be not regulated by laws, men's appetites to the same things, their avarice, their lust, their ambition, would quickly make society as unsafe, or more than solitude itself, and we should associate only to be nearer our misery and our ruin. That therefore, by which we accomplish the ends of a sociable life, is our subjection and submission to laws. These are the nerves and sinews of every society or commonwealth, without which they must necessarily dissolve and

fall asunder. And indeed, as Augustine says, those societies where law and justice is not, are not commonwealths or kingdoms, but *magna latrocinia*; great confederacies of thieves and robbers. Those therefore that submit to no law, are not to be reputed in the society of mankind, which cannot consist without a law. Therefore Aristotle saith, Tyranny is against the law of nature; that is, the law of human society; in which human nature is preserved. For this reason they deny a tyrant to be *partem civitatis*, for every part is subject to the whole; and a citizen (says the same author) is he who is as well obliged to the duty of obeying, as he is capable of the power of commanding: and indeed he does obey, whilst he does command; that is, he obeys the laws, which, says Tully, *magistratibus præsunt, ut magistratus præsunt populo*, 'are above the magistrates, as the magistrates are 'above the people.' And therefore, a tyrant that submits to no law, but his will and lust are the law by which he governs himself and others, is no magistrate, no citizen, or member of any society, but an ulcer and a disease that destroys it; and, if it be rightly considered, a commonwealth by falling into a tyranny absolutely loses that name, and is actually another thing: *Non est civitas quæ unius est viri*, saith Sophocles; 'that which is one 'man's is no city.' For there is no longer king and people, or parliament or people, but those names are changed, at least their natures, into masters and servants, lord and slaves; and *Servorœ non civitas erit sed magna familia*, says Grotius; 'Where all are slaves, it is 'not a city, but a great family:' and the truth is, we are all members of Whitehall, and when our master pleaseth, he may send for us thither, and there bore through our ears at the door-posts.

But to conclude; A tyrant, as we have said, being no part of a commonwealth, nor submitting to the laws of it, but making himself above all law; there is no reason he should have the protection that is due to a member of a commonwealth, nor any defence from laws that does acknowledge none. He is therefore in all reason to be reckoned in the number of those savage beasts, that fall not with others, into any herd; that have no other defence but their own strength; making a prey of all that is weaker, and by the same justice, being a prey to all that is stronger than themselves.

In the next place, let it be considered, that a tyrant, making himself above all law, and defending his injustice by a strength, which no power of magistrates is able to oppose, he becomes above all punishment; above all other justice, than that he receives from the stroke of some generous hand: and, certainly, the safety of mankind were but ill provided for, if there were no kind of justice to reach great villainies, but tyrants should be *immunditie scelerum tuti*; 'secured by the greatness of their crimes.' Our laws would be then but cobwebs indeed, made only to catch flies, but not to hold wasps or hornets: and it might be then said of all commonwealths, what was said of Athens, 'That there only small thieves 'were hanged, but the great ones were free, and condemned the rest.' But he, that will secure himself of all hands, must know he secures himself from none; he, that flies justice in the court, must expect to find it in the street; and he, that goes armed against every man, arms every man against himself. *Bellum est in eos, qui judiciis coerceri non possunt*, says Cicero: 'We have war with those, against whom we can have no law.' The same author, *Cùm duo sint decertandi genera*, &c. 'There being two ways of deciding dif-'ferences, the one by judgment and arbitration, the other by force; the one proper to 'men, the other to beasts: we must have recourse to the latter, when the former cannot 'be obtained.' And, certainly, by the law of nature, *ubi cessat judicium*, 'when no justice can be had,' every man may be his own magistrate, and do justice for himself: for the law, says Grotius, that forbids me to pursue my right, but by a course of law, certainly supposes, *ubi copia est judicii*, 'where law and justice is to be had;' otherwise, that law were a defence for injuries, not one against them; and, quite contrary to the nature of all laws, would become the protection of the guilty against the innocent, not of the innocent against the guilty. Now, as it is contrary to the laws of God and nature, that men, who are partial to themselves, and, therefore, unjust to others, should be their own judges, where others are to be had; so is it as contrary to the law of nature, and the common safety of mankind, that when the laws can have no place, men should be forbidden to repel force

by force, and so be left, without all defence and remedy, against the injuries. God himself left not the slave without remedy against the cruel master; and what analogy can it hold with reason, that the slave (that is but his master's money, and but part of his household-stuff) should find redress against the injuries and insolencies of an imperious master; and a free people, who have no superior but their God, should have none at all, against the injustice and oppression of a barbarous tyrant? And were not the incongruity full as great, that the law of God permitting every man to kill a thief, if he took him breaking open his house in the night; because then it might be supposed, he could not bring him to justice: but a tyrant, that is the common robber of mankind, and whom no law can take hold on, his person should be, *sacrosanct. cui nihil sacrum aut sanctum*, 'to whom nothing is sacred, nothing inviolable?' But the vulgar judge ridiculously, like themselves; the glister of things dazzles their eyes, and they judge of them by their appearances, and the colours that are put on them. For what can be more absurd in nature, and contrary to all common sense, than to call him *thief*, and kill him, that comes alone, or with a few, to rob me; and to call him *Lord-Protector*, and obey him, that robs me with regiments and troops? As if to rove with two or three ships were to be a pirate; but, with fifty, an admiral! But, if it be the number of adherents only, not the cause, that makes the difference between a robber and a protector, I wish that number were defined, that we might know where the thief ends, and the prince begins; and be able to distinguish between a robber and a tax. But, sure, no Englishman can be ignorant, that it is his birth-right to be master of his own estate, and that none can command any part of it, but by his own grant and consent; either made expressly by himself, or virtually by a parliament. All other ways are mere robberies in other names: *Auferre, Trucidare, Rapere, falsis nominibus imperium, atque, ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant:* 'to rob, to extort, to murder tyrants falsely called to govern, and to make desolation, they call to settle peace.' In every assessment we are robbed: the excise is robbery; the customs robbery; and, without doubt, whenever it is prudent, it is always lawful to kill the thieves, whom we can bring to no other justice; and not only lawful, and to do ourselves right, but glorious, and to deserve of mankind, to free the world of that common robber, that universal pirate, under whom, and for whom, the lesser beasts prey. This firebrand I would have any way extinguished; this ulcer I would have any hand to lance; and, I cannot doubt, but God will suddenly sanctify some hand to do it, and bring down that bloody and deceitful man, who lives not only to the misery, but the infamy of our nation.

I should have reason to be much less confident of the justice of this opinion, if it were new, and only grounded upon collections and interpretations of my own. But herein, if I am deceived, I shall, however, have the excuse to be drawn into that error, by the examples that are left us by the greatest and most virtuous, and the opinions of the wisest and gravest men, that have left their memories to posterity. Out of the great plenty of confirmations, I could bring for this opinion from examples and authorities, I shall select a very few: for manifest truths have not need of those supports; and I have as little mind to tire myself as my reader.

First, therefore, a usurper that by only force possesseth himself of government, and by force only keeps it, is yet in the state of war with every man, says the learned Grotius; and therefore every thing is lawful against an open enemy, whom every private man hath a right to kill. *Hostis hostem occidere volui*, says Scævola to Porsenna, when he was taken, after he had failed in his attempt to kill him; 'I am an enemy, and an enemy I would 'have killed;' which every man hath a right to do.

Contra publicos hostes, et majestatis reos, omnis homo miles est, says Tertullian: 'Against 'common enemies, and those that are traitors to the commonwealth, every man is a soldier.' This opinion the most celebrated nations have approved, both by their laws and practices. The Grecians, as Xenophon tells us, who suffered not murderers to come into their temples; in those very temples they erected statues to those that killed tyrants, thinking it fit to place their deliverers amongst their gods. Cicero was an eye-witness of the honours that were done such men; *Græcia homines*, &c. 'The Greeks (saith he) attri-

'buted the honours of the gods to those that killed tyrants. What have I seen in Athens, 'and other cities of Greece! What religion paid to such men! what songs! what elogies! 'by which they are consecrated to immortality, and almost deified!' In Athens, by Solon's law, death was not only decreed for the tyrant that oppressed the state, but for all those that took any charge, or did bear any office, while the tyranny remained. And Plato tells us, the ordinary course they took with the ordinary tyrants in Greece: 'If '(says he) the tyrant cannot be expelled, by accusing him to the citizens; then by secret 'practices they dispatch him.'

Amongst the Romans the Valerian law was, *Si quis injussu populi*, &c. 'Whosoever took 'magistracy upon him, without the command of the people, it was lawful for any man to 'kill him.' Plutarch makes this law more severe; *Ut injudicatum occidere eum liceret, qui dominatum concupisceret:* 'That it was lawful by that law, before any judgment past, 'to kill him that but aspired to tyranny.' Likewise the Consular law, which was made after the suppression of the tyranny of the Decemvirate, made it lawful to kill any man that went about to create magistrates, *sine provocatione*, &c. 'without reference and ap-'peal to the people.' By these laws, and innumerable testimonies of authors, it appears, that the Romans, with the rest of their philosophy, had learned from the Grecians, what was the natural remedy against a tyrant. Nor did they honour these less that durst apply it: who, as Polybius says (speaking of conspiracies against tyrants), were not *deterrimi civium, sed generosissimi quique, et maximi animi;* 'not the worst and meanest of the 'citizens, but the most generous, and those of the greatest virtue.' So were most of those that conspired against Julius Cæsar: he himself thought Brutus worthy to succeed him in the empire of the world. And Cicero, who had the title of *Pater Patriæ,* if he were not conscious of the design, yet he at last affected the honour of being thought so: *Quæ enim res unquam*, &c. 'What act, says he, O Jupiter! more glorious, more worthy of eternal 'memory, hath been done not only in this city, but in the whole world! In this design, 'as the Trojan horse, I willingly suffer myself to be included with the princes.' In the same place, he tells what all virtuous Romans thought of the fact as well as he: *Omnes boni, quantum in ipsis fuit, Cæsarem occiderunt; aliis consilium, aliis animus, aliis occasio defuit, voluntas nemini:* 'All good men, (saith he) as much as lay in them, killed Cæsar; 'some wanted capacity, some courage, others opportunity, but none the will to do it.' But yet we have not declared the extent of their severity against a tyrant. They exposed him to fraud, as well as force, and left him no security in oaths and compacts; that neither law, nor religion, might defend him that violated both. *Cum tyranno Romanis nulla fides, nulla jurisjurandi religio,* saith Brutus in Appian: 'With a tyrant the Romans think no 'faith to be kept, observe no religion of an oath;' Seneca gives the reason, *Quia quicquid erat, quo mihi cohæreret,* &c. 'For, whatever there was of mutual obligation betwixt us, 'his destroying the laws of human society hath dissolved:' so these that thought that there was *in hostem nefas*, that a villainy might be committed against an enemy: these that professed *non minùs justè quàm fortitèr arma gerere,* 'to manage their arms with justice as 'well as courage:' these that thought faith was to be kept even with the perfidious: yet they thought a tyrant could receive no injustice, but to be let live; and that the most lawful way to destroy him was the readiest, no matter whether by force or fraud: for, against beasts of prey, men use the toil and the net, as well as the spear and the lance. But so great was their detestation of a tyrant, that it made some take their opinions from their passions, and vent things which they could but ill justify to their morality: they thought a tyrant had so absolutely forfeited all title to humanity, and all kind of protection they could give him or his; that they left his wife without any other guard for her chastity but age and deformity; and thought it not adultery what was committed with her. Many more testimonies might I bring; for it is harder to make choice than to find plenty. But I shall conclude with authorities that are much more authentic, and examples we may much more safely imitate.

The law of God itself decreed certain death to that man that would do presumptuously, and submit to no decision of justice. Who can read this, and think a tyrant ought to live?

But, certainly, neither that, nor any other law were to any effect, if there were no way to put it in execution. But, in a tyrant's case, process and citation have no place: and if we will only have formal remedies against him, we are sure to have none. There's small hopes of justice, where the malefactor hath a power to condemn the judge.

All remedy therefore against a tyrant is Ehud's dagger; without which all our laws were fruitless, and we helpless. This is that 'high-court of justice' where Moses brought the Ægyptians; whither Ehud brought Eglon; Samson, the Philistines; Samuel, Agag; and Jehoiada, the she-tyrant Athaliah.

Let us a little consider, in particular, these several examples, and see whether they may be proportioned to our purpose.

First, As to the case of Moses and the Ægyptian. Certainly, every Englishman hath as much call as Moses, and more cause than he, to slay this Ægyptian, that is always laying on burthens, and always smiting both our brethren and ourselves. For, as to his call, he had no other, that we read of, but the necessity his brother stood in of his help. He looked on his brethren's burthens, and seeing an Ægyptian smiting an Hebrew, and knowing he was out of the reach of all other kind of justice, he slew him. Certainly, this was and is as lawful for any man to do, as it was for Moses, who was then but a private man, and had no authority for what he did, but what the law of nature gives every man, to oppose force to force, and to make justice where he finds none. As to the cause of that action, we have much more to say than Moses had: he saw one Hebrew smitten, we many Englishmen murdered; he saw his brethren's burthens and their blows, we our brethren's burthens, imprisonments, and deaths. Now, sure, if it were lawful for Moses to kill that Ægyptian that oppressed one man; seeing there was no way to procure an ordinary course of justice against him; it cannot be but absurd to think it unlawful to kill him that oppresses a whole nation, and one that justice as little reaches as it defends.

The example of Ehud shews us the natural and almost the only remedy against a tyrant, and the way to free an oppressed people from the slavery of an insulting Moabite. 'Tis done by prayers and tears, with the help of a dagger; by crying to the Lord, and the left-hand of an Ehud. Devotion and action go well together; for, believe it, a tyrant is not of that kind of devil that is to be cast out by only fasting and prayer: and here the Scripture shews us, what the Lord thought a fit message to send a tyrant from himself; a dagger of a cubit in his belly; and every worthy man that desires to be an Ehud, a deliverer of his country, will strive to be the messenger.

We may here likewise observe in this and many places of Judges, that when the Israelites fell to idolatry, which, of all sins, certainly is one of the greatest; God Almighty, to proportion the punishment and the offence, still delivered them into the hands of tyrants; which sure is one of the greatest of all plagues.

In the story of Samson, it is manifest, that the denying him his wife, and after the burning her and her father, (which, though they were great, yet were but private injuries,) he took for sufficient grounds to make war upon the Philistines, being himself but a private man, and not only not assisted but opposed by his servile countrymen. He knew what the law of nature allowed him, where other laws have no place; and thought it a sufficient justification for smiting the Philistines hip and thigh, to answer for himself; that, as they did unto him, so had he done unto them.

Now that which was lawful for Samson to do against many oppressors, why is it unlawful for us to do against one? Are our injuries less? Our friends and relations are daily murdered before our faces. Have we other ways for reparation? Let them be named, and I am silenced. But, if we have none; the fire-brands, or the jaw-bone, the first weapons our just fury can lay hold on, may certainly be lawfully employed against that uncircumcised Philistine that oppresses us. We have too the opposition and discouragements that Samson had, and therefore have the more need of his courage and resolution. As he had the men of Judah, so we have the men of Levi, crying to us out of the pulpit, as from the top of the rock Etam, 'Know you not that the Philistine is a ruler over you?' The

truth is, they would fain make him so; and bind us, with Samson, in new cords: but we hope they will become as flax, and that they will either loose from our hands, or we shall have the courage to cut them.

Upon the same grounds of retaliation did Samuel do justice with his own hand upon the tyrant Agag: 'As thy sword (says the prophet) hath made women childless, so shall thy 'mother be childless amongst women.' Nor is there any law more natural and more just.

How many mothers has our Agag, for his own ambition, made childless? how many children fatherless? How many have this reason to hew this Amalekite in pieces before the Lord? And let his own relations, and all theirs that are confederates with him, beware, lest men come at last to revenge their own relations in them. They make many a woman husbandless, and many a father childless: their wives may come at last to know what it is to want a husband, and themselves to lose their children. Let them remember what their great apostle Machiavel tells them, that, in contestations for the preserving their liberty, people many times use moderation; but, when they come to vindicate it, their rigour exceeds all mean: like beasts that have been kept up, and are afterwards let loose, they always are more fierce and cruel.

To conclude with the example Jehoiada hath left us. Six years he hid the right heir of the crown, in the house of the Lord: and, without all doubt, amongst the rest of God's services there, he was all that time contriving the destruction of the tyrant, that had aspired to the crown by the destruction of those that had the right to it. Jehoiada had no pretence to authorize this action, but the equity and justice of the act itself. He pretended no immediate command from God for what he did, nor any authority from the Sanhedrim; and therefore any man might have done what Jehoiada did as lawfully, that could have done it as effectually as he. Now what citation was given to Athaliah, what appearance was she called to before any court of justice? Her fact was her trial. She was, without any expostulation, taken forth of the ranges, and only let live till she got out of the temple; that that holy place might not be defiled by the blood of a tyrant, which was fitter to be shed on a dunghill; and so they slew her at the horse-gate. And by the king's house (the very Whitehall where she had caused the blood-royal to be spilt, and which herself had so long unjustly possessed); there, by Providence, did she receive her punishment, where she had acted so great a part of her crimes. How the people approved of this glorious action of destroying a tyrant, this chapter tells us at the last verse[6]: 'And all the people of the land rejoiced, and the city was quiet, after they had 'slain Athaliah with the sword.' And that it may appear they no less honoured the authors of such actions than other nations did; as, in his life-time, they obeyed Jehoiada as a king, so, after his death, for the good he had done in Israel, (saith the Scripture,) they likewise buried him amongst the kings.

I must not conclude this story, without observing, that Jehoiada commanded that whosoever followed Athaliah, should be put to death: letting us see what they deserve that are confederates with tyrants, and will side with them, and but appear to defend them, or allow them. His Highness's council, his junto, and the agas of his janisaries, may (if they please) take notice of this, and repent, lest they likewise perish. And likewise his Highness's chaplains and triers, who are to admit none into the ministry that will preach liberty with the Gospel, may (if they think fit) observe, that with the tyrant fell Mattan the priest of Baal. And indeed, none but Baal's priests will preach for tyrants: and certainly, those priests that sacrifice to our Baal, our idol of a magistrate, deserve as well to be hanged before their pulpits, as ever Mattan did to fall before his altars.

I should think now I had said much more than enough to the second question, and should come to the third and last I proposed in my method; but I meet with two objections lying in my way. The first is, that these examples out of Scripture are of men that

[6] 2 Chron. xxiii. 21.

were inspired of God, and that therefore they had that call and authority for their actions, which we cannot pretend to; so that it would be unsafe for us to draw their actions into examples, except we had likewise their justifications to allege.

The other objection is, That there being now no opposition made to the government of his Highness, that the people following their callings and traffick at home and abroad, making use of the laws, and appealing to his Highness's courts of justice: that all this argues the people's tacit consent to the government; and that therefore now it is to be reputed lawful, and the people's obedience voluntary.

To the first I answer, with learned Milton, that if God commanded these things, it is a sign they were lawful, and are commendable. But secondly, as I observed in the relations themselves, neither Samson nor Samuel alleged any other call or reason for what they did, but retaliation; and the apparent justice of the actions themselves. Nor had God appeared to Moses in the bush, when he slew the Ægyptian; nor did Jehoiada allege any prophetical authority or other call to do what he did, but that common call which all men have, to do all actions of justice that are within their power, when the ordinary course of justice ceases.

To the second my answer is, That if commerce and pleadings were enough to argue the people's consent, and give tyranny the name of government; there was never yet any tyranny of many weeks standing in this world. Certainly, we then extremely wrong Caligula and Nero in calling them *tyrants*, and they were rebels that conspired against them; except we will believe, that all the while they reigned in Rome, they kept their shops shut, and opened not their temples, or their courts. We are likewise with no less absurdity to imagine, that the whole eighteen years time, which Israel served Eglon, and six years that Athaliah reigned, the Israelites quite desisted from traffick, pleadings, and all public acts: otherwise Ehud and Jehoiada were both traitors; the one for killing his king, the other his queen.

Having shewed what a tyrant is, his marks and practices, I can scarce persuade myself to say any thing to that I made my third question, Whether the removing him is like to prove of advantage to the commonwealth or not? For, methinks, it is to enquire whether it is better the man die, or the imposthume be lanced, or the gangrened limb be cut off? But yet there be some whose cowardice and avarice furnish them with some arguments to the contrary; and they would fain make the world believe, that to be base and degenerate is to be cautious and prudent; and what is in truth a servile fear, they falsely call a Christian patience. It will not be therefore amiss to make appear that there is indeed that necessity, which we think there is, of saving the vineyard of the commonwealth, if possible, by destroying the wild boar that has broke into it. We have already shewed that it is lawful, and now we shall see whether it is expedient. First, I have already told you, that to be under a tyrant is not to be a commonwealth, but a great family, consisting of master and slaves. *Vir bone, servorum nulla est unquam civitas*, says an old poet; 'A number of slaves makes not a city.' So that, whilst this monster lives, we are not members of a commonwealth, but only his living tools and instruments, which he may employ to what use he pleases. *Servi tua est fortuna, ratio ad te nihil*, says another: 'Thy condition is a 'slave's, thou art not to enquire a reason;' nor must we think we can continue long in the condition of slaves, and not degenerate into the habits and temper that are natural to that condition; our minds will grow low with our fortune, and by being accustomed to live like slaves, we shall become unfit to be any thing else. *Etiam fera animalia, si clausa teneas, virtutis obliviscuntur*, says Tacitus: 'The fiercest creatures, by long constraint, 'lose their courage.' And says Sir Francis Bacon[7], The blessing of Issachar and that of Judah fall not upon one people, to be asses couching under burthens, and to have the spirit of lions. And, with their courage it is no wonder if they lose their fortune, (as the effect with the cause,) and act as ignominiously abroad, as they suffer at home. It is Machiavel's observation, that the Roman armies that were always victorious under Consuls, all the

[7] [See his Essay 'Of the true greatness of kingdoms and estates.']

while they were under the slavery of the Decemviri, never prospered. And certainly people have reason to fight but faintly, where they are to gain the victory against themselves; when every success shall be a confirmation of their slavery, and a new link to their chain.

But we shall not only lose our courage, which is a useless and an unsafe virtue under a tyrant; but by degrees we shall, after the example of our master, all turn perfidious, deceitful, irreligious, flatterers, and whatever else is villainous and infamous in mankind. See but to what degree we are come already: can there any oath be found so fortified by all religious ties, which we easily find not a distinction to break, when either profit or danger persuades us to it? Do we remember any engagements, or, if we do, have we any shame to break them? Can any man think with patience upon what we have professed, when he sees what we wildly do, and tamely suffer? What have we of nobility amongst us but the name, the luxury, and the vices of it? Poor wretches, these that now carry that title, are so far from having any of the virtues that should grace, and indeed give them, their titles; that they have not so much as the generous vices that attend greatness, they have lost all ambition and indignation. As for our ministers[8]; what have they, or indeed desire they, of their calling, but the tithes? How do these horrid prevaricators search for distinctions to piece contrary oaths? How do they rake Scriptures for flatteries, and impudently apply them to his monstrous Highness? What is the City but a great tame beast, that eats and carries, and cares not who rides it? What is the thing called a Parliament, but a mock; composed of a people that are only suffered to sit there, because they are known to have no virtue, after the exclusion of all others that were but suspected to have any? What are they but pimps of tyranny, who are only employed to draw in the people to prostitute their liberty? What will not the Army fight for? What will they not fight against? What are they but janisaries, slaves themselves, and making all others so? What are the people in general but knaves, fools, and cowards, principled for ease, vice, and slavery? This is our temper this tyranny hath brought us to already; and if it continues, the little virtue that is yet left to stock the nation, must totally extinguish; and then his Highness hath completed his work of reformation: and the truth is, till then, his Highness cannot be secure. He must not endure virtue, for that will not endure him. 'He that will maintain tyranny, must kill Brutus,' says Machiavel. 'A tyrant (says Plato) 'must dispatch all virtuous persons, or he cannot be safe; so that he is brought to that 'unhappy necessity, either to live amongst base and wicked persons, or not to live at all.'

Nor must we expect any cure from our patience: *Inxanno si gli huomini*, says Machiavel, *credendo con la humilita vincere la superbia:* 'Men deceive themselves that 'think to mollify arrogancy with humility:' a tyrant is never modest but when he is weak; it is in the winter of his fortune when this serpent bites not; we must not therefore suffer ourselves to be cozened with hopes of his amendment; for, *Nemo unquam imperium flagitio quæsitum bonis artibus exercuit*[9]; 'Never did any man manage the government 'with justice, that got it by villainy.' 'The longer the tyrant lives, the more the 'tyrannical humour increases in him, (says Plato,) like those beasts that grow more cursed 'as they grow old.' New occasions daily happen that necessitate them to new mischiefs; and he must defend one villainy with another.

But suppose the contrary of this, and that his Highness were *vi dominationis convulsus, et mutatus*, 'changed to the better by great fortune;' of which he gives no symptoms; what, notwithstanding, could be more miserable than to have no other security for our liberty, no other law for our safety, than the will of a man, though the most just living? We have all our beast within us; and 'whosoever (says Aristotle) is governed by a man without a 'law, is governed by a man and by a beast;' *Etiam si non sit molestus dominus; tamen est miserrimum posse si velit*, says Tully; 'Though a master does not tyrannize, yet it is a most 'miserable thing that it is in his power to do so if he will.' If he be good, so was Nero for five years; and how shall we be secure that he will not change? Besides, the

[8] Dr. Locker, Dr. Owen, Mr. Jenkins, &c. [9] Tacit. Hist. lib. i.

power that is allowed to a good man, we may be sure will be claimed and taken by an ill; and therefore it hath been the custom of good princes, to abridge their own power; it may be distrusting themselves, but certainly fearing their successors, to the chance of whose being virtuous, they would not hazard the welfare of their people. An unlimited power therefore is to be trusted to none, which, if it does not find a tyrant, commonly makes one; or if one uses it modestly, it is no argument that others will: and therefore Augustus Cæsar must have no greater power given him than you would have Tiberius take. And Cicero's moderation is to be trusted with a consideration, that there are others to be consuls as well as he.

But before I press this business farther, if it needs be any farther pressed, that we should endeavour to rescue the honour, the virtue, and liberty of our nation; I shall answer to some few objections that have occurred to me. This I shall do very briefly.

Some I find of a strange opinion, that it were a generous and a noble action to kill his Highness in the field; but to do it privately they think it unlawful, but know not why: as if it were not generous to apprehend a thief till his sword were drawn, and he in a posture to defend himself and kill me. But these people do not consider, that whosoever is possessed of power, any time, will be sure to engage so many either in guilt or profit, or both, that to go about to throw him out, by open force, will very much hazard the total ruin of the commonwealth. A tyrant is a devil, that tears the body in the exorcizing; and they are all of Caligula's temper, that if they could, they would have the whole frame of nature fall with them. It is an opinion that deserves no other refutation than the manifest absurdity of itself; that it should be lawful for me to destroy a tyrant with hazard, blood, and confusion, but not without.

Another objection, and more common, is the fear of what may succeed, if his Highness were removed. One would think the world were bewitched. I am fallen into a ditch, where I shall certainly perish, if I lie; but I refuse to be helped out for fear of falling into another: I suffer a certain misery for fear of a contingent one, and let the disease kill me, because there is a hazard in the cure: is not this that ridiculous policy, *Ne moriare, mori*; 'to die for fear of dying?' Sure it is frenzy not to desire a change, when we are sure we cannot be worse: *Et non incurrere in pericula, ubi quies centi paria metuuntur*[10]; 'and not then to hazard, when the danger and the mischiefs are the same in lying still.'

Hitherto I have spoken in general to all Englishmen: now I address my discourse particularly to those that certainly best deserve that name; ourselves that have fought (however unfortunately for our liberties) under this tyrant; and in the end, cozened by his oaths and tears, have purchased nothing but our slavery with the price of our blood. To us particularly it belongs to bring this monster to justice, whom he hath made the instruments of his villainy, and sharers in the curse and detestation that is due to himself from all good men: others only have their liberty to vindicate, we our liberty and our honour. We engaged to the people with him, and to the people for him; and from our hands they may justly expect a satisfaction of punishment, seeing they cannot have that of performance. What the people at present endure, and posterity shall suffer, will be all laid at our doors; for only we, under God, have the power to pull down this Dagon which we have set up: and if we do it not, all mankind will repute us approvers of all the villainies he hath done, and authors of all to come. Shall we, that would not endure a king attempting tyranny, shall we suffer a professed tyrant? We, that resisted the lion assailing us, shall we submit to the wolf tearing us? If there be no remedy to be found, we have great reason to exclaim, *Utinam te potiùs, Carole! retinuissemus, quàm hunc habuissemus; non quòd ulla sit optanda servitus, sed quòd ex dignitate domini minùs turpis est conditio servi*: 'We wish we had rather endured thee, O Charles! than have been condemned to this 'mean tyrant; not that we desire any kind of slavery, but that the quality of the master 'something graces the condition of the slave.'

But if we consider it rightly, what our duty, our engagements, and our honour exact

[10] Seneca.

from us, both our safety and our interest oblige us to; and it is as unanswerable, in us, to discretion as it is to virtue, to let this viper live: for first, he knows very well it is only we that have the power to hurt him, and therefore of us he will take any course to secure himself; he is conscious to himself how falsely and perfidiously he hath dealt with us; and therefore he will always fear that from our revenge, which he knows he hath so well deserved.

Lastly, He knows our principles, how directly contrary they are to that arbitrary power he must govern by; and therefore he may reasonably suspect, that we that have already ventured our lives against tyranny, will always have the will, when we have the opportunity to do the same again.

These considerations will easily persuade him to secure himself of us, if we prevent him not, and secure ourselves of him. He reads in his practice of piety, [11] *chi diviene patron*, &c. He that makes himself master of a city, that hath been accustomed to liberty, if he destroys it not, he must expect to be destroyed by it. And we may read too in the same author, and believe him, that those that are the occasion that one becomes powerful, he always ruins them, if they want the wit and courage to secure themselves.

Now, as to our interest, we must never expect that he will ever trust those that he hath provoked, and fears; he will be sure to keep us down, lest we should pluck down him. 'Tis the rule that tyrants observe, when they are in power, never to make much use of those that helped them to it; and indeed it is their interest and security not to do it: for those that have been the authors of their greatness, being conscious of their own merit, they are bold with the tyrant, and less industrious to please him; they think all he can do for them is their due, and still they expect more; and, when they fail in their expectations (as it is impossible to satisfy them), their disappointments make them discontented, and their discontents dangerous. Therefore all tyrants follow the example of Dionysius, who was said to use his friends as he did his bottles: when he had use for them, he kept them by him; when he had none, (that they should not trouble him and lie in his way,) he hung them up.

But to conclude this already over-long paper. Let every man, to whom God hath given the spirit of wisdom and courage, be persuaded by his honour, his safety, his own good and his country's, (and indeed the duty he owes to his generation and to mankind,) to endeavour, by all rational means, to free the world of this pest. Let not other nations have the occasion to think so meanly of us, as if we resolved to sit still and have our ears bored; or that any discouragements or disappointments can ever make us desist from attempting our liberty, till we have purchased it, either by this monster's death, or by our own. Our nation is not yet so barren of virtue, that we want noble examples to follow amongst ourselves. The brave Sindercomb hath shewed as great a mind as any old Rome could boast of; and had he lived there, his name had been registered with Brutus and Cato, and he had had his statues as well as they.

But I will not have so sinister an opinion of ourselves (as little generosity as slavery hath left us) as to think so great a virtue can want its monuments even amongst us. Certainly in every virtuous mind there are statues reared to Sindercomb. Whenever we read the elogies of those that have died for their country; when we admire those great examples of magnanimity, that have tired tyrants' cruelties; when we extol their constancy, whom neither bribes nor terrors could make betray their friends; it is then we erect Sindercomb statues, and engrave him monuments; where all that can be said of a great and noble mind, we justly make an epitaph for him: and, though the tyrant caused him to be smothered, lest the people should hinder an open murder, yet he will never be able either to smother his memory, or his own villainy. His poison was but a poor and common device to impose only on those that understood not tyrants' practices, and are unacquainted (if any be) with his cruelties and falsehoods. He may therefore, if he please, take away the stake from Sindercomb's grave, and, if he have a mind it should be known how he died, let him

[11] Mach. Pr. cap. 5.

send thither the pillows and feather-beds with which Barkstead[12] and his hangman smothered him. But to conclude: let not this monster think himself the more secure that he hath suppressed one great spirit[13], he may be confident that *longus post illum sequitur ordo idem petentium decus.*

There is a great roll behind, even of those that are in his own muster-rolls, and are ambitious of the name of the deliverers of their country; and they know what the action is that will purchase it. His bed, his table, is not secure; and he stands in need of other guards to defend him against his own. Death and destruction pursue him wherever he goes: they follow him every where, like his fellow-travellers, and at last they will come upon him like armed men. 'Darkness is hid in his secret places, a fire not blown shall 'consume him; it shall go ill with him that is left in his tabernacle. He shall flee from 'the iron weapon, and a bow of steel shall strike him through. Because he hath oppressed 'and forsaken the poor; because he hath violently taken away a house which he builded 'not.' We may be confident, and so may he, ere long all this shall be accomplished: 'For the triumphing of the wicked is short; and the joy of the hypocrite but for a mo-'ment. Though *his Excellency*[14] mount up to the heavens, and his head reacheth unto 'the clouds, yet he shall perish like his own dung. They that have seen him shall say, 'Where is he?'

POSTSCRIPT.

Courteous Reader,

EXPECT another sheet or two of paper of this subject, if I escape the tyrant's hands, although he gets (in the interim) the crown upon his head; which he hath, underhand, put his confederates on to petition his acceptance thereof.

[12] [Lieutenant of the Tower.]

[13] And what may Cecil and Toop expect for their treachery and perjury?

[14] He hath now left that title for *Highness*, and will shortly leave that for *King*dom.

A Discourse of Sea-Ports[1]; principally of the Port and Haven of Dover: Written by Sir Walter Raleigh, and addressed to Queen Elizabeth. With useful Remarks, &c. on that Subject; by Command of his late Majesty King Charles the Second.

Never before made public. Printed in 1700.

[Quarto, containing Twenty Pages.]

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Rumney, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, &c.

My Lord,

THE publisher of this discourse has no other motive of his address to your Lordship, than that the design may receive protection from some powerful hand, by which, being sheltered in its infancy from the blasts of malevolence (which will blow from more corners than one), it may have leave to strike root, and grow to strength enough to be able to stand

[1] [See Oldys' Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 69: where the editor's name is said to have been Sir Henry Shears.]

alone. The subject-matter seems to belong to your Lordship, in propriety, as you are Lord-Warden of the Cinque Ports; and the patronage of so noble and national a project could be claimed no where so rightfully as from your Lordship, who being equally great by birth, power, the favour of your prince, and the love of your country, I could not withstand the justice of making this oblation of my duty and good wishes to your Lordship, by thus tendering it to your election to be the father and protector of so needful and magnificent a work, abounding in public honour, safety, and emolument, whereby you may consign your name to posterity, by a monument more durable, and of greater dignity than the records and patents of your ancestors, or the statues of antiquity.

The manuscript fell casually into my hands, during the last session of parliament, which being relished by such worthy members of that honourable body as I had an opportunity to impart it to, I thought I could not do a more grateful office to my country, than to be the means of its publication, for which freedom I ask the author's pardon, as I do your Lordship's for the presumption of this dedication; who am,

Your Lordship's most humble and dutiful Servant.

A brief Discourse, declaring how honourable and profitable to your most Excellent Majesty, and how necessary and commodious for your Realm, the making of Dover Haven shall be; and in what Sort, what least Charges in greatest Perfection the same may be accomplished.

THERE is no one thing (most renowned Sovereign) of greater necessity to maintain the honour and safety of this your Majesty's realm, than by all convenient means to increase Navigation, Shipping and Mariners; these being a strength in time of war; and in time of peace, members most profitable and commodious.

But this can neither be had, increased, nor maintained, if, first; sure harbours be not provided, as a safe receptacle to receive and guard them from storms, enemies, &c.

This hath moved that industrious nation of the Low-Countries in Holland, Zealand, and Flanders, where, by reason of their sandy coast, though God hath scarcely in any place allowed them any good havens natural, yet, seeing the necessity and commodity of harbours, they have, without regard of any charges or travel, with infinite expences, made many havens artificial, even in such places as nature denied them all the hopes of help; whereby we see they have drawn such intercourse and traffick, both of foreign nations for merchandize, and also by their industry for fishing, that in few years (almost in our age) they have been able to build a number of most sumptuous, rich, and beautiful cities; furnished the coast with a great number of ships and mariners; and are become the most populous and rich nation the sun did ever shine on: and not only the sea-coasts, but also the inland countries, by quick vent of their commodities, do participate of the same benefit and felicity. And such their charges, on havens and harbours bestowed, do yield them the fruit of riches, wealth, and commodity, most plentiful throughout their whole dominion.

But, contrarywise, with us this last parliament, lamentable relation hath been made of the great decay of mariners and fishermen, to the number of many hundred sail upon our coast of England, even in this age, and within memory; and also of the present poverty, and desolate habitations of many frontier-towns.

Whereby it plainly appeareth, That as the excessive expence of the Low-Countries, bestowed on havens, hath not impoverished, but the clean contrary, greatly enriched them by incomparable wealth and treasure, with numbers of rich, fair, and populous towns; so our sparing mind, or rather greedy getting, gaining, and enriching land from your Majesty's havens, and navigable channels, hath utterly destroyed and spoiled many good havens by nature left us, and thereby wrought very beggary, misery, and desolation in these your frontier-towns.

And if we search the very cause of the flourishing state of London, which almost alone in quantity, people, and wealth in this age is so increased; and, contrarywise, of the poverty, or rather beggary and decay of Winchelsea, Rye, Rumney, Hide, Dover, and many other poor towns; we shall find the decay of these havens, and preservation of the Thames, the only or chief occasion.

Hereby sufficiently appeareth how incomparable jewels havens and sure harbours are, for gaining, maintaining, and increasing people, wealth, and commodity in any realm.

And no lesser strength and security do they bring in time of war, as well by the multitude of mariners (a most serviceable people) and shipping, which they breed, as also the inhabitation of the frontiers.

But, in the whole circuit of your Majesty's famous Island, there is not any one either in respect of security and defence, or of traffick or intercourse, more convenient, needful, or rather of necessity to be regarded, than this of Dover, situate on a promontory next fronting a puissant foreign king, and in the very straight passage and intercourse of almost all the shipping of Christendom.

And, if that our renowned King, your Majesty's father, of famous memory, Henry the Eighth, in his time, found how necessary it was, to make a haven at Dover, (when Sandwich, Rye, Camber, and others, were good havens, and Calais also then in his possession,) and yet spared not to bestow, of his own treasure, so great a mass in building of that pier, which then secured a probable mean to perform the same: how much more is the same now needful, or rather of necessity, (those good havens being extremely decayed,) no safe harbour being left in all the coast almost between Portsmouth and Yarmouth; seeing the same also may be performed without the expence of your Majesty's private treasure, the present gift of parliament considered, and their ready wills so plainly discovered, to supply whatever charge shall be needful, whensoever by your gracious providence they shall see the realm armed with such a shield, and endowed with so great a jewel.

The commodities that thereby both to your Majesty and realm shall ensue, are,

First, A place of refuge and sure safeguard to all merchants, your Majesty's subjects, who passing from London, and all other the East and North parts of England, to France, Spain, Barbary, the Levant, the islands, or other parts South, or West of the world, (for want of harbour at Dover, either going forth or returning,) shall be enforced to ride it out in open road, to their great peril; or in time of war, for want of such succour, to throw themselves on the contrary coast into the arms of their enemies.

For all other strangers, your Majesty's friends, that pass the sea from Hamburgh, Dantzick, Lubeck, Embden, Scotland, Denmark, or any parts of the Low-Countries, to any parts of the world, south and south-west, (whereof there are daily great numbers,) or of Spain, Portugal, France, or Italy, bound northward, either to London, or any of the Northern provinces, both passing and repassing, they must of necessity touch, as it were, upon this promontory; and, upon any change of wind, or fear of the enemy, for sure refuge, will most willingly and thankfully embrace so sweet and safe a sanctuary.

No promontory, town, or haven of Christendom, is so placed by nature and situation, both to gratify friends and annoy enemies, as this your Majesty's town of Dover.

No place or town of Christendom is so settled to receive and deliver intelligence for all matters and actions in Europe, from time to time.

No town of all the Low-Countries (though by their industry they have a great number excessive populous, fair and rich) is by nature so settled, either to allure intercourse by sea, or train inhabitants by land, to make it great, fair, rich, and populous.

For alluring intercourse by sea, there is already sufficient said.

By land, it hath better air and water (two chief elements) than all the rich towns in Holland and Zealand.

For fire, the country round about is far better wooded than theirs, and the whole shire wherein it standeth; and round about the town itself, the soil is so well sorted for arable and pasture of all sorts, for marsh and meadows sufficiently furnished, as heart of man cannot wish or desire it better.

A quarry of stone at hand, sufficient to build both town and haven in a most sufficient, large, and beautiful manner. There wanteth nothing by land, sea, or air, that can be wished. And, if those industrious people of the Low-Countries had in all their provinces such a seat with like commodities, they would make it a spectacle to the world, without respect of charge whatsoever.

There wanteth nothing but a harbour; which when compassed, all other parts of peopling, wealth, and strength, will follow of itself.

A marvellous number of poor people both by this work, till the haven is made, and after by the shipping, fishing, &c. will be employed, who now for want of work are whipped, marked, and hanged.

The quick uttering of commodities, which always followeth by increase of intercourse, will cause all the coast and shire to be notably manured and peopled; not with poor, idle, but painful, industrious, and rich persons, a great ornament and commodity in peace, and sure defence in war; the same being the frontier nearest coast to a most dangerous, puissant, active, and aspiring neighbour.

The increase of navigation, fishing, and traffick that hereby will grow, and the great wealth and commodity thereof arising, will not be contained in one shire alone, but poured forth into all parts of the realm; to the great relief of the poor, and contentation of all degrees, increasing of arts and occupations, a pattern whereof we may behold even in our next neighbours the Low-Countries; not feigned in imagination, but actually by them put in execution; and great shame it were for us, to despair attaining that, which we see others our neighbours have achieved before us.

As the whole realm in general, so your Majesty also in respect of your particular revenue shall reap great profit by increase of subsidies, which always will grow greater, together with the wealth of the land; besides the increase of customs, and such other revenues as shall be there made of the soil there gained from the seas.

The shire of Kent, being within few years grown marvellous industrious in tilling and manuring their grounds, (when they shall see so convenient a port to vend their superfluous commodities,) will not only increase in wealth and people, but also yield to your Majesty's coffers, for transportation of their excise in wheat, barley, and beer, great increase of revenues; and all other shires, taking example by them, will likewise grow in labour, industry, wealth, and people.

There can be no pitch, tar, masts, cables, or other tackle for shipping, passed from Dantzick, Denmark, or other Northern parts, to France, Spain, or Italy, but your Majesty, having a strong hand of shipping at Dover, may command for money the choice thereof before any king in Christendom in time of peace; and, in time of war, thereby also disable enemies and content friends: besides the infinite commodity that may happily grow to the whole nation in general, and to your Majesty's coffers also, by a staple, that in time, with good policy, may be erected there, to serve both South and North countries with their mutual commodities.

In time of war, how dangerous attempts may be made with small frigates of fire, or otherwise, to endanger your Majesty's navy where it now lieth, with hope sufficient to escape and return again, before any shipping can be made out of the Thames to rescue or revenge, the experted soldiers and seamen best know. But this harbour being made and furnished with good shipping, (as always it will be,) no such attempt will ever be made; the enemy being assured, however the wind blows, upon any alarm either from London or Dover, to be surprized, and no hope left to escape.

Your Majesty, having shipping at Dover, may also upon all suddenness, with lesser charge, set forth to scour the seas of pirates, whereby your navy of merchants will marvellously increase and flourish, both in the great strength and wealth of the realm, and to the great increase of your Majesty's customs.

In like sort, your fishing-navies may be maintained and protected from pilfering pirates, or other violence of strangers, and thereby reap the benefit of your seas; whereby our strength by sea will marvellously increase, and great number of poor people be employed,

as well on land in knitting nets, and making and mending both ships and tackle, as also in getting of fish; a food greatly to relieve the poverty of the realm, and excessively to increase your Majesty's revenue, by custom of such commodities, as shall be brought in abundantly for exchanging of those our fish.

The fishing-navies being, by this means, both protected and greatly increased, all laws for punishment, and taxes for relieving idle and poor people, will then cease: for there shall be no person, for age or sickness, almost so impotent, but shall find hereby some trade, whereby to get their living; as, by example of the Low-Countries, we may plainly behold.

What greater honour to your Majesty, than, like as you are, in right of inheritance, lady of the narrow seas, so to be able indeed to maintain that seigniory, and to put the same in execution at all times, so far forth as your Highness shall find convenient?

What greater honour to your Majesty, than to be the founder of so notable a monument, lying in the eye of almost all the shipping of Europe? A thing, to which your Majesty's father aspired, with the expence of so great a mass of his own treasure.

What greater honour, than to be able, in time of peace or war, to protect friends, and offend enemies, more than any other prince of Europe?

Seeing, then, it hath pleased God to leave unto this realm such a situation for a port and town, as all Christendom hath not the like; and endowed the same with all commodities by land and sea, that can be wished to make the harbour allure intercourse, and maintain inhabitants; and that the same, once performed, (in all probable discourse of reason) shall bring such increase of commodity, not only for augmentation of your Majesty's particular revenues, but also of welfare and riches to the whole realm in general; the same also being a thing so needful, or rather of necessity, as well for succouring and protecting friends, as annoying and offending enemies, both in war and peace; and that it hath pleased God, in his providence, to reserve the same, as an ornament of your time, to be now performed by your Majesty, and left, as an honourable monument of your happy reign, to all posterity. Methinks, there remaineth no other deliberation in this case, but how most sufficiently, and with greatest perfection possible, most speedily the same may be accomplished.

And, in discharge of some part of my bounden duty to the advancement of your Majesty's service; having not only heard, by the examination of the most ancient and skilful mariners and inhabitants in Dover, the true estate of all alterations there, for these forty years past; but also myself seen and sounded all the channels, shelves, and roads there, and set them down exactly in plat. Having also conferred the sundry opinions of strangers, and also of our own nation, for the repairing, or making a new haven there; and comparing the same with what myself have seen put in execution, in sundry places of the Low-Countries, for making havens artificial; I have, in the end, resolved upon one form of plat, which, of all others, (as well for the use and commodity, when it is finished, as for the possibility, or rather for the facility in making; for the probability, or rather assured certainty of continuance; for avoiding great waste of timber, and saving a great mass of treasure,) I find and judge of most perfection. And, albeit the Flemish plat, in former conference of commissioners, was adjudged, of all others then offered, the most probable; yet, upon due consideration, this plat, I presume, will appear in all respects more commodious, more feasable, more assured to continue, of far less cost in maintenance, and at least twenty-thousand pounds lesser charge in making, as by the articles of explanation and charges more evidently may appear. This, which I humbly present to your Majesty's gracious consideration, as a matter of great moment, both in peace and war, for your Highness's service; for the great comfort of all the navy of your realm; and a monument most honourable, and none of the least to all posterity, of your Majesty's most gracious, prosperous, and happy reign.

THE foregoing discourse was part of a memorial, drawn up either by Sir Walter Raleigh, or Sir Dudley Diggs,[2] which I found amongst the rubbish of old papers, while I had the honour to serve in the office of the ordnance, and was searching after light into the ancient history and services of Dover: to which curiosity I had divers motives, *viz.* I had made several essays to awaken his late Majesty, King Charles, out of the lethargy he seemed to me to be under; upon the French King's so loudly alarming us by the profuse expence he had been at, in fortifying his coast, making artificial ports, and sparing no coast where he had the least prospect of compassing harbour and defence for shipping, and improving his naval strength and projects; which, to me, appeared as so many comets, whose malevolence was calculated, and could not fail, one time or other, to fall on us. I had, in those days, frequent occasions of privacy with the King in his closet, where I improved every opportunity to warm his jealousy of the growing naval power of France; and albeit, he gave me many a gracious hearing, and seemed to take pleasure in my discourse on that subject, and would often himself reason, with great sagacity, on naval matters; yet I grew at length convinced, that I laboured in vain, and had been all the while blowing a dead coal, as by this short following account may appear.

In the year 1682, (waiting one day on the King in his closet,) after some general discourse, his Majesty was pleased to tell me, "That I had often hinted to him, how busy the French King was on his coast, and what vast designs he had conceived for the improvement of his naval power; which was visible by his fortifying of Dunkirk in a most expensive manner, and projecting extraordinary works there; making piers, channels, basons, and every provision that art can suggest and money compass, to render that place easy of access; and make it a safe, capacious, and commodious harbour for shipping." I told his Majesty, "That not only at Dunkirk, Brest, and other places, where nature and situation had given them some help and encouragement to prosecute their maritime projects; but even every where else upon his coast, in every creek, cove, or inlet, where they can make depth of water, and give the least harbour and retreat for shipping, they are, and have been, on that article, equally industrious; which (as I had often told his Majesty) seemed to me to have a very evil aspect on all the maritime states of Europe, but more especially his Majesty: that nothing (humanly speaking) could prevent and defeat the mighty purposes of that ambitious monarch, so much as his want of natural aid towards the increase of his naval strength; his coast not yielding him one good port, on all that frontier which regards us; which he (most providently weighing) had, from an harbourless, inhospitable shore, by art, industry, and a most lavish expence of treasure, in a very great degree repaired; insomuch that there are hardly five leagues of distance, upon that line of their coast fronting ours, that does not yield marks of their care and application. Bars, rocks, and shelves are removed, and channels opened and deepened; to give safe and easy entrance to such small ports, as they have by nature. And, in other places, where art could be thought to avail, they have spared no pains or treasure, to compass artificial havens, piers, and provisions of succour for shipping. They have also built fortresses, raised batteries, and planted cannons innumerable all along their coast, and performed every wise and needful work towards the attaining their ends of becoming formidable by sea; and all this against the grain, and, as it were, in despite of nature, which yields them little or no encouragement: whilst we, on our coast (where Providence is so bountiful) have been so very little on our guard, that though navigation be the prime jewel of the crown, and is the fountain and foundation of both our wealth and safety, and without which we should be a contemptible nation, have not only omitted to improve the tenders, which nature makes us, for the increase and cultivating of our naval power; but have, in this last age, consented to see many of our useful ports run to decay, and at length to ruin, and to become totally lost to the nation; which a very little foresight, and as little charge, might have prevented, while the evil was growing, which, at a long run,

[2] [See this suggestion rectified, in Oldys' Catalogue, No. 69.]

becomes incurable. Among which ports, I instanced Sandwich, Dover, Rye, Winchelsea, &c. which were reckoned, heretofore, as so many bulwarks against our ambitious neighbour." The King hereupon replied, "That he confessed he laid a little to heart the loss of the haven of Dover, because it has fallen to decay mostly in his reign; had yielded him good service in the first Dutch war; and, in that, which was made by the Parliament with that nation, he was well assured, that we had a squadron of cruisers, which sailed out of that place, where they fitted, cleaned, and victualled, which did the enemy more damage, than any in the whole channel beside. That, therefore, if he thought that haven could be recovered by any tolerable charge, he was then, more than ever, disposed to engage in such a work; inasmuch as he was well assured, that not only all that I had said was true, but that the French King (to whom though he had already signified, by his ambassador, that the great bustle, he had made upon the coast, had given jealousy and distaste to the nation, and was not very pleasing to him) had nevertheless engaged very lately in a new expensive work, of the same nature with those I had mentioned, in the neighbourhood of Calais, where great numbers of men were then actually employed in fortifying the coast, and making an harbour and bason for reception of shipping, &c. Which being just under his nose, he said he had so much the more reason to resent it, and which he could not do in a better manner, than by attempting the recovery of Dover-haven; wherein if he succeeded, as it would give an occasion of ease to the people's jealousy, so it would obviate, in some measure, the danger that threatened us from so restless and projecting a neighbour." I replied to his Majesty, with great joy, "That I thought it would be a most acceptable instance, to the nation, of his care for their safety; and an useful proof, to the murmuring people, of his just dislike and suspicion of the French King's proceedings; and that I was in no doubt, whenever his Majesty should appear to go in earnest, about so laudable and needful a work, that the Parliament would frankly assist him towards the expence."

His Majesty, hereupon, commanded me to make a journey to Dover, to survey the port, and enable myself, by the best means I could, to give him a true state thereof, in order to a project for the recovery of that harbour: which order I carefully executed, and on my return, waited on his Majesty with my report, together with a plan and state of the present pier; an history of the services that place had yielded the crown; how it has fallen to decay; and how, with least charge, it might be repaired, and rendered useful again. I told his Majesty, that the bare customs and duties he had lost, by the decay of that port, which, for want of entrance into it, as had been customary, (there being no other, in many leagues together, on the coast,) and which were, therefore, now smuggled, and totally lost; would be, by many degrees, more than enough, when recovered, (and which would most certainly accrue, upon restoring the harbour,) to repay the utmost charge he could be at, for its repair and improvement; which single encouragement, I thought, was incitement enough to go about so noble, useful, and reputable a work.

I told his Majesty, that the port was, at that time, become entirely useless, the pier within being filled and choaked up with sand and mud, and the depth of water lost; that there was a bank of beach, at the mouth of the harbour, of many thousand tons, which barred up the entrance; that the town (which was wont to abound in shipping, seamen, commerce, people, and plenty of all things) was become poor, desolate, and dispeopled; which was visible every where, by their decayed buildings and habitations, where half the houses, at least, throughout the whole town, had bills on the doors. All which could be ascribed to no other reason, than the decay of their harbour; touching the true cause whereof, or the cure, the inhabitants, with whom I had frequent conference, could give me little or no light.

In this audience, I gave his Majesty an extensive account of all things relating to the subject about which he had sent me; I presented him with a draught of the then state of the port of Dover, wherein was expressed the manner of its decay, and the present ruinous condition in which it was. I endeavoured, also, to explain to him how this damage had come to pass, and by what means it had grown to that head, as to have rendered the haven

now almost lost to the publick. From the causes of the disease, I proceeded to my proposals for the remedy; wherein I had the good fortune to explain every point of my project, with evidence enough to oblige his Majesty, at that time, to say, "That he was so well satisfied, that he was resolved he would not defer the work a day. That, as I had made every thing plain and intelligible to him, so (above all) he was pleased with two most useful and encouraging propositions therein contained: namely, that whereas, in most works of that kind, princes were generally obliged to prosecute and go through the whole expence (which, for the most part, was very great) before they could reap the least profit of their design, or be assured of the success; while this work, on the contrary, was so ordered and contrived by me, that he was sure to receive a present profit from every sum (be it more or less) which he should, at any time, think fit to lay out; and that the benefit would be presently seen, and gathered, in proportion to the charge he should be at, which he might limit or respite, as he pleased, without danger of damage to the work that should be done, or of losing the advantage that should be once gained, in case of discontinuing the same.

The second point that pleased his Majesty, was, that whereas all artificial ports, that ever he had heard of, (which is most true,) were subject to choak, and fill up with sand or sullage; and to lose, by degrees, their depth of water, without great care, and a continual charge to prevent it; and which was the cause, for the most part, of the decay and loss of such ports to the publick: that he perceived, I had plainly obviated that evil, and (by a new and very demonstrable invention) had evidently secured the depth of water for ever, which no neglect could hinder, or towards which, any expence or annual charge was necessary.

I concluded with this general incitement to his Majesty, "That multiplicity of ports, in a maritime kingdom, such as his, was, above all things, to be wished; which, in times of peace, was a great means of encouragement to our naval intercourse, and coasting-trade, whereby our capital city became better supported, and at cheaper rates, with all things needful: that seamen were proportionably propagated; shipping, and all the incident professions of shipwrightry and navigation, increased and improved, &c. That in time of war, shelter and defence against an enemy was, by that means, more at hand; whereby our commerce was better preserved, our frontier so much the stronger, and cruisers had more dispatch, and were better spread and disposed at sea; because, wheresoever there are ports commodiously situated, and in the road of our commerce, there, of course, will be men of war appointed, and entertained in times of hostility, where they can clean, victual, and refit; whereby great expedition, which is the life of action, would be obtained, and half the time gained, that was spent in going to remote ports, as the Thames, Chatham, Portsmouth, &c. where, if the wind hangs out of the way, ships lie long on demorage, become foul by staying for a wind, and lose many occasions of service, which, in ports lying upon the edge of our Channel, as Dover does, can never happen; where you need no pilotage, and are no sooner out of the haven, but you are at sea."

In a word, I ended my discourse to his Majesty, with assuring him, "That Dover promised every thing he could hope from such a port; was situated, the nearest of all others, to a great, dangerous, and aspiring neighbour, who had given so many instances of wisdom and foresight, in the charge he had been at on that line of his coast which confronts ours, and which, whenever his Majesty should chance to have a war with that people, would be found to turn every way, both offensively and defensively, to marvellous account. That Dover stands on a promontory, which surveys, and might be made to command the greatest thorough-fair of navigation in the world; where no ship can pass unobserved, or escape the danger of being attacked, when there should be cause; and was of the same use by sea, as a pass is by land. And that there was no design, his Majesty could entertain for its strength and improvement, that was not compassable by art, and that did not promise a plentiful return of profit and honour, of any the greatest sum he could spare to lay out upon it."

I departed, at that time, from his Majesty full of hopes, that what I had done and said,

on this subject, would have produced the good effect of some speedy resolution: but, taking the liberty, some days after, to remind him thereof; I found him (to my great disappointment) much calmer than I had left him, and received this short answer: "That it was a noble project indeed, but that it was too big for his present purse, and would keep cold." Shortly after, I was dispatched to my business in a remote country, and from that time to this, have neither said, nor heard any thing of Dover.

Now the remark I would make, on this sudden and surprizing coldness of the King's, is namely this, that the long audience, I then had of his Majesty, chanced to be in a certain great lady's apartment in Whitehall, where I had no sooner begun my discourse, and produced my papers, when Monsieur Barillon, the French ambassador, came in; who I observed to listen, with great attention, to what was debated; asking the said lady, very earnestly, many questions about the subject-matter of our conference, who I perceived to interpret to him every thing that was said on that occasion; as did the King, afterwards, in my hearing; explaining the whole project, and the contents of the several designs; expressing his great approbation of the report I had made him: whereupon, making reflection on this occurrence, I was no longer in doubt, touching the cause of my disappointment, but that it was not the French King's interest, and, therefore, not his pleasure, that we should proceed on this work. And, that so noble a project should thus die in the birth, who would have been contented, I make no question, to have given ten times the amount of the cost, to defeat so national an undertaking, which looked with so threatening an aspect on those great schemes of naval power, which he has since put in execution, and is prosecuting to this day; and, I think, it therefore becomes every hearty Englishman to conclude, that such an incident, as I have here produced, ought to superadd one new and solid argument of incitement, to those that have been urged towards some solemn deliberation, on so promising and important a subject. And if our forefathers, in those darker times of Queen Elizabeth, saw a reason for their speculations on this article; then, when their views were narrow, their motives less, and the means to attain that purpose hardly to be compassed, through the limited funds of treasure in those days, and the insufficiency of undertakers to conceive, design, and prosecute works of that sort; so magnificent, so new, and out of the way of the world's practice: it may therefore be hoped for now, when our motives of danger, &c. are so visible, and so much stronger; the means of obtaining so noble an end every way more within our reach, while we behold by what arts and means, and with what profusion of treasure, a neighbouring prince pursues his maritime projects; and since we have seen and felt with what effect he has succeeded in his aims, to rival us by sea, and, in a word, while we know he must naturally ever be more than our match by land; and that nothing, at this day, can insure our safety, but a demonstrable superiority of naval strength. What greater wisdom and precaution can we manifest, or how can we more laudably publish our attention to the public welfare, than by seasonably obviating the evils that seem to threaten us, by the growing naval power of France; towards which, no one step, we can make, promises better fruit, than this proposal of recovering and improving the haven of Dover; which is, by nature, situated to our wish, and (in my humble opinion) is capable of being made, by art, so useful to ourselves and friends, and so effectual to bridle, prevent, and annoy our enemies; that, were the argument duly weighed, I am persuaded, we should think no sum too great to be so employed.

The Life of Sir Thomas Bodley,[1] the honourable Founder of the Publick Library in the University of Oxford. Written by Himself.

Oxford, printed by Henry Hall, Printer to the University, 1647.[2]

[Quarto; containing Sixteen Pages.]

To the READER.

WHEN the great restorer of learning, our munificent benefactor, Sir Thomas Bodley, made the happy exchange of the troubles of this life, with the glories of a better; the University, according to the greatness of his merits and their loss, in solemn grief and sadness attended at his obsequies. But lest the uncharitable censure of the world should apprehend our thankfulness buried in the same grave with him, and cold as his dead ashes, in that we pay no after-tribute to so engaging a desert; we bring to the altar of eternity that part of him which yet and ever must survive. A monument freed from the laws of time and ruin, supported with the vigour of that name, which hath a seminal strength within itself, to make whole volumes live. But lest the judging and severer eye, viewing the nakedness of this relation, may thence despise the poorness of our endeavour: that I may speak the work above all scorn, above all praise, it was his own. Nor durst we call that draught in question, which felt the hand of so exact a master; but with awe looked on it, as on the fabrick of an ancient temple, where the ruin furthers our devotion, and gaudy ornaments do but profane the sad religion of the place. It is true, it savours not the language of our age, that hath the art to murder with a smile, and folds a curse within a prayer, but speaks the rhetorick of that better world, where virtue was the garb, and truth the compliment. Those actions are of low and empty worth, that can shine only where the varnish of our words doth gild them over. The true diamond sparkles in its rock, and, in despite of darkness, makes a day. Here then, you shall behold actions with the same integrity set down, as they were first performed: a history described, as it was lived: a counsellor that admitted still religion to the cabinet, and in his active aims had a design on heaven: a spirit of that height, that happiness, as in a private fortune to outdo the famed magnificence of mighty princes; whilst his single work clouds the proud fame of the Ægyptian library, and shames the tedious growth of the wealthy Vatican. I know how hard a task it will be to persuade any to copy out from this fair pattern: however, we cannot so far despair of ingenuity, as not to expect, even from the unconcerned disinterested reader, a clear esteem and just resentment of it. If we gain by this, we shall in part rest satisfied, in an age so wholly lost to vice; conceiving it a great degree of virtue to confess the lustre of that good, which our perverse endeavours still avoid.

I WAS born at Exeter, in Devonshire, the second of March, 1544, descended both by father and mother of worshipful parentage. By my father's side, from an ancient family of Bodley, or Bodleigh of Dunscomb, by Crediton; and by my mother, from Robert Hone, Esq. of Ottery[3] Saint Mary, nine miles from Exeter. My father, in the time of Queen Mary, being noted and known to be an enemy to popery, was so cruelly

[1] See Oldys' Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 90.
[2] [Reprinted in Reliquiæ Bodleianæ, 1703; and abstracted into Lloyd's State-Worthies.]
[3] [Otherwise *Home* of *Offery*. Vide Biog. Brit. ii. 388.]

threatened, and so narrowly observed, by those that maliced his religion, that, for the safeguard of himself and my mother, who was wholly affected as my father, he knew no way so secure, as to fly into Germany; where, after a while, he found means to call over my mother, with all his children and family; whom he settled, for a time, at Wesell in Cleveland, (for there, as then, were many English, which had left their country for their conscience, and with quietness enjoyed their meetings and preachings,) and from thence we removed to the town of Frankfort, where was, in like sort, another English congregation. Howbeit, we made no long tarriance in either of those two towns, for that my father had resolved to fix his abode in the city of Geneva; where, as far as I remember, the English church consisted of some hundred persons. I was at that time of twelve years of age, but (through my father's cost and care) sufficiently instructed, to become an auditor of Chevalerius in Hebrew, of Beroaldus in Greek, of Calvin and Beza in divinity, and of some other professors in that university (which was newly then erected), besides my domestical teachers, in the house of Philibertus Saracenus, a famous physician in that city, with whom I was boarded; where Robertus Constantinus, that made the Greek Lexicon, read Homer unto me. Thus I remained there two years, and more, until such time as our nation was advertised of the death of Queen Mary, and succession of Elizabeth, with the change of religion, which caused my father to hasten into England; where he came with my mother, and with all their family, within the first of the Queen, and settled their dwelling in the city of London. It was not long after, that I was sent away from thence to the university of Oxford, recommended to the teaching and tuition of Dr. Humfrey, who was shortly after chosen the chief reader in divinity, and president of Magdalen-college. There I followed my studies, till I took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, which was in the year 1563; within which year I was also chosen probationer of Merton-college, and the next year ensuing admitted fellow. Afterwards, (to wit, in the year 1565,) by special persuasion of some of my fellows, and for my private exercise, I undertook the public reading of a Greek lecture, in the same college-hall, without requiring or expecting any stipend for it. Nevertheless, it pleased the fellowship, of their own accord, to allow me soon after four marks by the year, and ever since to continue that lecture to the college. In the year of our Lord 1566, I proceeded Master of Arts, and read, for that year, in the school-streets natural philosophy; after which time, within less than three years space, I was won, by entreaty of my best affected friends, to stand for the proctorship, to which I and my colleague, Master Bearblock of Exeter-college, were quietly elected in the year 1569, without any competition or countersuit of any other. After this, for a long time, I supplied the office of the university-orator, and bestowed my time in the study of sundry faculties, without any inclination to profess any one above the rest; insomuch as, at last, I waxed desirous to travel beyond the seas, for attaining to the knowledge of some special modern tongues, and for the increase of my experience in the managing of affairs; being wholly then addicted to employ myself, and all my cares, in the public service of the state. My resolution fully taken, I departed out of England, *anno* 1576, and continued very near four years abroad, and that in sundry parts of Italy, France, and Germany[4]. A good while after my return, (to wit, in the year 1585,) I was employed by the Queen to Frederick, father to the present King of Denmark; to Julius, Duke of Brunswick; to William, Landgrave of Hesse; and other German princes. The effect of my message was, to draw them to join their forces with hers, for giving assistance to the King of Navarre; now Henry the Fourth, King of France. My next employment was to Henry the Third, at such time as he was forced by the Duke of Guise to fly out of Paris; which I performed, in such sort as I had in charge, with extraordinary secrecy; not being accompanied with any one servant, (for so much I was commanded,) nor with any other letters, than such as were written with the Queen's own hand to the King, and some selected persons about

[4] [In 1583, says Wood, he was made gentleman-usher to Queen Elizabeth; and in 1585, married Anne, daughter of Mr. Carew of Bristol, and widow of Mr. Ball, a lady of considerable fortune. Athen. Oxon. i. 384.]

him: the effect of that message it is fit I should conceal. But it tended greatly to the advantage not only of the King, but of all the Protestants in France, and to the Duke's apparent overthrow, which also followed soon upon it. It so befel after this in the year eighty-eight, that for the better conduct of her Highness's affairs in the provinces united, I was thought a fit person to reside in those parts, and was sent thereupon to the Hague in Holland; where, according to the contract that had formerly past between her Highness and the States, I was admitted for one of their council of estate; taking place in their assemblies next to Count Maurice, and yielding my suffrage in all that was proposed. During all that time, what approbation was given of my painful endeavours by the Queen, Lords in England, by the States of the country there, and by all the English soldiery, I refer it to be notified by some other's relation; since it was not unknown to any of any calling, that then were acquainted with the state of that government. For, at my first coming thither, the people of that country stood in dangerous terms of discontentment, partly for some courses that were held in England, as they thought, to their singular prejudice; but most of all, in respect of the insolent demeanour of some of her Highness's ministers, which only respected their private emolument; little weighing in their dealing what the Queen had contracted with the States of the country: whereupon was conceived a mighty fear on every side, that both a present dissolution of the contract would ensue, and a downright breach of amity between us and them.

Now what means I set a-foot for redress of those perils, and by what degrees the state of things was reduced into order, it would require a long treatise to report it exactly; but this I may aver with modesty and truth, (and the country did always acknowledge it with gratitude,) that had I not of myself, without any direction from my superiors, proceeded in my charge, with extreme circumspection; as well in all my speeches and proposals to the States, as in the tenour of my letters, that I writ into England; some sudden alarm had been given, to the utter subversion and ruin of the state of those provinces; which, in process of time, must needs have wrought, in all probability, the self-same effect in the state of this realm. Of this my diligence and care in the managing of my business, there was (as I have signified) very special notice taken by the Queen and state at home; for which I received from her Majesty many comfortable letters of her gracious acceptance; as withal, from that time forward, I did never receive almost any set instructions, how to govern my proceedings in her Majesty's occasions, but the carriage, in a manner, of all her affairs was left to me, and my direction[5]. Through this my long absence out of England, which wanted very little of five whole years, my private estate did greatly require my speedy return; which when I had obtained by intercession of friends, and a tedious suit, I could enjoy but a while, being shortly after enjoined to repair to the Hague again. Nevertheless, upon a certain occasion to deliver unto her some secret overtures, and of performing thereupon an extraordinary service, I came again home within less than a twelvemonth; and I was no sooner come, but her Highness embracing the fruit of my discoveries, I was presently commanded to return to the States, with charge to pursue those affairs to performance, which I had secretly proposed: and according to the project which I had conceived, and imparted unto her, all things were concluded and brought to that issue that was instantly desired, whereupon, I procured my last revocation.

Now, here I cannot choose, in making report of the principal accidents that have fallen unto me in the course of my life, but record among the rest; that from the very first day, I had no man more to friend among the lords of the council, than was the Lord-treasurer Burleigh. For, when occasion had been offered of declaring his conceit as touching my service, he would always tell the Queen, (which I received from herself and some other ear-witnesses,) that there was not any man in England so meet as myself, to undergo the

[5] [A more particular report of Sir Thomas Bodley's negociations with the States may be seen in Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1595; and in a short piece written by Sir Thomas himself, intitled, 'An account of an agreement between the Queen and the United Provinces; wherein she supported them, and 'they stood not to the agreement.']

office of the secretary. And since, his son, the present Lord-treasurer, hath signified unto me in private conference, that when his father first intended to advance him to that place, his purpose was withal to make me his colleague. But the case stood thus in my behalf: Before such time as I returned from the provinces united, which was in the year 1597, and likewise after my return; the then Earl of Essex did use me so kindly both by letter and messages, and other great tokens of his inward favours to me, that though I had no meaning, but to settle in my mind my chiefest desire and dependence upon the Lord Burleigh, as one that I reputed to be both the best able, and therewithal the most willing to work my advancement with the Queen; yet I know not how, the Earl, who sought by all devices to divert her love and liking both from the father and the son, but from the son especially, to withdraw my affection from the one and the other, and to win me altogether to depend upon himself, did so often take occasion to entertain the Queen with some prodigal speeches of my sufficiency for a secretary, (which were ever accompanied with words of disgrace against the present Lord-treasurer,) as neither she herself, of whose favour before I was thoroughly assured, took any great pleasure to prefer me the sooner; for she hated his ambition, and would give little countenance to any of his followers; and both the Lord Burleigh and his son waxed jealous of my courses, as if under-hand I had been induced, by the cunning and kindness of the Earl of Essex, to oppose myself against their dealings. And though, in very truth, they had no solid ground at all of the least alteration in my disposition towards either of them both, (for I did greatly respect their persons and places,) with a settled resolution to do them any service; as also in my heart I detested to be held of any faction whatsoever; yet the now Lord-treasurer (upon occasion of some talk, that I have since had with him, of the Earl and his actions) hath freely confessed of his own accord unto me, that his daily provocations were so bitter and sharp against him, and his comparisons so odious, when he put us in a balance, as he thought thereupon he had very great reason to use his best means, to put any man out of hope of raising his fortune, whom the Earl with such violence, to his extreme prejudice, had endeavoured to dignify. And this (as he affirmed) was all the motive he had to set himself against me, in whatsoever might redound to the bettering of my estate, or increasing of my credit and countenance with the Queen. When I had thoroughly now bethought me, first in the Earl, of the slender hold-fast that he had in the favour of the Queen, of an endless opposition of the chiefest of our statesmen like still to wait upon him, of his perilous, and feeble, and uncertain advice, as well in his own, as in all the causes of his friends: and when moreover, for myself, I had fully considered how very untowardly these two counsellors were affected unto me, upon whom before in cogitation I had framed all the fabrick of my future prosperity; how ill it did concur with my natural disposition to become, or to be counted either a stickler or partaker in any public faction; how well I was able, by God's good blessing, to live of myself, if I could be content with a competent livelihood; how short time of further life I was then to expect by the common course of nature: when I had, I say, in this manner, represented to my thoughts my particular estate, together with the Earl's, I resolved thereupon to possess my soul in peace, all the residue of my days; to take my full farewell of state-employments, to satisfy my mind with that mediocrity of worldly living, that I had of my own, and so to retire me from the court, (which was the epilogue and end of all my actions and endeavours of any important note,) till I came to the age of fifty-three.

Now, although after this, by her Majesty's direction, I was often called to the court, by the now Lord-treasurer, then secretary; and required by him, (as also divers times since,) by order from the King, to serve as ambassador in France, to go a commissioner from his Highness, for concluding the truce between Spain and the Provinces, and to negotiate in other very honourable employments; yet I would not be removed from my former final resolution, insomuch as, at length, to induce me the sooner to return to the court, I had an offer made me by the present Lord-treasurer; for in process of time he saw, (as he himself was pleased to tell me more than once,) that all my dealing was upright, faithful, and direct; that in case I myself was willing unto it, he would make me his

associate in the secretary's office, and, to the intent I might believe that he intended it *bonâ fide*, he would get me out of hand to be sworn of the council. And for the better enabling of my state to maintain such a dignity, whatsoever I would ask, that might be fit for him to deal in, and for me to enjoy, he would presently solicit the King to give it passage. All which persuasions notwithstanding, although I was often assaulted by him, in regard of my years, and for that I felt myself subject to many indispositions, (besides some other private reasons which I reserve unto myself,) I have continued still at home my retired course of life; which is now methinks to me as the greatest preferment the state can afford. Only this I must truly confess of myself, that though I did never repent me yet of those, and some other my often refusals of honourable offers, in respect of enriching my private estate; yet somewhat more of late I have blamed myself, and my nicety that way, for the love that I bear to my reverend mother the University of Oxford, and to the advancement of her good, by such kind of means, as I have since undertaken.

For thus I fell to discourse and debate in my mind; that although I might find it fittest for me, to keep out of the throng of court contentions, and address my thoughts and deeds to such ends altogether, as I myself could best affect; yet withal I was to think, that my duty towards God, the expectation of the world, my natural inclination, and very morality, did require, that I should not wholly so hide those little abilities that I had, but that in some measure, in one kind or other, I should do the true part of a profitable member in the state. Whereupon, examining exactly for the rest of my life, what course I might take, and having sought (as I thought) all the ways to the wood to select the most proper, I concluded at the last to set up my staff at the library-door in Oxford: being thoroughly persuaded, that in my solitude and surcease from the commonwealth-affairs, I could not busy myself to better purpose, than by reducing that place, which then in every part lay ruined and waste, to the public use of students: for the effecting whereof, I found myself furnished in a competent proportion, of such four kinds of aids, as, unless I had them all, there was no hope of good success. For without some kind of knowledge, as well in the learned and modern tongues, as in sundry other sorts of scholastical literature; without some purse-ability, to go through with the charge; without very great store of honourable friends to further the design; and without special good leisure to follow such a work; it could but have proved a vain attempt, and inconsiderate. But how well I have sped in all my endeavours, and how full provision I have made for the benefit and ease of all frequenters of the library; that which I have already performed in sight, that besides which I have given for the maintenance of it, and that which hereafter I purpose to add, by way of enlargement to that place, (for the project is cast, and whether I live or die, it shall be, God willing, put in full execution,) will testify so truly and abundantly for me, as I need not be the publisher of the dignity and worth of my own institution. Written with my own hand, *anno* 1609, December the fifteenth.

THOMAS BODLEY.

Thus far our noble author of himself; who (like to the first penman of the sacred history) seems to survive his grave, and to describe unto us his own death. For, having finished that great work, which future times shall ever honour, never equal; he yielded to his fate: as being unwilling the glory of that deed should be deflowered by the succession of an act less high than it. On the twenty-ninth of January, in the year 1612, his pure soul attained the freedom of its own divinity! leaving his borrowed earth, the sad remainder of innocence and frailty, to be deposited in Merton-college: who had the happiness to call his education hers, and to be entrusted with so dear a pledge of immortality.

A Rod for the Lawyers: Who are hereby declared to be the grand Robbers and Deceivers of the Nation; greedily devouring yearly many Millions of the People's Money. To which is added, a Word to the Parliament, and a Word to the Army. By William Cole, a Lover of his Country.

Isa. x. 1. 2. 'Woe unto them that decree unrighteous Decrees, and that write 'Grievousness that they have prescribed: To turn aside the Needy from 'Judgment, and to take away the Right from the Poor of my People, that 'Widows may be their Prey, and that they may rob the Fatherless.'

Isa. iii. 14. 'The Spoil of the Poor is in your Houses.'

London, printed in the Year 1659.[1]

[Quarto, containing Twenty Pages.]

Courteous Reader,

HAD not my affections to my countrymen more engaged me, than any particular enmity I have against the Lawyers' corrupt interest, by any damage I have sustained by them; I should have forborne publishing the ensuing lines. But if the very heathens could say, *Non solùm nobis nati sumus;* we are not only born for ourselves, but that next to the duty we owe to God, we are bound, every individual man, to be a helpful member to his country; why should I, or any man keep silence, whilst this pestiferous generation of the Lawyers, runs from city to country, seeking whom they may devour? It is thy duty as well as mine, to cry aloud for justice against them. It is thy duty, and every honest Englishman's in the land, to take care hereafter never to choose any of that generation to make laws for us: I say, not to choose them for parliament-men. Were not there too many of them now in this present parliament, I should hope and expect far better things than now I do. But now God is pulling down the high and mighty; is discovering the wickedness of men in power; hath, most miraculously, slain the glory of princes; I can with confidence say, *Deus dabit his quoque finem.* I do not altogether despair, that before I die, I may see the inns of courts, of dens of thieves, converted into hospitals; which were a rare piece of justice: that so as they formerly have immured those that robbed the poor of houses; so they may, at last, preserve the poor themselves.

THAT the end of all laws and magistracy ought principally to tend to the ease, safety, and well-being of the people governed, I presume no rational man or men will deny: and, indeed, therefore it is the usual cry and saying, both among the masters of oppression, the Lawyers, and the ignorant people that know no better, that the laws of England, as also the ways of executing them, are the safest and best laws in the world; and whosoever shall alter the said laws, or ways of executing them, will unavoidably introduce a mischief instead of a benefit. But to those is answered, that the major part of the laws, made in this nation, are founded on principles of tyranny, fallacy, and oppression; for the profit and benefit of those that made them. For know this; that when

[1] See Oldys' Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 40.

William the Bastard, Duke of Normandy, undertook to conquer this nation, he was not singly himself able to raise money or men enough to perform such a design, without the voluntary conjunction of most of the nobles and gentry that were his subjects; who sold and mortgaged almost all the lands and estates they had in Normandy, to furnish them out in that design. Now, therefore, when the said William had conquered this nation, he was forced to suffer those his Norman peers to share with him in the benefit, as they voluntarily did in the hazard. From him it came to pass, that he the said conqueror and his nobles made a division of the land amongst themselves, and whosoever were tenants to the said conquerors, held all their lands for a long space in vassalage under them, merely at their will and mercy: whereupon all laws were made in French, and it was accounted a base thing, in England, to be called an Englishman. Then did these conquerors make such laws as suited best to keep the people in slavery and subjection, (as the English now use the Irish,) that they might have all the benefit they possibly could screw out of the people. Hence came it to pass, that all penal laws were made for the benefit of the king, the lords of manors, and other great officers who were the king's creatures: this was, and still is, the ground and reason why the life of man (which assuredly, by the law of reason, is sufficient to answer any crime) was not alone taken away upon conviction of treason, murder, or felony; but also the estates of offenders were forfeited by law to the king or lord of the manor: which hath been the cause that many an innocent hath suffered, as Naboth, who was destroyed by Ahab, that so he might enjoy his vineyard.

These laws were not before the Conquest, neither have been since the Conquest ever introduced in Kent; which county submitted to the said Duke of Normandy, reserving to themselves their laws and rights; and therefore it is the saying in Kent, 'The father to the 'bough, and the son to the plough.' And surely, in that county is as little robbing, murdering, &c. as in other counties; and therefore there is not such necessity for that law, as some sophisters pretend, to keep the people in dread and awe. Neither, indeed, do I think there is such an absolute necessity for the hanging men for theft; but as heretofore in the nation, there may be another way found out, more agreeable to the laws of God and reason, for punishing of theft; as selling to foreign plantations, or the like, &c. But, if at last the law to hang thieves must continue, I wish it may take hold of the great ones first; lest we renew the practice once in Athens, where they hanged none but little thieves, and the great thieves pronounced sentence. *Verbum sat sapienti:* I am more afraid of those that rob by power of a law, than those that sneakingly endeavour to take my purse on the highway.

Now although it may be alleged (and truly that is all, for by reason it cannot be proved), that there is some reason for the forfeiting the estates aforesaid; yet at least, let the person damnified be the enjoyer, or the wife and children of the person murdered. But why there should come forfeitures on ships cast away, driven up to full sea-mark, to lose the best cable and anchor; men to be carried away into slavery, taken at sea, the ship remaining with her lading firm and sound, to be forfeited to the lord-admiral, for a deodand to be forfeited; to say, if a horse drown his master, the horse to be forfeited, and this to be pleaded for; or many such laws, to be grounded on reason, is so ridiculous, that I think the first and grand deceiver of mankind cannot find sophistry enough to furnish the lawyers with to plead for it.

But some will say, 'That, though we were conquered, yet our noble ancestors, by dint 'of sword in the Barons' wars, regained their freedom, and forced the king to condescend 'to that famous law, called *Magna Charta.*'

For answer, know this; that when the nobles in those days found the king altogether inclined to his minions and flatterers, and thereby made laws to enslave the said nobles as well as the commons had been before, they saw there was a necessity for them to stand up for their own privileges; who being popular, what by fear and love, they engaged the commons with them in war, and took the king prisoner, forcing him to consent to all things that were necessary to preserve themselves from the king's will, but never in the least acted from any love to the poor commons, but what they were absolutely necessitated

to; neither freed the said commons from the bondage they were in to themselves. Now as all the laws of the land have been made by the king, the great lords, gentry and lawyers; when the lower house (one third part whereof usually consisted of lawyers) had gratified the king and upper house; so also did the king gratify the lower house, both the gentry and lawyers, and agreed to laws for their advantage: for indeed, it is not much for the advantage of the gentry, that seeing the laws are so corrupt and chargeable, they thereby can, and indeed have done, and in most part do still, keep the poor in such subjection, that not only their own tenants, but other poor that live near them, must run, and go, and work, and obey them, as they shall please to command them; else they run the hazard of being undone. And what advantage the charge and delay of law-suits is to the great lawyers, you may judge. How have some lawyers, from being worth nothing but their books, come to purchase thousands yearly lands, as it is commonly called, by the sins of the people? This is the reason why parliaments have not made the nation free; our pretending deliverers have been our destroyers, and indeed it was irrational to expect better things. Who will expect grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles? Who will expect ease from oppression, from masters of oppression, the Lawyers? If you will have clean streams flow from the fountain, you must be sure to cleanse the fountain itself.

That the Lawyers have only sought their own advantage, although to the total impoverishing the nation, consider this following.

I have often, both in city and country, made as near an enquiry as possibly I could, in a general way, what number of lawyers there might be in England and Wales, in all offices; as judges, masters of chancery, serjeants at law, counsellors, attorneys, solicitors, with the rest of the rabble; and I cannot find by calculation, but that there are, great and small, masters and servants, (by the best account I can estimate,) above thirty-thousand. Now consider at what high rates, the very meanest of these live: see but a very country hackney, and you will find he goeth clothed in a genteel garb, and all his family; he keeps company with the gentry, and yet usually quickly getteth an estate over and above his expences, which cannot possibly be less than one hundred and fifty pounds *per annum*. Now if such country-lawyers live at that rate, bring the judges, masters of rolls, counsellors, attorneys, registers, *cum multis aliis*, in the common law, chancery, and admiralty; and you will find, that this mercenary generation, one with another, do not receive less yearly from the people, in their law practice, (I say the number of thirty-thousand,) than two-hundred and fifty pounds *per annum* each man: what if some have but fifty, then know some have thousands; surely, I believe, that Prideaux and Maynard will not, nor can deny it. Now, at this rate, to say, two-hundred and fifty pounds, *per annum*, to each lawyer, these thirty-thousand receive seven-millions and half of money yearly, which is seventy-five hundred-thousand pounds: and what a charge are the people at, to attend their tedious and vexatious trials? Consider, what doth it cost to ride and go from all countries and towns to London, to attend the terms: it cannot be less than one million of money yearly, and to what purpose observe.

Whosoever contends in law against another, either for land, debt, or trespass, must, by the law, try his title, debt, or damage, by witness; after it hath been never so long delayed by sophistry, quirks, and quibbles of the lawyers. Now, therefore, if it must be of necessity proved at the last; why is it not better to have it tried in the neighbourhood, while it is fresh, green, and new, when the witnesses are alive; and in places, wherein their lives and conversations are known; than seven, ten, twenty, or thirty years after the suit is commenced, when knights of the post may be taken as witnesses, when the lawyers shall baffle and confound witness and jury by their impudent sophistry and prattle; when things at great courts-assizes are passed over in hugger-mugger, for want of time to examine them; there being more care taken to keep a precise hour for a dinner, than precisely and strictly to see the execution of justice and true judgment in behalf of the poor, the fatherless, the widow, and the orphan: and when either party sees he is like to have the worst, by common law, then they have liberty to remove unto the chancery, where a

suit commonly depends as long as a buff coat will endure wearing; especially, if th parties have, as it is said, good stomachs and strong purses: but, when their purses grow empty, their stomachs fail; then, when no more corn is like to be brought to the lawyer's mill, it is usual to ordain some men to hear and end the business: but, alas! then it is too late, for then, probably, both parties, or at least one of them, are ruined utterly in prosecuting the suit, want of his stock, and following of his calling.

What a folly is it, that all bargains in trade and commerce, foreign and domestic, must unavoidably run into this channel, to be debated by lawyers, that understand it as little as they have uprightness; and be tried by jury-men, of which, probably, not one of the number hath the least knowledge in merchandise! What an injustice is it, that all wills must be proved in London, at such a vast charge and distance from the place, where the party deceased; where they usually cannot know the truth of things, or little care whether they do or no, so their fees be paid; where they often either take no security at all, or if they do, it may be it is such that is as good as nothing; where every tapster or chamberlain, &c. that pretends himself a freeman, is legal security. How many fatherless, widows, and orphans are utterly ruined by this! The Scripture saith, 'He is worse than an infidel, 'that provides not for his family;' and to what purpose is it, in these times of corruption, to work for children? If men die, while their children are young, then they choose some, whom they expect will prove shepherds to preserve their children; but if they prove wolves, where is the remedy? If men be in a way of trade, it is probable they may have, in goods, twice or three times as much left in their hands, as they are really worth; these goods the executors or overseers may and often have procured means to be appraised at half, or one-third of the value; so accordingly they pay debts with a *plenè administravit:* these poor young children or simple women think not, neither know, how to prevent it; by this means let a man die, that is worth one-thousand pounds, and the goods in his custody worth three or four thousand pounds, his creditors may be cheated of the most part of their debts, and his children left a burthen to the parish. O England, England! why dost thou profess thyself the most sincere nation for Christianity on the earth, and dost suffer these things that the very heathens have abhorred?

Object. But, if men were not contentious, they might speedily and cheaply try any suit at law; it is the fault of froward spirits, that cause the great charge and delay, and not the Law itself. And it is just, that the Law should be chargeable; else every man would be at strife with his neighbour, when the charges were little.

Answ. It is true, that injustice, of one part or other, is indisputably the cause of all difference, for both the plaintiff and defendant cannot be in the right; but, were the law made according to the mind of God, (for punishment of those that do evil, and for encouragement of those that do well,) then it would be founded on principles of justice indeed: it would suppress strife, contention, and debate; it would quickly put an end to all suits and controversies; it would not protect the contentious spirits, nor nourish their devilish nature; it would not suffer might to overcome right, as usually it doth in these days; it would not shelter great landed men in prison, in the King's-Bench and Fleet, &c. that have large, real estates, which they spend voluptuously and riotously, whilst their poor creditors lie starving in nasty prisons. This is *monstrum horrendum*, an abomination that, let what will be pretended for it, is not tolerable under the government of a right constituted commonwealth, how long soever it hath been continued under tyrannical monarchy. But to sum up all in brief: the Law in the generality is unjust and irrational, the execution desperately dangerous and chargeable; it is easier to find a thousand evils in it, than one true principle in matter and form.

What if an attorney or council take cunningly a bribe from an adversary, and make a compact with him to cheat his client, as it is too often practised, and seldom discovered? What if a judge accept of a bribe, and by over-awing the court, carry a case against law and right; if he make it a precedent, may it not be the ground to cheat many after it? It is remarkable, when neither the letter of the law, nor reason carry a business; then those,

that are subtle counsellors, and are highly fee'd (for, without that, nothing can be expected), usually produce precedents; and these are imposed on the jury for current justice, when probably the ground of them was bribery and baseness.

There is law, reason, or equity in England, to try and end all titles, debts, and trespasses, depending by suits, in all courts; or there is not. If there be, let the parliament appoint a certain number of knowing men, the most conscientious they can think of, in several cities and counties, to make it their sole business, in a limited time, to hear and determine all old suits, allowing them a moderate salary by the pound, to be paid by him that is found the offender; and let not things depend *ad infinitum* in courts. There may be as much injury suffered by the delay of justice, as by denial of justice. When all old suits are ended, were there order taken in hundreds and counties to have all laws, leases, mortgages registered; and all those that should pretend any title, to make their claim in such a limited time, as in reason may be thought fit, reserving some exceptions for some years for children, men in foreign parts, &c. And, when all old suits were ended, all lands registered, and none to be leased, sold, or mortgaged in each respective hundred, within one month after the contract; it would take away the cause of most contention: and until the cause be taken away, the effect will never cease. Having often discoursed with lawyers and others about the delays, burthen, and uncertainty of trials at law, I very seldom found any averse to merchants-courts; in regard that it is apparent, the affairs and dealings of merchants cannot properly be understood but by merchants, who know the mystery of trade, which neither judge, council, nor gentlemen, that never were educated therein, can possibly do: for what a ridiculous thing is it, that the judges in chancery must determine of merchants' negotiations transacted in foreign parts, which they understand no better than do their seats, they sit on: and so they are as capable to do equity therein, as a blind man to shoot a hare. Now if courts of merchants are most (nay, I say, absolutely) necessary for deciding of controversies in commerce; and the reason given for it, is, because they best understand it: the same reason holds good, that countrymen, clothiers, weavers, &c. are most competent judges of country-affairs of those callings they live on, and understand; they better know the value of trespass that is committed by cattle, on corn, &c. than do the citizens that hardly know how corn groweth. Can the people of London, or masters of chancery, judge the equity of things acted in Cornwall or Wales, better than the chief able men of the neighbourhood? Now if England was so happy to have respective hundred-courts, and no appeals to be made further than the quarter-sessions; were these courts rightly constituted, and strict penalties to be inflicted on the receivers of bribes, as cutting off their noses, banishment, or the like, (which is absolutely necessary for a false judge, as both a thief and murderer,) where none of the court, the register excepted, should continue in power, to judge but one year together, where they should not be mercenary; where a man might speak his own cause, or employ his friend whom he pleased, to speak for him; there would be then ground to expect justice and equity speedily: there would not be (neither rationally could) lying sophistry or quibbles, to pervert the understanding of the court; there being always time deliberately to hear the business, and to examine the witnesses, when the matter was green and new.

Were it ordained, that all wills should be registered in each respective hundred where the party had his abode or trade; that the overseers of the parish were bound by oath and penalty forthwith to inform some members of the court, who had power upon the first notice to appoint one or two able men to take care for the preservation of the goods of the party deceased: that, at a certain day, all the moveables were to be sold to him, that would give most; with this reservation made, that the wife, children, executor or administrator might, when the highest price were offered, have liberty to take it at the same: that when the goods were sold, the true value was registered in the court: that no executor should have any administration granted, without giving security, to the court's liking, of two able men besides himself: that in case the executor neither could nor would give good security, that then the court should be the executor, and take care for the discharging

the debts, providing for the widow and children: that none belonging to this court (the register excepted) should continue in power, above one year together: that the executor should yearly give an account, how he did dispose and manage the estate to the court; how he educated or bred up the children, &c. that, if the court remained in possession of the estate, then that it might be lawful for the widow, children, or friends, to have redress by the session's court, upon complaint and proof of injury: that the lands and estates of all and each respective person in the hundred, were liable to make satisfaction for any widows', fatherless', or orphans' estates, that were put into the court's hands: this would make the people take care in the choice of their yearly court, called judges, or juries, or the like. Now if these registers of lands were kept, if the estates of the deceased were so to be secured, if all debts were liable to be recovered in each respective hundred, this would prevent law-suits; this would disable the cunning, subtle people, from finding out ways to cheat their neighbours; this would discover those that were contentious and troublesome: on which people truly, I think, it were but just to inflict some badge of disgrace; whereas, in these days, none are more encouraged by lawyers, counsellors, &c. than those that are most contentious.

A Word to the Parliament.

Right Honourable,

I DO not give this title to flatter and collogue with you, but do really hope, that your future actions and designs will make you worthy of it. Ye have now a great and weighty work to perform, even the restoring to life, liberty, and security, a dying, enslaved, destroyed nation, whose utter ruin will quickly ensue, unless you work whilst it is day; unless you make use of the present opportunity that God hath put into your hands. It is not now time for you to think of framing a commonwealth-government, by any precedent or practices of monarchical laws, formerly made by king or single persons, which solely tended to preserve themselves and their posterities in their unlimited oppressions: monarchy is an absolute antagonist to a free state, and so are all the laws and rules made by monarchs. The Hollanders, when they relished the tyranny and persecution of the Spanish king (who had a far more legal title to be their sovereign, than the late Norman Scottish family had to be the English), never consulted with the laws of their king to make fundamentals for a free state; they nobly and resolvedly shook off all the props of tyranny, as they had done the tyrant himself: and to their gallant resolution God gave such a blessing, that from a poor miserable people, a distressed state, they are now become potent, rich, and dreadful.

Ye are now involved in a labyrinth of debts, contracted by the late Usurper[2], not on necessity but on ambition. The people of the land are almost generally impoverished and indebted, and yet ye will unavoidably be forced to raise great sums to pay the arrears of the army and fleet. Now, as ye are necessitated yet to continue some burthens on the people; so also there is a little necessity, in point of justice and prudence, for you to ease the people of others. The Lawyers' interest tends neither to the honour, safety, nor benefit of the people, nor your own in particular. Who have been greater enemies against the establishing a free state than that generation? Who have done, and still do, more discourage the nation from a cordial compliance to this government than they? How often have they cried up a necessity of the executing law in the name of a single person; alleging the laws of England could not be managed any other way? As their interest is engaged to monarchy, so let it fall with it; let them be condemned out of their own mouths; *Nec lex est justior ulla, quàm necis artifices arte perire suâ.* Must the people not only pay for the charge of your forces by land and sea; but must they pay also millions of money hereby, to a mercenary, corrupt, useless generation of men, who are worse than the Ægyptian cater-

[2] [Oliver Cromwell.]

pillars; for they devour not only the green leaves, but hundreds of poor widows, fatherless and orphans. These are the insatiate cannibals, whose carcasses will never be full gorged with the spoil of the poor and innocent, until the worm gorgeth himself on theirs.

Those gentlemen of the long robe that are amongst you, I hope, cannot say less, than that there is great reason to ease the people herein. What, if they have heretofore thriven highly by the practice of law; *nunquam sera ad bonos mores via:* are they not thereby the better able to maintain their port and garb? Is it now time to think of their latter end, to cease to do evil, and learn to do well? I hope the proverb will not hold true in them, 'The older, the more covetous.' Now it is time for them, and the whole parliament, unanimously and vigorously to do good; to vindicate their former, almost (shall I say deservedly?) lost honour and reputation, and to secure their estates to their posterities. Ye have now the hearts and purses of a resolved honest party, that will not only make addresses to you, like the addresses to the single person, but will stand and fall with you, in all just things. But if ye turn back from the strait way of justice; if ye seek to make yourselves, families, or relations great, by ruining or burthening your country; if ye make or maintain the Lawyers' interest, turn aside the needy from judgments, and rob the widow and fatherless, then will ye be forsaken by God, and all just men. Then will not your mountains of treasures, nor numbers of lordships, nor fawning, flattering parasites, any ways help you, nor deliver you; *sed meliora spero.*

A Word to the Army.

SIRS,

YE have once more erected the words of *salus populi*, and declare it ought to be *suprema lex;* the good old cause is now cried up. If your words and hearts go together, it is well; it will be the people's profit, your honour and safety: but, if your zeal exceed not Jehu's, it will signify nothing. The nation hath been too long abused and cozened by fair words, so that they begin to say, "Who will now not only speak, but do us any good? Who will prove such self-deniers, as to prefer the country's ease before their own honour or profit?" This is what is expected from all sorts, and satisfaction cannot be given to the people but by it. It is not now a time to cry out for acts of indemnity, which will unavoidably burthen and punish the innocent, and let the guilty go free. Will ye have all the corrupt mercenary creatures of the late tyrant's lust justified; and all their ill-gotten goods secured? Is there no pity, remorse, nor compassion dwelling in you, in tenderness to the undone people? What mean all your glorious declarations? What mean all your pretences of religion? What mean your fasts? Will ye, under pretence of long prayers, devour widows' houses? Consider what fast God requireth at your hands, Isa. lviii.

But if, at last, nothing will divert you from this stream of injustice; give the people, who have long fed and clothed you, some satisfaction. As ye are willing to excuse the guilty, so pray let the innocent go free. Give the people an act of indemnity, and free them from paying all, or any part of arrears, that remain due to you, for your service in the tyrant's usurpation; especially you that are the grandees of the army (who have sufficiently already gotten by the poor soldiery, in putting a necessity on them to sell their arrears to you for a matter of nought.) Think no more of forcing or persuading the parliament, by your proposals (which are not worth ———) to gratify a single family and interest, for doing those things that rather deserve punishment. Have ye so much pity to a particular family, that have a long space lived in pride and voluptuousness, and have unwarrantable boons given so to continue; and is there no dram of compassion left in you to the dying starving nation? *O tempora! O mores!* Neither alone would I have you to cease from pressing these things aforesaid, but also to be instrumental to remove those grand needless oppressions which lie on the nation. Be you at last instrumental to free your country from the intolerable burthen of the needless Lawyers, who love none but themselves. Can ye forget, that they were, in the late great Protectorian parliament, using all means to ordain

laws to hang or banish you; and shall they now be protected in ruining the country by you? God forbid. Surely, it is sufficient for the people to pay millions yearly to pay the army and navy; and not to pay millions yearly to that oppressing needless generation. I should wonder what spirits do possess you, if you now at last, after all the conviction that you have declared, should think on nothing but clothing yourselves in vanity; in raising your families to high estates; in insulting over your brethren the people of the land; who have not bread, nor clothes to cover their nakedness. It is probable (and less than which I expect not) that there will be many, or some among you, that will passionately disrespect these sins. But, if I am become your enemy for telling you the truth, let it be so: *Me, me, adsum qui feci, in me convertite ferrum;* think not but that many others, as well as myself, will still disrelish self-seeking and oppression in you, as well as they did in the King, Protector, &c. Let England never cease to cry out with the poet, *Rara fides probitasque viris qui castra sequuntur.*

A Word to the Lawyers.

'YE have plowed wickedness, ye have reaped iniquity, ye have eaten the fruit of lyes;' Hosea x. 13. The spoil of the poor and fatherless is in our houses; ye are weighed in the balance of justice, ye are found as light as chaff; there is a wind risen up, that will blow your interest into the land of oblivion; all the mischiefs and evils, that ye have done in secret, are now discovered on the house-top: the cries of the wronged and oppressed, the lamentations of the widows, fatherless and orphans, God hath heard. Your wickedness is now, like the Amorites', at the height; the sword of justice is ready to cut it down; the decree is passed against your legal robberies: strive therefore now to learn peace and patience, and an honester calling; this will be your benefit and content. But, if ye will resist and gainsay, know this, that assuredly ye will perish in the attempt.

The Petition of the Ladies of London and Westminster, to the Honourable House, for Husbands.

London, Printed for Mary Want-man, the Fore-maid of the Petitioners; and sold by A. Roper in Fleet-street, 1693.

[Quarto, containing Four Pages.]

WE know you are harassed with petitions from all quarters of the nation; for to whom should the miserable subject apply himself for a redress of his just grievances, but to this awful assembly? At present, you have no less than the safety of all Europe, and that of England in particular, depending upon your supplies and assistance: yet, you sometimes condescend to entertain yourselves with things of far less importance. Give us leave therefore to lay our lamentable condition before you, and to expect a relief from your generous appearing in our behalf. We demand nothing but what is highly reasonable and advantageous to the state; nothing but what the laws of God, nature, and the end of our creation plead for; and, next to what immediately employs your counsels at this juncture, we offer a matter of the highest consequence that ever came within your walls.

You need not be reminded with what scorn and contempt the holy state of matrimony has of late years been treated. Every nasty scribbler of the town has pelted it in his wretched lampoons: it has been persecuted in sonnet, ridiculed at court, exposed on the theatre, and that so often, that the subject is now exhausted and barren; so that, if no new efforts have been lately made against our sex's charter, we are not to ascribe it either to the good good-nature, or conversion of the men, but only to the want of fresh matter and argument. What afflicts us most, is to find persons of good sense and gravity, considerable for their estates and fortunes, so shamefully laid aside from their duty by the feeble sophistry of these little unthinking rhyming creatures; and to see that a scurrilous song, to the tune of 'a dog with a bottle,' shall make a greater impression upon them than all the wholesome precepts of the Apostles put together.

One, forsooth, is mortally afraid lest his head should ache within a fortnight or so, after marriage; and yet makes no conscience of filling his carcass every night with filthy stummed wine, which in all probability will sooner give him a fever, than a wife confer a pair of horns upon him. A second professes he has an invincible aversion to the squalling of children, and rocking of cradles; though the sot can sit a whole day at Will's,[1] amidst the eternal quarrel of the no-wits, and the endless disputes of the no-politicians. A third is apprehensive of the thing called curtain-lectures, as the nauseous fellows love to talk; and yet suffer themselves to be tamely rid by common, ungrateful hackney-prostitutes. A fourth has a great respect to his own dear person, and thinks that a wife will drain him to mere skin and bones; who, for all that, so manages himself, as to have occasion to visit Dr.[2] Wall twice a quarter. Lastly, the graver sort exclaim at the caudles, the pins, the midwives, the nurses, and other concomitants of wedlock; they pretend the taxes run high, and that a spouse is an expensive animal; little considering that they throw away more upon their dearly beloved vanities, than would maintain a wife and half a dozen children.

These are the common topicks against matrimony: and yet, to behold the vanity of these pretences, they immediately disappear and vanish, as soon as a good fortune comes in their way. Shew the sparks but a rich heiress, or an old griping alderman's daughter; and they soon forget curtain-lectures and cuckoldom, consumptions and skeletons, pins and caudles, impertinence and confinement, with the rest of their terrible objections. Then you hear not a syllable of liberty; but, oh! what a blessed, what a comfortable thing is a wife! Nay, a widow, though past fifty, and as ugly as one of the witches in Macbeth, if she has but store of money, shall go down as glibly with them as the new oaths for preferment at court, without the least wry face or remorse of conscience; and the vain coxcombs think themselves as happy, as if they had got both the Indies for their possession.

But though the laity (not to mince matters) have almost universally degenerated in this wicked age; yet we bless heaven, that our sex has still found the benefit of the clergy; and that the churchmen have been our surest and best friends all along. Had not these pious gentlemen taken pity of our condition; how many superannuated chambermaids had lain neglected, how many languishing farmers' daughters gone the way of all flesh, without propagating their kind? Whatever prevarications they have made in other parts of the Bible, we have to our unspeakable comfort found that they have kept constant to the text, 'Increase and multiply:' and indeed it was but reasonable, that these people, who are every moment trumping their *jure divino* upon the world, should by their own example support and countenance that sort of life, which is as much *jure divino* as the priesthood.

We never questioned, (notwithstanding the unwearied attempts of our adversaries to render marriage contemptible both in their writings and conversation,) but that nature, mere nature, without any endeavours of our own, would have reduced the men long since to a true sense of their duty, had it not been for the two following impediments. The first is wine, which we that are maids have as much reason to complain of as those that are married. It is a burning shame, and it highly concerns the wisdom of the nation to

[1] [Will's Coffee-house, whence all the poetic articles in the Tatler were to issue. See No. I.]
[2] A pock-doctor.

prevent it, that the young fellows of the town should so scandalously abandon themselves to the bottle. They ply their glasses too warmly to think of any thing else; and if the liquor happens to inspire them with any kind inclinations, the next street furnishes them with store of conveniences to relieve their appetite. And this leads us to the second block in our way, which is the intolerable multitude of mistresses; who, to the great prejudice of the publick, divert the course of those streams, which would otherwise run in the regular channel of matrimony. As long as these contraband commodities are encouraged or connived at; it cannot be expected that virtuous women should bear a good market-price, or that marriage should flourish.

It would look like affectation or vanity in those of our sex (whom the malicious world supposes to be conversant in nothing else but books of receipts and romances) to acquaint so experienced and learned a body as yours is, how highly marriage was reverenced, and how industriously cultivated by the wisest governments in the world. The examples of Athens and Sparta are too notorious to be long insisted upon. Those were glorious places for us, poor women, to live in: a man there could neither be church-warden or constable, (nay, nor be concerned in the meanest, most scoundrel parish-offices,) unless he was married. An old musty bachelor was pointed at like a monster; they looked upon such a one to be disaffected to the state, and therefore as constantly indicted him every quarter-sessions for letting his talent lie unemployed, as now we do Jacobites, and false retailers of news. The same policy was observed at Rome, where the *jus trium liberorum* (the privilege of those that had got three children) was one of the greatest favours the emperor could bestow upon a subject; and was courted with as vigorous an application as a knighthood is now-a-days. By this means that victorious city arrived to the empire of the world; and we, if we would beat the French into better manners, must follow the same conduct. But it grieves our hearts to consider, that in a Christian, and much more in a Protestant country, we are forced to stir up the charity of well-disposed persons by citing pagan examples.

We therefore humbly petition you, that for the increase of their Majesties' liege people, in whom the power and strength of a nation consists, and for the utter discouragement of celibacy, and all its wicked works, you would be pleased to enact,

First, That all men, of what quality and degree soever, should be obliged to marry as soon as they are one-and-twenty; and that those persons, who decline so doing, shall (for their liberty, as they are pleased to miscall it) pay yearly to the state; which we leave to your discretion to make as great or as little as you shall think fit; one moiety whereof shall go to the king, towards the payment of his army in Flanders, and the rest be distributed amongst poor house-keepers, that have not sufficient to maintain their wives and respective families, by such married officers as you shall nominate and appoint.

Secondly, That no excuse shall be admitted, but only that of natural frigidity or impotence; which, that it may not be pretended when there is no just occasion for it, and likewise that impotent persons may not, to the disappointment of their spouses, enter into the holy state of matrimony; there shall be erected, in every county in England, a court of judicature, composed of half a score experienced matrons or midwives, who, by a writ *De maritali supellectile inspiciendâ*, may summon, or cause to be summoned, all such people as pretend the above-mentioned excuse, or are justly suspected thereof.

Thirdly, Since it is found by experience, that the generality of young men are such idolaters of the bottle, and that wine is the most powerful rival which the ladies have reason to be jealous of; that no person whatsoever shall be privileged to enter a tavern who is not married, under pain of having his wig and gilt snuff-box confiscated *toties quoties*.

Fourthly, That every poet, or pretender to be a poet, or any one that has hired a poet to write any play, satire, lampoon, or song, to the derogation of the matrimonial state, shall be obliged to marry before Lady-day next ensuing; and to make a solemn recantation of all and every wicked thing by him uttered in any play, satire, song, or lampoon, to the derogation of the matrimonial state: that all such disaffected papers shall be called

in, and publicly burnt by the hands of twelve city clergymen's wives, on next St. Valentine's day.

Lastly, That to prevent the grievous multitudes of, and frequent resorts to, misses and harlots; every person of quality pretending to keep a miss, (after the commencing of this act,) shall be enjoined, in order to his farther punishment, to keep a regiment of foot for his Majesty's service upon the Rhine: or, in case he chooses to disband her, to dispose of her in marriage to his footman and groom, and allow them wherewith to set up a coffee-house. And as for the inferior harlots, all justices of peace and constables shall execute the laws against them.

Having thus, most noble patriots, laid open our grievances before you, we doubt not but you will take effectual care to redress them. Could you condescend so low, as to debate about making the rivers Wye and Lug navigable; and will you not endeavour, as much as in you lies, to unite the male-streams with the female? Could you think it worth the while to take care of the propagation of woods, the draining of the fens, and the converting of pastures into arable land; and will you not much more encourage the propagation of mankind, the draining of the superfluous humours of the body-politick; and provide, that so many longing young ladies shall not lie unploughed, unharrowed, and uncultivated? Besides, there was never a fitter occasion for such a bill, than what offers itself at present. The mighty numbers of men that our wars carry off in Flanders, with the little or no increase at home to balance the loss; and (what ought to be no small argument with you) the few unmarried sparks that tarry behind, are of late grown so imperious and proud in their demands, that nothing will go down with them now but an heiress. Here are an infinite number of advocates to incline you to be kind to our cause: wit and youth, beauty and good-nature, besides the public advantage, and the Protestant religion, plead for us; but, what cannot fail to move even hearts of marble, this very petition is subscribed by ten-thousand green-sickness maidens.

That single consideration, we know, will prevail with you to espouse our quarrel; to restore matrimony to its primitive splendour; and, lastly, to destroy celibacy as effectually as you have done popery. Which will oblige your petitioners,

As in duty bound, ever to pray, &c.

This petition is subscribed by threescore-thousand hands, and never a cracked maidenhead or widow amongst them.

A great Victory obtained by the English against the Dutch; and the Pursuing of the Dutch Fleets, by General Blake and Sir George Ayscue, with one-hundred and eighty Men of War, towards the Downs; and their Resolution to engage them, between Dover and Calais. The Manner how Sir George Ayscue, with great Policy, obtained the Wind; the Number sunk and taken; and two gallant Ships, surprized by Captain Stoaks, laden with Gold and Elephants' Teeth. Also, the Number of Ships coming up the River of Thames for London, richly laden from the East-Indies, the Streights, Virginia, and Barbadoes.

'Die Septembris 27, 1652.

'Extracted out of the Original Papers, sent from Captain 'Stoaks to the honourable Council of State, on Sunday last, 'September the Twenty-sixth.'

Imprinted at London, for George Horton, 1652.

[Quarto, containing Eight Pages.]

'SIR,

'UPON the advance of General Blake and Sir George Ayscue, with a fleet consisting 'of one-hundred and eight gallant sail, towards the Downs, they cleared the whole 'Western channel before them, by sailing, as by order, within shot of each other; by which 'means, we cleared all from the coast of France to the coast of England, almost as if a 'bridge had been made over the channel; and thought to have fought the Dutch fleet at 'the same time, but they gave us the go-by, (much like that of the Scots King, when he 'made an inroad into England,) and are now sailed towards the Downs: whereupon, in- 'formation being given thereof by the Assurance scout, who had forced her passage, even 'through the thickest of the action, from five Dutch men of war; the General hoised sail 'after them; but the wind, blowing stiff upon the North-point, could not reach so much 'as the enemy's rear-guard; but, on the twenty-fifth instant, we had intelligence of their 'standing over to the coast of France: whereupon, the General and Sir George Ayscue 'bore up towards the Downs, with a most potent and invincible armada, consisting of one- 'hundred stout men of war, whereof twelve were merchants-ships; that is, the five from 'the East-Indies, two from the Streights, two from Lisbon, in Spain, two from Virginia, 'and one from Barbadoes; all which are sent up the river for London.

'But not long had his Excellency anchored upon those Neptune-streams, but he received 'advertisements from the Diamond, and other frigates, that had been scouting forth, that 'a great fleet of Hollanders (consisting of, at least, two-hundred sail) was riding between 'Dover and Calais; whereupon, Major Bourn was commanded forth, with the great 'Andrew, the nimble Saphir, the famous Garland, and twenty-seven other stout men of 'war; as a forlorn to the navy, to engage the enemy, if possible.

'After him sailed Sir George Ayscue, with thirty-five sail, as a reserve; and, within

'shot of the said squadron, the General bore up with the great ship, called the Common-
'wealth, and the rest of the fleet, flanking Sir George. The Dutch, perceiving their re-
'solute motion, endeavoured to get Calais-point; but Sir George, to prevent them, bore
'up to the leeward; by which means, he got the wind of the Dutch fleet, and hath now
'engaged them. The Zealand ships lie at the head of their fleet, and seem to be very
'resolute for action. Vice-admiral Evarson hath attempted to fire some of our ships, but
'was prevented; for Major Bourn, commanding the guard that night, received advertise-
'ments from one of his scouts, of the near approach of some of the enemy's ships, and
'prepared to receive them; which he so effectually performed, that two of his fire-ships
'were soon way-laid, and the rest dissipated: insomuch that De Witte and Ruttyer en-
'deavour to decline engagement. But it is a thing impossible; for we now have them
'pretty fast upon the hug, and question not (by Divine assistance) but to give them a
'sudden turn, by reason they are divided (having diversity of opinions), and manned
'with English, Flemings, Scots, Walloons, Switzers, and Germans. This great blow is
'suddenly expected; yet something further I should have insisted on, but I am forced to
'draw to a period, by reason the pacquet-boat is falling off, and our ships ready to engage.

'Aboard the Ruby, Septemb. 25, 1652.'

As touching our further victorious success against the Hollanders, it is confirmed by letters from Captain Stoaks, commander of the Dragon, to the council of state; who having discovered two sail upon the coast of France, made up to them, and found them to have Swedish colours; but, coming aboard them, he discovered them to be Guiney ships, laden with gold ore and elephants' teeth, and several letters, directed to Amsterdam, and other places in Holland; which, with other circumstances, gave cause to believe, that the lading of the said vessels belonged to the Dutch: whereupon, the Captain brought the said ships into Plymouth, where they now remain. The officers of these prize-ships say, that the gold ore and elephants' teeth, and other lading therein, are worth about fourscore-thousand pounds: the said Captain likewise took a pickroon of twenty-four guns, and twenty-four men, which he likewise brought into harbour.

By an express from Dover, thus: 'The Dutch fleet, under De Witte, came in sight
'of this town, at the back of the Goodwin, on the tenth instant; and, on the eleventh,
'twelfth, and thirteenth, plied to the westward; the fourteenth, they lay between Calais
'and Boulogne; the fifteenth, they came on this side with six frigates, and gave chace
'to a Sandwich pink, but she got safe into the Downs; the sixteenth, De Witte, with
'about thirty sail, came to this side again, having gotten sight of eight sail, coming to the
'westward: bore up to them, and, between Foulkstone and this town, put the Swan fri-
'gate on shore, and three Morlaix-men, laden with linen-cloth, and two or three small
'men of this town, most of them ashore; the Mary fly-boat, and Brier frigate, got past
'them to this town, but exchanged several shot with them: thus it pleased God to pre-
'serve them all. De Witte himself came very near the shore, and let several broadsides
'fly at our ships, that were stranded; and Sandgate castle returned him several guns.
'Towards night, he stood over to the French coast, to the rest of the fleet; and that tide
'all our ships got off, but not without some damage; only the Swan frigate got a bulge,
'which made her unserviceable at present. The seventeenth, he lay at half-sea over,
'betwixt Boulogne and this town; the eighteenth, he came to the back of the Goodwin
'with sixty sail, being resolved to play some feats against the English, or else never to
'return into his own country.'

'De Witte is joined with Ruttyer, having seventy of the greatest ships that ever yet
'were set forth. Stout Evarson, of Zealand, is vice-admiral, whose mariners are famous;
'and were once accounted the stoutest enemy that ever sailed upon the seas. But, truly
'Mr. Launsman, though you now usurp a privilege upon small game, the butter-box of

'your trifling honour may, perchance, melt away in a hot day, with the English. For 'know, that injuries, in this kind, evermore prove like stones thrown up into the air; they 'may touse lustily for a while, like the aspiring sound of a trumpet; but, at last, they 'must of necessity fall down upon your ambition, to dissolve the injustice of your impe- 'rious spirits. They are grown so high and imperious, that they begin to truss up poor 'Englishmen in several places, as a falcon does wild-ducks; especially upon the coast of 'Norfolk, where, on Sunday the twelfth instant, they adventured into the very harbour at 'Wells, and took away some vessels. This sudden exploit caused divers gentlemen, and 'others, with their families, to return higher into the country.'

By an express from Yarmouth, it is certified, 'That there is a fleet of seventy sail of 'colliers lying ready to be convoyed for London; and that there is another great fleet also in 'readiness at Newcastle, with thirteen sail of island vessels of Captain Worm's fleet; but 'from him, and the rest, we yet hear no news. We hear, that Colonel Airs and Doctor 'Chamberlain being bound for Ireland, through distress of weather, the vessel was in great 'danger by a storm, and, it is much feared, the passengers are cast away.

'The Hollanders have agreed to send a navy to the East-Indies, with commission to 'destroy and depopulate those places of the English: they are old excellent at the routing 'of you in high language, but are not a little moved, that you have gotten so many con- 'siderable prizes from their merchants.'

'From France they write, 'That the prodigious force, and matchless valour of the 'Duke of York, causeth great admiration in the enemy's camp; who have felt wonderful 'and strange exploits, and yet the vanquished continually find his grace and favour: for, 'upon beating up of some of the Spanish quarters, a French colonel persuaded him to 'use the benefit of the advantage, which the darkness of the night afforded him. "No, 'no, said he, it fits me not to hunt after night-stolen victories; *malo me fortunæ pœniteat, 'quàm victoriæ pudeat:* 'I had rather repent me of my fortune, than be ashamed of my 'victory."

From the navy further thus: 'We have received advertisements from Genoa, that eight 'of our ships (whereof four are men of war, and four merchantmen) have had a great 'dispute with nine Dutch men of war; and, after a short conflict (with great gallantry 'and resolution performed on both sides), it pleased God to crown the English with victory, 'and to deliver into their hands five of the enemy's best ships; but three got off; though, 'notwithstanding, they were much rent and torn; the other was sunk. These five, with 'those two, taken by Captain Stoaks, make up the whole number forty-seven; wherein 'were found great store of rich merchandizes, ammunition, and, at least, seven-hundred 'pieces of ordnance; which is a great weakening to the States of Holland, and no little 'discouragement to their mariners, to see their own ships manned forth against them.'

These particulars from Captain Stoaks, were confirmed by a letter to the council of state, on Sunday last; being the twenty-sixth of this instant, September, 1652.

A Discourse[1] of the most Illustrious Prince, Henry, late Prince of Wales. Written, Anno 1626, by Sir Charles Cornwallis, Knight; sometimes Treasurer of his Highness's House.

London, printed for John Benson; and are to be sold at his Shop in St. Dunstan's Church-yard. 1641.

[Quarto, containing Thirty-six Pages.]

To the High and Mighty Charles, Prince of Great-Britain, &c.

Most gracious Prince,

BESIDES my particular zeal, there is a natural interest in this ensuing discourse to your Highness, as being the hopeful heir of this kingdom of Great-Britain, and the true inheritance of your noble uncle's virtues (Prince Henry) as of his fortunes. The eyes of all men are upon you, in full view of those sweet graces of nature and ingenious disposition to goodness, which all admire. If you shall be pleased to add these examples and precepts to those of your royal father, taking them hand in hand; they will lead you, in your tender years, in the fair continuance of honour and virtue: and then his Majesty, your royal father, may for many years (for which we hope and pray) be a living mirror unto you of piety, wisdom, and justice, and all other regal endowments, fit for so great a dignity, to which you are born.

Glad I am, that it was my chance to meet with this part of treasure, truly gathered by that worthy Knight deceased, treasurer to your Highness's uncle[2]: and great cause I have to rejoice, that by this (through your gracious acceptance) I have the opportunity, humbly to tender, with this, my prayers at your Highness's feet, for your long and happy prosperity. So prays

Your Highness's most humbly devoted,

J. B.[3]

IN this most illustrious Prince may most clearly be discerned, that God's judgments are only known to himself, and his thoughts and determinations unsearchable: for, having so framed and fashioned him, as his most rare parts, in youth, gave so many presages of his becoming to his divine Majesty (from whom he received them) an honour and glory; to the world a wonder; and to the people of these kingdoms an exceeding happiness; yet was he pleased, in the spring of his years, and of the hope had of him, to take him to himself, and to deprive the world of him. Neither could the reasons of his short life (so far as the eye of man could discern) grow either out of neglect, or want of performanee of duties to God, or of obedience to his parents; the observance of which commandment only hath the enlarging of time upon this earth annexed unto it. For, in the first, it cannot be denied but he was exceedingly observant, never failing to sacrifice unto God the first of his

[1] See Oldys' Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 155.

[2] [Though Sir Charles Cornwallis's situation at the Prince's court, says Dr. Birch, might have enabled him fully to inform himself and posterity concerning his royal master, yet this discourse is a mere pamphlet, extremely superficial and unsatisfactory on almost every head: what relates to the Prince's life amounting to but a few pages, and the remainder containing only the circumstances of his last sickness and character; which last, indeed, is drawn with force and precision. Pref. to Life of Prince Henry.]

[3] [John Benson.]

actions: to continue in them with all demonstration of reverence, without any diversion or distraction; to cherish such, in whom he found ability to teach, and piety to express in life the fruits of their doctrine; to resolve so far to become immutable in the religion he professed, as, long before his end, with solemn protestations he vowed, that he would never join in marriage with a wife of a different faith; and had, besides, a determination (if longer he had lived) to have made choice of a chaplain of his own; a man in years, grave in divinity, rarely learned, and of great discretion, experience, and wisdom; by whose advice, in all matters spiritual, and tending to the rectifying of his soul, he intended to have received a continual direction.

Of the second, to speak not by hearsay, but of my own knowledge. Howsoever some moths and mice of court, in that time, (not enemies to him in particular, but maligners of true virtue, and only friends to their own ambitions and desires,) to possess the ears and opinions of princes, had in that particular traduced him; so true and sincere he was, both in profession and execution of all duties and obedience, and bore so natural and filial a reverence and respect to the King his father; that, although, sometimes out of his own inclination, or the incitation and encouragement of others, he repaired to the court, and moved the King in some things, either concerning the commonwealth, his own particular interest, or that of others; yet, with the least word, countenance, or sign given him of his Majesty's disallowance, he would instantly desist from further pursuit of it; and return either with satisfaction, (in regard that he understood it to be disagreeing with his Majesty's pleasure,) or with such a resolved patience, that he, neither in word nor work, gave so much as any semblance of being displeased, or discontented. Nay, which is more, so truly was he affected to the pleasing and satisfying of the King his father in all things, that, some good time before his death, he made unto myself a solemn protestation, 'That, 'to the end he might not in any thing be either displeasing, or give the least distaste unto 'his Majesty; he would, from thenceforth, utterly remove his thoughts from all affairs 'whatsoever, that should not particularly concern himself, his own estate, or the govern-'ment of his household.'

In this discourse of that memorable Prince, I will forbear to speak of his infancy, or youngest years; although I have heard by such as did then attend him, the same did most presage his ensuing virtues. My purpose and desire is to deliver nothing but verities known to myself, not things received by tradition from others.

In the first spring of his years of understanding, the King, his father, committed unto him the disposing of the lands and revenues assigned to him, and the government of his household; for the administration whereof his Majesty appointed unto him certain special officers, in the number of whom myself (being not long before returned out of Spain, where I served the King divers years, as his ambassador) was constituted treasurer of his house.

The place gave me occasion continually to attend him; and the especial favour, that I afterwards found with him, not only the means to observe his actions, but to become particularly acquainted with the most of his thoughts.

My first step into his favour and especial trust grew out of that, which, with some other princes, would have cast me down either into perpetual disgrace, or at least into a temporary distaste and dislike hardly recoverable. I so much admired his judicious parts in so unripe an age, and discerned in him so great a will to know, and so noble and rare a disposition to give ear to advertisements; that out of the duty of my place, and extraordinary affection to himself, taking hold of some fit occasion and opportunity, I adventured to make proof, whether he would endure advice, or advertisement reprehensive.

Young princes, left to their own wills; and great men, that are set upon the highest stage of worldly greatness, and lulled in the lap of fortune; do rarely endure a reproving voice, especially from those of a lower form.

I took the occasion from a then general supposal, or, at least, suspicion of a little too much straitness of his hand in rewarding, and of some errors in his actions; but did so tenderly tread upon those grounds, and with so retiring a foot, as occasioned a discovery,

from himself, of a desire to receive and have a full sight of them, before I pulled off the mask, wherewith I had covered them.

In conclusion, I delivered them in substance plainly, but in words soft and respectful (as to such a prince became me), kings and princes being to be treated with, with words of silk, not of iron.

To the first, he gave answers satisfactorily.

To the other, exclusively.

But what were the fruits succeeding to his ever-enduring honour, truth enforceth me to publish; that I ever after (in my own particular) found myself exceedingly ingreated[4] in his favour, and that those few things that were erred became reformed.

To this so rare a disposition, which being by a prince entertained, cannot but make him both scient of the offices appertaining to his high estate, and in time also, as good as great; which, in one born to govern, of all things is the most desirable; is to be added another virtue in one of regal power, as valuable, and not much less necessary. So very close he was and faithful a keeper of whatsoever secret was disclosed unto him, as it was never known to any, that ever he discovered any one word in that kind delivered unto him.

Apt he was to hear and desirous to receive advertisements and advices, by any in whom he discerned knowledge gained by learning, or abilities won out of time, and experience to give them; neither did he take them *in transitu*, as in the Old Testament they celebrated the passover; nor as a man receiveth his cloak to put about him, not within him; but gave both time to the deliverers to relate them, and leisure to himself to consider and digest them.

Counsels are to be chewed not swallowed: he would therefore unrip every seam of them by interrogations used by himself, and receive reasons and resolutions by those that offered them; until, by mature debate and consultation (which are the true foils that give clearness and assuredness to counsels) he had both perfected and made them solid and fit for his use, whensoever occasion should be offered.

In the government of his household in years so very young, he gave examples imitable to all other princes.

His family was ample, as that which consisted of few less than five-hundred; many of them young gentlemen[5], born to great fortunes; in the prime of their years when their passions and appetites were most strong, and their powers and experiences, to temper and subject them to reason, most weak; his judgment, his grave and princely aspect, gave temper to them all: his very eye served for a commandment, and more and better service have I noted to be done by the very looks of him, than by sharp reprehensions of some other princes. If any questions or quarrels were moved amongst his servants, he would give a stop and stay to them, at the very beginning; by referring them to some such of his principal officers, as he thought to be most scient in matters of that nature, and best did know to give just compensation to the injured, and reproof to them that should be found to have offered the wrong; so as, in so numerous a family, there was not so much as any blows given, or any countenance of quarrel or debate between any.

Plenty and magnificence were the things that in his house he especially affected; but not without such a temper as might agree with the rules of frugality and moderation. He caused to be set down in writing unto him, the several heads of all his annual charges, the ordinary expence of his house and his stables, the charge of his apparel and wardrobe, his rewards and all such other things as yearly were to be issued out of his coffers; and, comparing them with his annual revenue, did so judiciously fashion and proportion them, (by shortening what he found superfluous, and increasing what was wanting, and too short in any of them,) as he reduced them to a certainty, and such as his revenues would well de-

[4] [i. e. ingratiated.]

[5] [One of the Prince's most intimate and most honourable associates was John, Lord Harington: a memorial of whose life, and several of whose letters, may be seen in Nugæ Antiquæ, and in Birch's Biographical Account of P. Henry.]

fray; besides a yearly spare of some thousands of pounds, which he reserved for a store or treasure to be ready for all events and occasions accidental.

By giving of which so good and solid foundation and order unto his state, he delivered himself from all necessity of becoming rigid or strait to his tenants; either by any unmeasurable improving their farms or their fines, or seeking or taking advantage of any their forfeitures; and became also unnecessitated to take the benefit that both law and right afforded unto him, of such as had in time of former princes purchased lands appertaining to his duchy of Cornwall; which could not by law be alienated from the same, to whom out of his princely bounty, and gracious compassion, upon resuming of them, he gave some reasonable satisfaction.

The banquets and feasts that any time he made, his desire was, should be magnificent and agreeing with his princely dignity; yet not without an especial eye, and care had, that nothing should be spent in disorder, or the charge made greater through the want of providence, or well-managing by his officers: in those he ever affected the demonstration of a princely greatness, and that all things should pass with decency and decorum, and without all rudeness, noise, or disorder.

In any thing either committed or permitted unto him, by the King his father, concerning the state and defence of the kingdom; exceeding willing, sedulous, and careful he ever shewed himself, to perform all offices and duties understandingly, and with much circumspection.

He was once sent by his Majesty to take a view of the navy at Chatham, whither myself waited upon him, and observed how great his desire was, not only to see with his own eyes every particular ship, but to enable himself by conference and consultation with the best experienced of his Majesty's officers of the navy, in the fashion and fabricature of the ships; to understand their strengths and the form of their sailing; to take knowledge of such as were then perfected and fitted for present service; and which defective, and in what several parts; to the end there might instantly be order given for the repairing of them. He also very particularly informed himself of their several equipages and furnitures; went in person to take an exact view of them and of his Majesty's store for that purpose; and would not be satisfied without understanding the special uses of every of those things, and of all other that tended to make them serviceable and useful. What further in years more ripe was in naval affairs, wherein consisted the principal strength, honour, and advantage of this kingdom, to be expected of him, may easily be discerned by his will, his diligence, his understanding, his princely courage, delivered unto him by a servant of his own, concerning a naval war with Spain, whensoever that King shall give cause of a public hostility.

To publish particulars agrees not with the rules of state: but two especial things being propounded, which were the preparation of a navy, consisting of a certain number of ships to be sent into the West-Indies; and another to attend the coasts of Spain, to prohibit all entry or issue of ships either into or out of the same. Admirable it was in one of years so young, to hear what interrogations he used of every particularity of that design; of the feasibleness and of the difficulties of every branch of it; how he insisted upon every doubt, until, by the best experienced and practised both in sea-services and in navigation, with reasons and demonstrations he became fully satisfied: and that done, how narrowly and nearly he searched into every knot, both of the honour and utility, and of the danger and charge that an attempt of that nature would draw with it, and ceased not until he understood every particular of the same, and especially the yearly charge which that whole expedition would amount unto; which having found so very reasonable, and the hopes so great, and all doubts so well resolved; to shew the valour of his own heart, he openly protested to such as were present, that should the King his father be pleased upon any future occasion to break with Spain, himself (if so it should agree with his Majesty's pleasure) would in person become the executor of that noble attempt for the West-Indies.

In persons private it may suffice to be religious, honest, and just, within themselves. To

princes and men, constituted in high places, it behoveth to be also givers of good example to others.

Inferiors and subjects cast their eyes more upon what princes do, than upon what they command; their examples, with them, are of more force, than any law of letters.

This became to this Prince so great a motive, as he thought not fit to lose any hours of the life, that upon this earth were appointed unto him; but so to bestow them, that they might not only become profitable to himself, but imitable and exemplary to others.

He so distributed the day, by dividing his hours into the service of God, to the fitting himself to the office he was born unto, both in government civil and military; and to necessary exercises and recreations; as no part of it could be said to be in vain bestowed. To enable his knowledge in government civil, he read histories; the knowledge of things past, conducing much to resolution in things present, and to prevention of those to come. In the military, he added thereunto the mathematicks, study of cosmography, and had one, that instructed him in the matter and form of fortifications.

For practice, he used in a manner daily to ride and manage great horses, with which he had his stables most excellently furnished; oftentimes to run at the ring, and sometimes at tilt: both which he so well and dextrously performed, and with so great a comeliness, that, in those his first years, he became second to no prince in Christendom, and to many, that practised with him, much superior.

His other exercises were dancing, leaping, and (in times of year fit for it) learning to swim: at some times, walking fast and far, to accustom and enable him to make a long march, when time should require it; but most of all at tennis-play, wherein (to speak the truth, which in all things I especially affect) he neither observed moderation, nor what appertained to his dignity and person; continuing oftentimes his play for the space of three or four hours; and the same in his shirt, rather becoming an artisan than a prince; who, in things of that nature, is only to affect comeliness, or rather a kind of carelessness in show, to make their activities seem the more natural, than a laborious and toiling industry.

Of this and of his diet (wherein he shewed too much inclination to excessive eating of fruits) he was, as in all other things, content to hear advice, but in these two particulars not to follow it.

To other play or gaming he shewed himself not much inclined; yet would sometimes play at obess, at billiards, and at cards; but so very nobly, and like himself, as plainly shewed his use of it to be only for recreation, not for appetite of gain: for, whether he won, or lost, his countenance was ever the same; and, for the most part, greater appearance of mirth in him, when he lost, than when he won: thereby plainly demonstrating both his judgment, in adventuring no more, than what he made no regard of, if he lost it; and his princely magnanimity and temper, in suffering no passion or alteration to take hold of him, through any crossness of cards, or chance.

In some young gentlemen, whom he affected, he seemed to mislike too much disposition to play, and did not only dissuade them from it, but gave unto some of them matter of value to become bound to leave the use of it: for pleasure, he took them all, as it were, in passage, without semblance, either to desire them, or at least to have a will to dwell in them.

The pleasure of the flesh, especially which is most incident to young years, and by princes rarely avoidable, whose fancies and affections are commonly as vehement, as their persons and powers are great, and therefore most like to fall themselves, and give occasion of falling to others; although some in those times there were, that, taking measure of him by the yard-wand of their own unbridled appetites, were pleased otherwise to conceive and report of him, yet myself (having been present at great feasts made in his house, whereunto he invited the most beautiful and specious ladies of the court and city) could neither then discover by his behaviour, his eyes, or his countenance, any show of singular or special fancy to any; or at any other time such looseness, either in words or actions, as whereupon, in justice or reason, to ground any such opinion of him. But rather thus

with truth and assuredness to determine, that were he not himself chaste in his inward thoughts; yet did he with so incomparable justice and temper cover them, as, to just and judicious eyes, they gave no true occasion to suspect him.

It is true, that, to take a wife, though he shewed no vehement desire, yet he demonstrated a good inclination.

Marriages were propounded and offered for him in Spain, in the time that myself there served[6], who had from the King, his father, commission to treat it; but, finding, that the overture there grew rather out of a desire to win time to advance their own designs, than with true intention to perform it (in regard of the difference of religion), I, for my part, gave end to that negotiation, in a manner, so soon as I began it.

After my return from thence, and entry into his Highness's service, like motions were made both by Florence and Savoy; but, those not conforming with what, in alliances with princes of his greatness, either in increase or equality of honour or utility, or for strength and surety of estate, was especially to be regarded.

That of Spain was, upon a new overture made by the ambassador of the king there, again entertained and committed by his Majesty here to be treated of by his ambassador, who in that court succeeded me. But, after some protractions used there, it was, upon the first opening, found to have come too late; that princess, for whom the treaty was intended, being the eldest daughter of that king, and the only who in years was fit for him, being formerly promised to the French king, that now is.

Lastly, there grew a proposition for a daughter of France: wherein his Highness having, as in duty it became him, submitted and reserved himself to the King his father, the same was not proceeded in to any effect.

In this noble Prince was to be observed a singular integrity and clearness of thoughts; he had a true kingly disposition, and was so far from being induced to piece up the skin of the lion with that of the fox, that above all things he hated flattery and dissimulation.

A nobleman in those times, in the highest favour with the King his father, wrote unto him, by the especial commandment of his Majesty, a letter, wherein he recommended unto him a matter of very great consequence to be instantly answered unto, and, in his subscription, used these words:

'Your's before all the world.'

This answer his Highness committed unto me, who, having written it, did also set down some words of favour to the nobleman, to precede his Highness's signature: the letter itself he read, and, having considered it, allowed it wholly without alteration.

Only, in regard of the words of subscription, notwithstanding the great haste that he made of the dispatch, he commanded me it should be new written, and those left out; and, notwithstanding all the reasons that I used to the contrary, would by no means be persuaded to suffer it so to pass, saying, 'That he to whom he wrote, had untruly and unfaithfully dealt with him, and that his hand should never affirm what his heart thought not.'

This Prince, as he was no coverer of his thoughts, where he had just cause of dislike; so would he also, to those he trusted, acknowledge his love to such as he affected.

Of the titular nobility of this kingdom, upon occasion offered, he would express himself best to love and esteem such as were most anciently descended, and most nobly and honestly disposed; when, sometimes also, he would not forbear, by name, to particulate.

His Highness's brother (our now sovereign, then Duke of York), and his sister (since that time Queen of Bohemia), he entirely loved; yet must I confess, at some times, by a kind of rough play and dalliance with the one, and a semblance of contradicting the other, in what he discerned her to desire; he took a pleasure in giving, both to the one and the other, some cause in those their so tender years to make proof of their patiences.

To say the truth, such were both those excellent princes, their own rare parts, and most

[6] [Sir Charles Cornwallis had been sent ambassador to the Court of Spain, in March 1605.]

sweet dispositions; as, had there been none other attractive of blood or nature, would to them have enforced his love and best affection.

He gave also, in the administration and government of his own particular estate, much presage of what he would have become, if he had lived to possess the diadem.

At such times as he attended the King, his father, to houses of remove, or in progress; he would not endure that carriages or provisions should be taken for him, without full contentment given to the parties.

In removes to his own houses, in like manner.

Nay, so careful he was, that none by him, or any of his train, should be either prejudiced or annoyed; as, whensoever he went a hawking, before harvest ended, he would take care that none should pass through the corn; and, to give them example, would himself ride rather a furlong about: truly and judiciously conceiving, that to princes there is no surer fortress, than that of hearts; and that those once had and settled, the rest of what they possess is at their commandment.

Of his disposition to justice, he gave also, upon all occasions, much proof and demonstration.

He would never either condemn or censure any man unheard or undefended; retaining in his memory that notable example given to princes by God himself, whose divine knowledge both of works and thoughts, needing no informers; yet, after Adam's fall, would neither censure him nor his Eve, without hearing what either of them could say in their own defence.

This I could demonstrate by divers particulars, as also of his being misericordious[7] after offence acknowledged; should not a long discourse seem unproportionable to so short a life.

It is true, that he was of a high mind, and knew well how to keep his distance, which, indeed, he did to all; neither admitting a near or full approach either to his power or his secrets.

He oftentimes protested, that neither fancy nor flattery should move him to confer upon any a superlative place in his favour; but he would, to the utmost of his understanding, measure unto all according to the merit of their services; as holding it not just to yield unto affections, or rather second respects, that which is only due to virtue and deservings.

That remunerative he was of services, and considerative of those that deserved and needed: a most memorable and inimitable example he gave before his death; having, to divers of his servants who longest had served, and in whom he noted want, given (by several patents sent unto them) pensions during life, to the value of eleven or twelve hundred pounds a year; and that without all mediation and entreaty by others, and at a time, when themselves did least expect it.

To conclude of this Prince: did he not all things well? The fault is rather to be imputed to those, that in years so unripe, by their advice, should have assisted him, and lined out his ways; than to any want of will, or religious and princely disposition in himself.

He was of a comely personage, of indifferent stature, well and straight-limbed, and strongly proportioned; his countenance and aspect inclining, in those his young years, to gravity and show of majesty[8].

His judgment, so far beyond what his age could promise, that it was truly admirable.

His speech slow, and somewhat impedimented; rather, as I conceive, by custom, and a long imitation of some that did first instruct him, than by any defect in nature, as appeared by much amendment of the same: after that he had been advised to a more often exercise of it, by using at home, amongst his own servants, first short discourses,

[7] [Misericordieux, compassionate.]

[8] [This all the portraits of him testify; particularly that engraved on silver plates or counters, with his father's head on the obverse.]

and after longer, as he should find himself enabled. Yet would he oftentimes say of himself, that he had the most unserviceable tongue of any man living.

Towards the latter part of his time, so well became foreign princes, by their ambassadors, informed of his rare parts; as the adverse to this kingdom began to fear and redoubt him, and the well-affected, and confederated, to love and entertain great hopes of him.

But God seeing it good to bestow another crown upon him, excelling all that on earth was to be had or hoped.

After some five days' sickness endured with patience, and as often recognition of his faith, his hopes, and his appeals to God's mercy; as his infirmity, which afflicted him altogether in his head, would possibly permit: he yielded up the ghost at St. James's, next Westminster[9], and was interred at Westminster, where his body now resteth.

I wish it were in my power to raise such a monument unto his fame, as might eternize it unto all posterities![10]

[9] [On the 6th of Nov. 1612, and was buried with great funeral solemnity Dec. 12, the charges amounting to more than £16,000. Numberless were the elegiac offerings to his memory: and sufficient might now be collected to fill a bulky volume.]

[10] [All our historians concur in giving a high character to this hopeful Prince; whence it is the remark of Lord Corke, that he died in a lucky hour for his fame and happiness, whilst his laurels were fresh, and long before they could possibly be blasted by envy, malice, revenge, or party. See Carye's Memoirs. Hume says he possessed more dignity in his behaviour, and commanded more respect, than his father, with all his learning, age, and experience. This, according to Rapin, excited jealousy in the King, who is said to have ordered that the court should not wear mourning for him: but Mr. Granger has shewn, from good authority, that at the nuptials of the Princess Elizabeth, which took place a few weeks afterward, both the King and Princess wore 'inky cloaks.']

The Examinations of Henry Barrowe, John Grenewood, and John Penrie[1], before the High Commissioners, and Lordes of the Counsel. Penned by the Prisoners themselves, before their Deathes.

'There is nothing covered, that shall not be reveiled; neither hid, that shall 'not be knowen.' Luke xii. 2.

'For every Worke God himself wil bring unto Judgement, with every secret 'Thing, whither good or evil.' Eccles. ii. 14.

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THE testimonis and sufferings of the prisoners, whose examinations here ensue, cannot easilie (gentle reader) be forgotten of any, whose harte is touched with care of religion, and zeale of the truth. How weightie the causes were, for which they suffered, may appear partlie by that which foloweth; but, cheefly, by other writinges, and bookes, by

[1] [Or Ap Henry, suspected to be the author of 'Martin Marprelate,' &c. See Wood's Athenæ, i. 258.]

themselves set out heretofore. Here hast thow the maner of the prelates proceding against them, and how they were convicted of theyr Brownisme, Donatisme, Anabaptistrie, scisme, heresie, &c. wherewith they were charged, and for which they were so many yeeres kept in miserable close prisons, and, at last, bereaved of their lives. Sure, whosoever had bene the persons, and whatsoever the errours, it would wel have become the Lord Archbishope[2] of the church of England to have better instructed and informed them, by the word of truth and wholsome doctrine, before they had bene adjudged to prison and death; 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25, and iv. 2 Tit. ii. 1. Or, if Paul's counsel could not take effect, yet Pilate's example might have stayed such courses, who examined our Lord Christe's accusers, and found them false, and never sent him to close prison, for refusing to sweare to accuse himself; Mat. xxvii. Luk. xxiii. Joh. xviii. Neither yet did the late prelates, in queene Marie's dayes, use altogether such severitie; for Bonner himself, with the other tyrants of that time, had often conference and disputation with the martyrs, and sought, by scriptures, to have overthrowen them, if they could. Evil, therefore, have our bishops provided for their cause and credit, so slightly to deale in matters of such moment, and to proceed to such severe tortures, before more open and orderly conviction of the faultes and errours. For now al posterities shal see their practises; and though they have spilt the blood of those men, which vexed them so sore, yet can they not bereave the world of their testimonie, which, by word and writing, they have left behinde them. The Lord give these men (if they belong unto him) to advert and see their dealinges; and to remember the account, which they, ere long, shal be called unto, before him who is ready to judge quick and dead. The publishing of these thinges cannot justly be offensive to any; seeing, first, nothing is here set downe, but that which was then demaunded, and answered, as neere as the prisoners could remember: secondlie, and they, which have themselves set forth the examinations of martyrs heretofore, may not be greeved now, when theyr owne turne is come, and theyr proceedinges made known likewise: they, which doe wel, need not shunne the light. How ever it be, the church of God, I doubt not, shal reap some profit hereby; for which, how smal so ever it be, let him have the praise. Amen.

A Brief of the Examination of me Henry Barrowe, the Nineteenth of November, 1586; before the Arch-Bishope, Arch-Deacon, and Dr. Cussins, (as neere as my Memorie could carry,) being at Lambeth.

THIS 19, being the Lord's day, betwene 9 and 10 of the clock in the forenoone, Mr. Hul and I went unto the Clinke, to visit Mr. Grenewood, and the other brethren there emprisoned; where we had not bene the space of one quarter of an howre, but Mr. Shepherd (the keeper of the prison) came up, rebuked Mr. Grenewood, and stayed me, saying, "He had commandement from his Lord's Grace so to do." I demanded a sight of his warrant; he answered, "That he would doe it, and I might afterward, if I were wronged, bring mine action." So he locked me up in prison, and forthwith went to his Lord's Grace to Lambeth. About one of the clock he returned, and brought with him two pursuvantes: I was forthwith put into a boat, and caried to Lambeth. By the way, one of the pursuvantes, called Watson, drew out of his bosome a letter from the court of Lambeth unto me, saying, "How he had a long time sought me." I told him, "His paynes deserved thanks, neither at God's handes nor mine." I refused his letter, and said, "That I obeyed neither it nor him, neither would I read it, shewing how I was under the arrest of the keeper of the Clinke, who sate by me." Wel, we arrived at Lambeth; wher, after I had perused the Bishope his state, I was brought into his presence-chamber; yet not until this Watson had prevented me, and shewed his maister what had passed in the boat.

[2] [Whitgift.]

Arch.-B. Barrowe, is your name Barrowe?

Bar. Yea.

Arch. It is told me, that yow refuse to receive or obey our letter: know yow what yow doe? It is from the high-commissioners, and this man a pursuvant.

Bar. I refused to receive or obey that letter at that time.

Arch. Why so?

Bar. Because I was under arrest, and imprisoned without warrant, and against law; and, therefore, now it was too late to bring the letter.

Arch. Why, may not a counsellor commit to prison by his bare commandement? (alledging how the aldermen of London do daily.)

Bar. That is not the question, what a counsellor may doe; but whither this man may doe it without warrant, by the law of the land? (pointing to the keeper of the Clinke.)

Arch. Know yow the law of the land?

Bar. Very litle; yet was I of Grayes-Inne some yeares. (Then his two doctours and he derided mine unskilfulnes.) Let this passe, I look for litle help by law against yow: I pray yow, why have yow imprisoned me, and after this manner sent for me?

Arch. That yow shal know, upon your oath; will you sweare?

Bar. I hold it lawful to sweare, so it be done with due order and circumstances.

Arch. Reach a book, hold it him.

Bar. What shal we doe with this?

Arch. Lay your hand upon it, man.

Bar. To what purpose?

Arch. To sweare.

Bar. I use to sweare by no bookes.

Arch. You shal not sweare by the book, but by God onely.

Bar. So I purpose when I sweare.

Cussins. Did yow never take an oath at an assise before the judges there?

Bar. No.

Cus. But would yow refuse there to lay yowr hand on a book, and sweare?

Bar. Yea.

Cus. Then would your testimony not be taken.

Arch. Why, man; the book is no part of the oath, it is but a ceremonie.

Bar. A needlesse and wicked ceremonie.

Arch. Why, know yow what yow say? Know yow what book it is? It is the Bible.

Bar. I wil sweare by no Bible.

Cus. Scismaticks are clamorous alwayes; it is a perpetual note to know them by.

Arch. Mr. Dr. Cussins saith true; such were the Donatistes alwayes in the counsels, and such art thow, and all other scismaticks such as thow art.

Bar. Say yowr pleasure, God forgive yow; I am neither scismatick nor clamourous: I answer but yowr demandes; if yow wil, I wil be silent.

Arch. Wel, wil yow lay yowr hand on the Bible and take an oath?

Bar. I use to joyne no creatures to the name of God in an oath.

Arch. Neither shal yow; this is but a custome commanded by law.

Bar. The law ought not to commaund a wicked custome.

Arch. Why, is it not lawful to lay your hand on a book?

Bar. Yes, but not in an oath?

Arch. Wil yow lay your hand in my hand, and sweare?

Bar. No.

Arch. Wil yow lay your hand on that table, and sweare?

Bar. No.

Arch. Wil yow hold up your hand towards heaven, and sweare?

Bar. That is not amisse, but I wil use my libertie.

Arch. Why, yow hold it lawful to lay yowr hand on the table and sweare!

Bar. Yea, so it be not commanded, and made of necessitie.

Arch. Why, the booke is the like: it is nothing of the othe, but a thing indifferent.

Bar. If it be nothing of the othe, why doe yow so peremptorilie injoyne it? And if it be indifferent, as yow say it is; then doe I wel in not using it.

Arch. Nay, yow doe not wel in refusing it; for therin yow shew yowr self disobedient to the higher powers, set over yow by God.

Bar. Even now yow said, it was a thing indifferent; if it be so, ther is no power can bring me in bondage to my libertie.

Arch. Where finde yow that?

Bar. In S. Paul, 1 Cor. (The Arch-Bishope, Archdeacon, Dr. Cussins, al denied it: I affirmed it. A litle Testament, in Greek and Latine, was brought me, and a Bible. I looked for the place, but could not finde it: great fault was in my memorie; for I looked in the x. chapter: neither, indeed, could I bethinke me where to finde it, they so interrupted me.)

Arch. Yowr devinitie is like yowr law.

Bar. The word of God is not the worse for my il memorie.

Arch. Yow speak not as yow thinck, for yow are prowd.

Bar. I have smal cause to be prowd of my memorie, yow see the default of it, but the Apostle saith it. (Againe they al denyed it.) Yow then have no cause to condemne my memorie, seing yow al have utterly forgotten this sayeng. Then repeated I the words: 'Al thinges are lawful for me, but I wil not be brought in bondage to my libertie.' Then they recited, Rom. xiv. and 1 Cor. viii. 'Al thinges are lawful for me, but al thinges are 'not expedient.' I said, I meant not that place.

Arch. I would like it wel, if yow cited your place in Greek or Latine.

Bar. Why, yow understand English: is not the word of God in English? (Then Cussins began to speak of *indefinita propositio*, but, whereupon, I cannot cal to remembrance.) I told him, we were now about the New Testament; it might be, if he had asked me that question when I knew him in Cambridge, I should then have answered him. (He forthwith called to remembrance of what howse I was.)

Arch. Were yow then of Cambridge?

Bar. Yea, I knew yow there.—He said he was there before I was borne. I said it might be. Then he entred into discourse of his antiquitie. Then he asked me if I had read books, as Calvin, Beza, &c. I answered, that I had read more then ynough; but yet I know not why I am emprisoned.

Arch. It is reported, that yow come not to church, are disobedeent to her Majestie, and say that ther is not a true church in England. What say yow, have yow, at any time, said thus?

Bar. These are *reportes;* when yow produce your *testimonie*, I wil answer.

Arch. But I wil better beleeve yow, upon yowr oath, then them: how say yow, wil you sweare?

Bar. I wil know what I sweare to, before I sweare.

Arch. First sweare; and then, if any thing be unlawfully demaunded, yow shal not answer.

Bar. I have not learned so to sweare. I wil first know, and consider of the matter, before I take an oath. (Thus many thinges being alleaged to and fro by us; the Arch-Bishope commaunded Cussin to recorde, that I refused to sweare upon a book.)

Bar. Yea, and set downe also, that I wil not sweare thus at random; but first I wil know and consider of the thinges I sweare unto, whither they require an oath.

Arch. Wel, when were yow at church?

Bar. That is nothing to yow.

Arch. Yow are a scismatick, a recusant, a seditious person, (&c. with many such like.)

Bar. Say what yow list of me, I freelie forgive yow.

Arch. I care not for yowr forgivenes.

Bar. But, if yow offend me, yow ought to seek it, while yow are in the way with me.

Arch. When were yow at church?

Bar. I have answered that in an other place; it belongeth not to yow.

Arch. Why, are you indited?

Bar. I am.

Arch. Yet belongeth it to us; I wil not onely medle with yow, but arraigne yow as an hereticke before me.

Bar. Yow shal doe no more then God wil: err I may, but hereticke wil I never be.

Arch. Wil yow come to church hereafter?

Bar. Future thinges are in the Lord's handes; if I doe not, yow have a law.

Arch. Have yow spoken these wordes of the church of England?

Bar. When yow produce your witnesse, I wil answer.

Arch. But, upon your oath, I will beleeve yow.

Bar. But I wil not accuse my self. (Then began he againe to charge me with scisme, sedition, heresie.)

Bar. Yow are lawlesse; I had rather yow produced yowr witnesse.

Arch. Of what occupation are yow?

Bar. A Christian.

Arch. So are we al.

Bar. I deny that.

Arch. But are yow a minister?

Bar. No.

Arch. A scholemaister?

Bar. No.

Arch. What then; of no trade of life?

Bar. In yowr letter, yow know my trade in the superscription.

Arch. Yow are then a gentleman?

Bar. After the manner of our countrie, a gentleman.

Arch. Serve you any man?

Bar. No, I am God's freeman.

Arch. Have yow landes?

Bar. No, nor fees.

Arch. How live yow?

Bar. By God's goodnes, and my freinds.

Arch. Have yow a father alive?

Bar. Yea.

Arch. Where dwelleth he; in Norffolke?

Bar. Yea.

Arch. Where dwel yow; in London?

Bar. No.

Arch. Wel, can yow finde sufficient suretie for your good behaviour?

Bar. Yea, as sufficient as yow can take.

Arch. What, yow cannot have the Queen?

Bar. Neither can yow take her; she is the judge of her law; yet, for my good behaviour, I suppose I could get her word.

Arch. Doth she know yow then?

Bar. I know her.

Arch. Els were it pitie of your life.

Bar. Not so.

Arch. Can yow have any of these, that came with yow, to be bound for yow?

Bar. I know not, I thinke I can.

Arch. What, know yow them not?

Bar. I know one of them.

Arch. What is he?

Bar. A gentleman of Graies-ynne.

Arch. What cal yow him?

Bar. Lacie.

Arch. But know yow what bonde yow should enter? Yow are bound, hereby, to frequent our churches.

Bar. I understand yow, of my good behaviour.

Arch. And in it is this conteyned; and so yow had forfeyted your bonde at the first.

Bar. Wel, now I know your minde, I wil enter no such bonde.

Arch. Wil yow enter bonde to appeare on Tuesday next at our court, and so on Thursday, if yow be not called; and be bound not to depart, until yow be dismissed by order of our court?

Bar. No.

Arch. Then I wil send yow to prison. (Then called he Watson, the pursuvant, and Dr. Cussins a-part into a windowe; where he made a warrant to send me to prison.)

Bar. Yow shal not touch one haire of my head, without the wil of my Heavenly Father.

Arch. Nay, I wil doe this to rectifie yow.

Bar. Consider what yow doe; yow shal one day answer it.

Arch. Yow wil not sweare; yow wil not enter bonde for your appearance.

Bar. I wil put in bonde for my baile in the prison, and for my true imprisonment.

Arch. Nay, that wil not serve the turne. Mr. Doctor, enter these thinges. (Then Cussins wrote, that I refused to sweare, and enter bonde.)

Arch. I wil send some to yow to conferre.

Bar. That were more requisite before my imprisonment. (So the Arch-bishope delivered me to the pursuvant, to carie me to the Gatehowse, where I as yet remayne; neither knowing the cause of my imprisonment, neither have I as yet heard from him.)

I was no sooner out of his howse, but I remembred the place in controversie, it is written, 1 Cor. vi. 12. 'Al thinges are lawful for me, but al thinges are not profitable; I may 'doe al thinges, but I will not be brought under the power of any thing.'

The Lord knoweth to deliver the godly out of tentation, and to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgement under punishment.

The 27. of November, 8 daies after I was committed by Cant. to the Gatehowse; I was sent for by one of his servantes, to make appearance before the high-commissioners at Lambeth; whither he and my keeper's man, Nicholas, caried me. There I found a very great traine without, but within a goodlie synode of bishops, deans, civilians, &c. beside such an appearance of well-fedde silken priestes, as I suppose might wel have beseemed the Vaticane; where after (to my no smal grief) I had heard a scholemaister deny his maister Christ, I was called.

Canterburie, with a grimme and an angrie countenance beholding me, made discourse how I refused to sweare on a book, &c. as fel out in our first meeting; and demaunded whither I were now better advised, and would sweare?—I answered, that I would not refuse to sweare, upon due occasion and circumstances.

Cant. Wil yow then now sweare?

Bar. I must first know to what.

Cant. So yow shal afterward.

Bar. I wil not sweare, unlesse I know before.

Cant. Wel, I wil thus far satisfie your humour.—London began to interrupt, but Canterburie cut him of, and produced a paper of objections against me, which he delivered to one Beadle to read. It conteyned much matter, and many suggestions against me, disorderly framed, according to the malitious humour of mine accuser; as, 'That I denyed God to have a true church in England;' and to prove this, the four principle causes framed in way of argument, as, 'The worship of God with us is idolatrie; *ergo*, no true church: they have an antichristian and idolatrous ministerie; *ergo*, no true church:' ffurther he saith, 'That the reverend father in God, my Lord's Grace of Canterbury, and al the bishops of the land, are antichristes.' Further he saith, 'That all the ministers in the land are

theeves and murtherers, and secret hypocrites; and that al the preachers of the land are hirelinges. That Mr. Wiggington and Cartwright straine at a gnat, and swallow a camel.' Further, he condemneth all writers, as Calvin, Beza, &c. and saith, 'that al catechismes are idolatrous, and not to be used.' The reasons to these were untrulie and disorderley set downe accordingly in the bil, which I cannot rehearse.

Lond. How say yow, Mr. Deane of Paul's; here is for yow, yow have written a catechisme?

Cant. This fellow deales indifferently; he makes us all alike. Thus far have I satisfied yow: now yow know what yow shal sweare unto; how say yow, wil yow sweare now?

Lond. My Lorde's Grace doth not shew this favour to many.

Cant. Fetch a book.

Bar. It is needles.

Cant. Why, wil yow not sweare now?

Bar. An oath is a matter of great importance, and requireth great consideration. But I wil answer yow truly, Much of the matter of this bill is true, but the forme is false.

Cant. Goe to, sirra, answer directlie, Wil yow sweare? Reach him a book.

Bar. Ther is more cause to sweare mine accuser: I will not sweare.

Cant. Where is his keeper? Yow shal not prattle here, away with him; clap him up close, close; let no man come at him: I will make him tel an other tale, yer I have done with him.

There was an article against me in the bil, for saying that 'I thought elders were bishops,' and Philip. i. 1. produced: here by I plainly discover mine accuser to be Thornelie of Norwich, with whom I had communication at Ware, as I rode to London, and never talked with any other about this matter.

The effect, and so neere as my fraile memorie could cary away, the very wordes of such interrogatories and answers as were demanded of, and made by me Henry Barrowe, before certeyne commissioners ther unto especially appointed by her Majestie; namely the two Lord Cheef-justices, the Maister of the Rolles, the Lord Cheef-baron, and another Baron of the Exchequor, I think Baron Gente; togither with the Archbishop of Canterburie, the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Winchester, certaine of their chancellors and civil doctors, with their registers and scribes.

The 24. of March. I being brought before the Archbishop of Cant. he made knowne unto me that they were authorised by her Majestie to examine me upon my oath upon certaine interrogatories; and therfore called for a booke. Ther was brought a great bible in folio, faire bound, which the Archbishop refused, and called for an other, which was held to me by one of his men, and I commaunded to lay my hand upon it.

Bar. To what ende?

Cant. To sweare.

Bar. I have not learned to sweare by any creatures.

Cant. This is the word of God, the Bible.

Bar. I began to open the book, and meant in deed to have asked him, if the Apocrypha scripture, and notes which were in it, were the word of God; but Cant. (belike suspecting some such matter,) would not suffer me to look into it; to whom then I answered, that that book was not the eternal Word of God, that eternal God himself, by whom onely I must sweare, and not by any bookes or bibles.

Cant. So yow shal sweare by God.

Bar. To what purpose then is this booke urged? I may sweare by nothing besides him, nor by nothing with him.

Winch. How prove yow that?

Bar. It is so commanded in the book of the Law, Deut. chapt. vi. and 13, so expounded by sundrie of the Prophets, by Christ himself and his Apostles.

Cant. Wel, wil yow sweare that yow wil answer nothing but the truth, and the whole truth, to such interrogatories as we shall demaund of yow?

Bar. I have learned to know the matter before I either sweare or answere.

Cant. Set downe, that he will not sweare.

L. C. Just. Yow shal onely sweare to answer the truth; if any unlawful thing be demaunded of yow, yow need not answere.

Bar. My Lord, every truth requireth not an oath; ther must great regard and reverence be used in an oath, and an oath for confirmation ought to be the ende of al strife. My Lord, if I should erre, and deliver it upon mine oath for truth, it were a double sinne: likewise if I should eyther not know, not remember, or not utter the whole truth, I were by such a rash oath forsworne: but, by God's grace, I wil answere nothing but the truth.

Cant. A Christian man's word ought to be as true as his oath; we wil proceed with yow without your oath: and (taking a paper of interrogatories in his hand) said, What say yow to this? Is it lawful to say the *Pater-noster* publickly in the church, or privately; as a prayer, or no?

Bar. I know not what yow meane by your *Pater-noster*, unlesse, peradventure, that forme for prayer which our Saviour Christ taught his Disciples, commonly called 'the Lorde's Prayer.'

Cant. I so meane. (Then commanded he the first question to be thus written:)

Quest. 1. Whither he thinketh the Lorde's prayer may publickly in the church, or privatly, be used as a prayer or no? (When I had expressed my mind, the Archbishop commaunded it should be recorded; but I desired the judges that I might with my owne hande write my owne answers, which was graunted me.) My answer then to the first question was:

Answ. It is to be used to that ende for which it was given by our Saviour Christ to his Disciples; as a summarie ground-worke or foundation of al faithful prayers, wherby to instruct and assure their consciences, that their petitions are according to the wil and glory of God: but that these prescript words are injoyned, or that Christ or his Apostles ever used them as or in their prayer, I find not in the Scripture. Moreover, I see not how it can be used as a prayer, seeing that our particuler wantes, and present occasions and necessities, are not therin expressed: and therfore I think it not to be used as a prayer. (Heere the Archbishop cried out for brevitie, and would not suffer me to answer any more questions at large.)

Quest. 2. Whither he thinketh that any litourgies, or prescript formes of prayer, may be imposed upon the church; and whither al read and stinted prayers be mere babling in God's sight?

Answ. I find in the worde of God no such authoritie given to any man, neither such stinted litourgies prescribed or used in the primitvie churches; and therfore hold it high presumtion to impose any one devised Apocrypha praier upon the church.

Quest. 3. Whither he thinketh that the common praiers, commaunded by the publick authoritie of this land, be idolatrous, superstitious, and popish?

Answ. I thinke that this book of Common Prayer, publickly injoyned and received in the assemblies of this land, is wel nigh altogither idolatrous, superstitious, and popish.

Quest. 4. Whither he thinketh that the sacramentes, which are publickly administred in the church of England, be true sacramentes or no?

Answ. I thinke that the sacramentes, as they are ministred in these publick assemblies, are not true sacramentes; and seal not the favour and blessing of God unto them.

Quest. 5. Whither he thinketh that the lawes and government of the church of England, now by authoritie established, be unlawful and antichristian, or no?

Answ. Because the lawes, decrees, and canons of your church, are so many and infinite, I can not judge of them all, because I know not all; but this I say, that many of them, as also your ecclesiastical courtes and governours, are unlawful and antichristian.

Quest. 6. Whither he thinketh that such as have bene baptised in the church of Eng-

land, since Queene Elisabethe's reigne, have bene rightly baptised, or ought to be baptised againe?

Answ. I thinke as before of your sacramentes, that they have not bene rightly baptised, according to the institution of Christ: yet that they need not, neither ought to be baptised againe. (I doubt, least the Archbishop hearing my answer of rebaptising, caused it to be left out of the question, and my answer; taking that which might best serve their owne turne, to bring us into suspicion of error, and hatred.) Hereunto many speeches arising of the true and false sacramentes, ministerie, government, as also of the true and false church: I shewed that the false church had also her sacramentes, ministerie, government, though not aright. Then Judge Anderson caused this question to be moved to me:

Quest. 7. Whither the church of England, as it standeth now established, be the true established church of Christ; and whither the people therin be the true and faithful people of God, or no?

Answ. I thinke that these parish-assemblies, as they stand generally in England, are not the true established churches of Christ; and that the people, as they now stand in disorder and confusion in them, are not to be held the true and faithful people of Christ. Here the Judge Anderson took exception (as the Bishop of London also) at these wordes, 'parish-assemblies.' I answered the Judge, that I could not for some weightie respectes spare him that word; for I doubted not, but that the Lord had many pretious and elect vessels among them, whom he wil in his good time cal forth, whom it became not me absolutely to judge, least I should enter into God's seat. Yet I could not, in the mean time, whiles they stand members of these assemblies, count them faithful. To the Bishope I said, that when they should better consider of mine answer, they should have lesse cause to finde fault. Much trouble we had before we could agree of the state and wordes of their questions, with putting out and changing; which discourses it is not my purpose here to set downe, so much as the questions and answers agreed upon and recorded; although for some causes knowne to myselfe, and to some of their consciences, which may hereafter be knowne to al the world, I thought it not impertinent to insert this.

Quest. 8. Whither he thinketh the Queene's Majestie be supreme governour of the church; and whither she may make lawes for the church, which are not contrary to the worde of God, or no?

Answ. I thinke the Queene's Majestie supreme governour of the whole land, and over the church also, bodies and goods; but I thinke that no prince, neither the whole world, neither the church itself, may make any lawes for the church, other than Christ hath already left in his worde. Yet I thinke it the dutie of every Christian, and principally of the Prince, to enquire out and renue the lawes of God, and stir up all their subjectes to more diligent and careful keeping of the same.

As we had much a-doe to come to the state of this question, so the Bishopes shewed themselves evil satisfied with my answer, and said, that the papistes dealt more simply then I did: and surely they very greevously interrupted me with slanders, evil speeches and blasphemies, during the time of my writing these answers, especially the Bishope of London: so that I was even inforced sometime to turne unto him, and shew him of his shameless untruthes and slanders. The Cheef-justice of Englande here saide, that he thought I answered very directly and compendiously. Here again, upon some speech that arose, the Judge Anderson asked me, whither I thought it lawful to hang a theef or no? I answered, that ther were many kinde of theeves, as sacrilegious theeves, men-stealers, &c. that these ought by the lawes of God to die. Then, he said, he meant ordinary theeves of goodes and chattels. I saide, that God in the law had ordeyned an other kinde of punishment for such; wherupon the Bishope framed this question.

Quest. 9. Whither it be lawful for the Prince to alter the judicial lawe of Moses, according to the state of her countrie and pollicie, or no?

Answ. I ought to be wise in sobrietie, and not to answer more then I know. Great doubt and controversie hath bene about this question a long time; but, for my part, I

cannot see that any more of the judicial lawe was or can be abrogated by any mortal man or countrie, upon what occasion soever, then belonged to the ceremonial lawe and worship of the Temple, for which we have received other lawes and worship in Christe's Testament; but that the judgementes, due and set downe by God for the transgression of the moral law, cannot be changed or altered, without injury to the moral lawe and God himself. Yet this, as al my other answers, by protestation; that, if any man can better instruct me therin by the word of God, I am alwayes ready to change my minde. Wherupon the Cheef-justice of Englande saide, I spake well: and therfore said, if I were in doubt, mine answer ought not to be taken. I said, I doubted not, but had set downe my minde. Yet the Bishopes, because my answer fitted not their turnes (as I think), commaunded the question and answer to be blotted out.

Quest. 10. Whither he thinketh that any private man may take upon him to reforme, if the Prince wil not, or neglect? (I asked, whither they meant of a publick reformation of the state, or of a private or personal reformation of himself and his family: it was saide, of a publick reformation.)

Answ. I thinke that no man may intermedle with the Prince's office, without lawfu calling therunto; and therfore it is utterly unlawful for any private man to reforme the state, without his good liking and license, because the Prince shall account for the defaultes of his publick government, and not private men, so they be not guiltie with the Prince in his offences, but absteine and keep themselves pure from doing or consenting to any unlawful thing commaunded by the Prince, which they must doe, as they tender their owne salvation.

Quest. 11. Whither he thinketh that every parish, or particuler church, ought to have a presbyterie?

Answ. The holy government of Christ belongeth not to the prophane or unbeleeving; neither can it, without manifest sacrilege, be set over these parishes, as they now stande in confusion, no difference made betwixt the faithful and unbeleeving, al being indifferently received into the body of the church; but over every particuler congregation of Christ ther ought to be an eldership, and every such congregration ought, to their uttermost power, to endeavour therunto. (Now was I dismissed, and committed againe to my keeper, with streight charge that no man might speak to me.) During this time, others of my brethren were examined: which being done, I was called for in unto them, where Canterburie shewed me the statute of Supremacie, and asked me, if I would take an oath according to the same? I saide, that in that forme I could not, neither could I sweare to such successors as I knew not; but to her Majestie, I acknowledged her authoritie, as I had expressed in my article, and protested my life in defence of her person, prerogative, and dignitie, loyally against all forreine and domestical enemies, whither spiritual or temporal. The Archbishope saide, that the papistes made a better and more dutiful oath then this. I said it was not true, they denyed not, neither defied the Pope; but I was ready to give and performe as much unto my Prince, as any true subject ought to doe. He asked me againe, whither the church of Christ (if the Prince deny or refuse to neglect abuses) may, without staying for the Prince, reforme them? I saide, that it might and ought, though all the princes of the world should prohibit the same upon paine of death. He asked me againe, whither the church of Christ might excommunicate the Prince, and who should pronounce it? I said, that sin, obstinatly stood in, did excommunicate, and that the church ought to have judgement ready against every transgression, without respect of persons, and that the pastor of the church ought to pronounce it; and alleaged, that excommunication was given unto the church, as the onely and last remedie for the salvation of the partie in such cases, and that the neglect therof was both the neglect of God's judgementes, their dutie, and the Prince's salvation; and that they might as wel take away all admonitions and reprehensions from princes, and so princes were in a most miserable case.

These, my answers, were not written with mine owne hande, but by the register: and

so was I sent againe, with more commaundementes yet to keep me more streightly. I requested at both times a copy of my answers, but the Archbishope denyed it me.

Upon the 18. day of the 3. moneth, I Henry Barrowe, close prisoner in the Fleet, was sent for in al post-hast, by one Ragland, a gentleman of the Lord-chancellor's, to his lorde's chamber at the court at White-hall; wher being arrived, I found, in a withdrawing chamber, 12 of the brethren, among a great number of other attendantes, with whom I could not have any one word. But, after that Ragland had signified my coming, I was forthwith sent for into that chamber, where sate at the boord the Archbishope in his pontificalibus, the Lord-chancellor, the Lord-treasurer, the Lord Buckhurst, the Bishope of London in his pontificalibus. At the lower ende of the chamber stood Dr. Some, Justice Young, and others.

Being kneeled downe at the ende of the table, the Lord-treasurer began, and asked me my name? which when I had told him, he asked me, if I had not bene sometime of the court? I answered, that I had sometime frequented the court. He saide, he remembred me not.

L. Treas. Why are yow in prison, Barrowe?

Bar. I am in prison, my Lord, upon the statute made for Recusantes.

L. Treas. Why will yow not goe to church?

Bar. My whole desire is to come to the church of God.

L. Treas. Thow art a fantastical fellow, I see; but why not to our churches?

Bar. My Lord, the causes are great and many: it were too long to shew them in particuler; but briefly, my Lord, I cannot come to your church, because all the profane and wicked of the lande are received into the body of your church. 2. Yow have a false and antichristian ministery set over your church. 3. Neither worship yow God aright, but after an idolatrous and superstitious manner. 4. And your church is not governed by Christe's Testament, but by the Romish courtes and canons, &c.

L. Treas. Here is matter ynough, indeed; I perceive thou takest delight to be an author of this new religion.

The Lord-chancellor saide, he never heard such stuffe before in al his life.

Bar. As I was about to shew that neither I was an author of this religion, and that it was not new, as they supposed; the Bishope of London interrupted me, and asked me, wherin their worship was idolatrous? The Lord-chancellor also demaunded the same question.

Bar. Ther is nothing els in that book of your Common Prayer.—Being demaunded some particulers, I shewed their saintes' daies, eves, fastes, idol-feastes, &c.

Lond. Stay there: why, is it not lawful to keep a memorial of the saintes in the church?

Bar. Not after your manner; it is idolatrie.

Lond. How prove yow that?

Bar. By the i. commaundement.

Lond. Why, that is, Thow shalt have no other gods but me. What of that?

Bar. The word is, Thou shalt have no other gods before my face. We are therfore forbidden to give any part of God's worship to any creature.

Lond. Why, neither doe we.

Bar. Yes, yow celebrate a day, and sanctifie an eve, and cal them by their names; yow make a feast, and devise a worship unto them.

Lord Treas. Why, may we not cal the day after their names? Is not that in our libertie?

Bar. No, my Lord.

L. Treas. How prove yow that?

Bar. In the beginning of the booke it is written, that God himselfe named all the dayes, the first, the second, &c.

L. Treas. Why then we may not cal them Sunday, Monday, &c.

Bar. We are otherwise taught to cal them in the booke of God.

L. Treas. Why, thow thyselfe callest it the Lorde's day.

Bar. And so the Holy Ghost calleth it, in the i. of the Revelation.

Lond. We have nothing in our saintes' dayes, but that which is taken forth of the Scriptures.

Bar. In that yow say true, for yow finde no saintes' days in the Scriptures.

Lond. We finde their histories and deedes in the Scriptures.

Bar. But not their dayes and festivals in the Scripture. The Lord Buckhurst then saide, I was a proud spirit. The Lord-treasurer saide, I had a hotte braine: and taking into his hande a book of Common Prayer, which lay on the boord, read certaine of the collectes for the saintes, and shewed that the epistles and gospels were part of the Scripture; and asked me, what I could mislike therin?

Bar. I mislike al, for we ought not so to use scriptures or prayers.

Lond. May we not make commemoration of the saintes' lives in the church?

Bar. Not after yowr manner, to give peculier dayes, eves, fastes, worship, feastes unto them.

L. Treas. But what is there idolatrous?

Bar. All; for we ought not so to use the Scriptures.

Lond. What, not in commemoration of the saintes?

Bar. As I have said, not after yowr manner.

L. Treas. But what is evil here?

Bar. All, my Lord; for, by abusing the Scripture, we may make it an idol. The circumstantes make evil thinges of themselves good; as in the masse-book from whence this stuffe is fetched, there are sundry good collectes and places of Scripture, which their superstitious abuses make abhominable and evil. Likewise conjurers make many good prayers, which the circumstances also make evil.

Here the Lord Buckhurst said, I was out of my wittes.

Bar. No, my Lord, I speak the wordes of sobernes and truth; as I could make plaine, if I might be suffered.

L. Treas. Here we pray, that our lives may be such as theirs was, void of covetousnes.

Bar. So ought we to doe, and not to reade, or have any parte of the Scripture, without fruite; and to follow and flee that, which we finde praised and discommended in them. Yet ought we not to use the Scriptures, in this manner, to dayes and times; neither to be thus restreyned or stinted in our prayers, as to be tied to this forme of wordes, place, time, manner, kneele, stand, &c.

L. Buckh. This fellow delighteth to heare himselfe speake.

(The Lord-chancellor also spake some what at that time, which I cannot cal to remembrance as yet.)

Then the Archbishop also spake many thinges against me, of smal effect, which I have also forgotten; onely this I remember, he said, I was a strower of errors, and that therfore he committed me.

Bar. In deed, yow committed me halfe a yeare close prisoner in the Gatehowse, and I never, until now, understood the cause why, neither as yet know I, what errors they be; shew them therfore, I pray yow?

The Lord Buckhurst againe said, I was a presumtuous spirit.

Bar. My Lord, all spirits must be tried and judged by the word of God. But if I erre, my Lord, it is meet, I should be shewed wherein.

L. Chanc. There must be streighter lawes, made for such fellowes.

Bar. Would to God, ther were, my Lord; our journy should be the shorter.

L. Treas. Yow complained to us of injustice; wherin have yow wrong?

Bar. My Lord, in that we are thus imprisoned without due trial.

L. Treas. Why? yow said yow were condemned upon the statute.

Bar. Unjustly, my Lord; that statute was not made for us.

L. Treas. Ther must be streighter lawes made for yow.

Bar. O! my Lord; speak more comfortablie; we have sorrowes ynough.

L. Treas. In deed, thow lookest, as if thow hadst a troubled conscience.

Bar. No, I praise God for it! But it is a woeful thing, that our Prince's swords should thus be drawen against her faithful subjectes.

The Lord-Treasurer answered, that the Queene's sword was not as yet drawen against us.

Then, in a word or two, I complayning of the misery and lingring close imprisonment which we suffer: the Lord-treasurer demaunded, If we had had no conference?

The Bishop of London answered, that sundrie had bene with us, as Dr Some[3], Graviat, and others; but we mocked them, that came unto us.

Bar. That is not true, the Lord knoweth: we mock no creature. Neither doe I know, or have ever seene, to my remembrance, that Graviat yow speak of. But miserable phisitians are yow all; for Mr. Some, he indeed was with me, but never would enter disputation: he said, he came not therfore, but in reasoning manner, to knowe some what of my minde more cleerly. Some was then by the Archbishop called, and demaunded, whither we had conference, or no? Some shewed, how that, at our last conference, before Sir. A. G. ther arose a question betwixt us, whither the Prince might make a positive law, *de rebus mediis*, 'of thinges indifferent?' I, denying it; he asked me, whither she might make a statute for the reforming excesse of apparel? I graunted that she might. He then said, it was a doctrine of divils to forbid meate, by a positive law. He shewed me then, that the Prince's law did not binde the conscience, and that there is a difference betwixt *forum civile* and *forum conscientiæ*. Some to this effect.

Mr. Young then uncalled came, and accused me of unreverend speeches, used against his Lord's Grace, at my first conference with Some, in my chamber: so they were dismissed.

Then I beseeched the Lords to graunt a publicke conference, that it might appeare to all men, what we held, and where we erred.

The Archbishop in great choller said, we should have no publick conference, we had published too much already, and therfore he now committed us close prisoners.

Bar. But contrary to law.

The Lord-treasurer said, it might be upon such occasions done by law; and asked whither I had any learning?

Cant. and *Lond.* with one consent answered togither, that I had no learning.

Bar. The Lord knoweth I am ignorant; I have no learning to boast of: but this I know, that yow are voide of all true learning and godlines.

L. Buckh. See the spirit of this man.

Then requested I conference againe, and that in writing: which was againe by Canterburie very peremtorilie denyed. He said that he had matter to cal me before him, for an hereticke.

Bar. That shal yow never do: yow know my former answer to that matter. Wel, erre I may; but hereticke, by the grace of God, wil I never be.

L. Buckh. That is wel said.

The Lord-treasurer then taking up a paper of Some's abstract questions, which lay among the Bishops' evidence against me, read this: That I held it unlawful, to enacte a law that the ministers shal live by tithes, or the people pay them; and demaunded of me, whither I held tithes unlawful?

Bar. My Lord, they are abrogated and unlawful.

L. Treas. Why, thou wouldest have the minister live of somewhat; wherof should he live?

Bar. Ex purâ eleemosynâ, 'of clere almes,' as Christ in his Testament hath ordeyned, and as he and his Apostles.

[3] [Robert Some, D. D. of Cambridge, who published in 1588, 'A Treatise deciding several Questions concerning the Ministry, Sacrament, and Church;' which was strongly replied to by Penry.]

L. Treas. But how if the people wil not give?

Bar. Such are not the people of God.

L. Treas. But what shall the minister doe in the meane time?

Bar. Not stand a minister to such, neither take the goods of the prophane.

L. Treas. Where canst thow shew me now in the Scriptures, that the ministers ought not to live upon tithes?

Bar. I took the bible, and turned to these two places, Heb. vii. 12. Gal. vi. 6; in the one, where tithes are abrogate; in the other, that an other provision is made for them. *London* began the cavil at the wordes, 'pure and cleere almes.' *Canterburie*, at the place in the Hebrews, saying, 'that the author's intent was to prove an abrogation of the preisthod.'

Bar. Why, the wordes of the text are these: 'If the preisthod be changed, then of 'necessitie must ther be a change of the law:' and yow cannot deny, but that tithes were a part of that law: alleging Num. xviii.

L. Treas. What, wouldst thow have him to have all my goodes?

Bar. No, my Lord; but I would have yow to withhold none of your goodes from helping him: neither rich nor pore are exemted from this duty.

Furder I shewed, that if the minister had thinges necessarie, as food and rayment, he ought to hold him self contented: neither ought the church to give him more. Then had we some talke concerning the word 'Preist.' The Lord-treasurer said, that the ministers now were not to be called preistes.

Bar. If they receive tithes, they are preistes. Moreover they be called preistes in the Law.

Lond. Why, what is the word 'Presbyter,' I pray yow?

Bar. An elder.

Lond. What, in age onely?

Bar. No; Timothie was a yong man.

Lond. Presbyter is Latine for a preist.

Bar. It is no Latine word, but derived, and signifieth the same which the Greek word doth, which is an Elder.

Lond. What makest thow a preist?

Bar. Him that doth offer sacrifices; for so it is written every where in the Law.—As we were thus reasoning, the Lord-chancellor asked me, if I knew not those two men? (pointing to Canterburie and London.)

Bar. Yes, my Lord, I have cause to know them.

L. Chanc. But what, is not this the Bishop of London?

Bar. I know him for no bishop, my Lord.

L. Chanc. What is he then?

Bar. His name is Elmar[4], my Lord. (The Lord pardon my fault, that I laid him not open for a wolfe, a bloody persecutor and apostata! But, by this time, the warden's man plucked me up.)

L. Chanc. What is that man? (pointing to Canterburie.)

Bar. The Lord gave me the spirit of boldnes, so that I answered: He is a monster, a miserable compound; I know not what to make him; he is neither ecclesiastical nor civil, even that second beast spoken of in the Revelation.

L. Treas. Wher is that place, shew it?

Bar. So I turned to the xiii chap. and began at the 11th verse, and read a litle. Then I turned to 2 Thess. ii. But the beast arose for anger, gnashing his teeth, and said, Wil yow suffer him, my Lords? So I was pluckt up by the warden's man from my knees, and caried away. As I was departing, I desired the Lord-treasurer, that I might have

[4] [Or Aylmer, bishop of London from 1576 to 1594. *Vid. Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii. p. 34.]

the libertie of the aire, but had no answer; and I prayed the Lord to blesse their Honours! So I was led forth by an other way then I came in, that I might not see the brethren, nor they me.

This is the effect, so neere as my evil memorie could cary away, the very wordes that were used to me, and by me in that place. The Lord pardon my unworthines, and unsanctified hart and mouth, which can bring no glory to the Lord, or benefite to his church; but rather reproch to the one, and affliction to the other! But the Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of tentation, and to reserve the unjust until the Day of Judgement under punishment.

The Lord-treasurer admonished me, and told me that I took the Lord's name often in vaine: I have forgotten upon what occasion he spake it. But I beseech the Lord, that I may not forget this his good admonition, but may set a more careful watch before my lippes: for sure, no doubt, I am greatly guiltie that way, and never use his holy name, with that reverence I ought.

The Answers of John Grenewood, at London Pallace, before the two Lord Cheif-Justices of Englande, the Maister of the Rolles, the Lord Cheif-Baron, togither with the Arch-Bishop of Canterburie, the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Winchester, with others, to certaine Interrogatories, as followeth.

Quest. WHAT is your name?

Answ. John Grenewood.

Quest. Lay yowr hand upon the book; yow must take an oath.

Answ. I wil sweare by the name of God, if there be any need; but not by, or upon, a book.

Quest. We will then examine yow without an oath. Are yow a minister?

Answ. No; I was one, after your orders.

Quest. Who disgraded yow?

Answ. I disgraded my self, through God's mercy by repentance. (Then, after many wordes, they brought forth a paper, conteyning certaine articles in manner of questions, as foloweth.)

Quest. Is it lawful to use the Lorde's Prayer publickly or privately as a prayer, or no?

Answ. It is a doctrine to direct all our prayers by: but, seing it conteyneth the doctrine of the Holy Scripture, no man can use the same, as a private or publick prayer, because he hath not present need to aske al the peticions therin conteyned, at one time: neither can comprehend them with feeling and faith.

Quest. Is it lawful or no? I wil heare no pratling.

Answ. It is not lawful for any thing, I can see by the Scripture; for ther is no commaundement to say the very wordes over: and Christ and his Apostles prayed in other wordes, according to their present necessitie.

Quest. Is it lawful to use any stinted prayers either publickly or privately in prayer?

Answ. They are Apocrypha, and may not be used in the publick assemblie: the word, and the graces of God's Spirit, are onely to be used there.

Quest. Answer directly, Is it lawful to use them publickly or privately?

Answ. Paul saith, in Rom. viii. 'The Spirit of God maketh request for us;' and, 'That 'we know not what to aske, but the Spirit helpeth our infirmities.'

Quest. Answer directly.

Answ. It is not lawful to use stinted prayers, invented by man, either publickly or privately, for any thing I can see by the Scriptures.

Quest. What say yow then to the Book of Common Prayer? Is it superstitious, popish, and idolatrous; yea or no?

Answ. I beseech yow, that I may not be urged by your law: I have thus long bene close prisoner, and therfore desire yow to shew me wherfore, and not now to entangle me by your law.

Quest. Is it not yowr law now, as wel as ours? It is the Queene's law; yow are a good subject.

Answ. I am obedient, as a true subject; but I took it, we had reasoned of your popish canons.

Quest. Is not the Common Prayer Booke established by the Queene's law?

L. Cheif-Just. Tel us what yow thinke of the Booke of Common Prayer: yow shal have libertie to call back what yow will againe.

Answ. If it were in free conference, as it hath bene often desired by us, I would so doe.

Winch. Have yow not used these wordes a yeare agoe, That it was popish, superstitious, and idolatrous?

Answ. Yes, I thinke I have; for it was taken out of the Pope's portuis.

Quest. Why would yow not answer so before?

Answ. Because, I see, yow goe about to bring me within the compasse of the law.

Judge Anderson. What say yow now to it?

Answ. That ther are many errors in it, and the forme therof is disagreeable to the Scriptures.

Arch. Is it contrary to the Scriptures?

Answ. It must needs be contrary, if it be disagreeable.

Winch. Whither hold yow it idolatrous, superstitious, and popish?

Answ. I have answered what I thinke of it; I hold it ful of errors, and the forme therof disagreeable to the Scriptures.

Quest. What say yow for mariage? Did not yow marie one Boman and his wife in the Fleet?

Answ. No; neither is mariage a parte of the minister's office.

Quest. Who did use prayer?

Answ. I thinke, I did at that time use prayer.

Quest. Who joyned their handes togither?

Answ. I know no such thing; they did publickly acknowledge their consent before the assemblie.

Stanup. I wil make them doe penance for it.

Answ. There be some had more need shew open repentance, then they.

Bish. They may make such mariages under a hedge; and it hath bene a long received order, to be maried by the minister.

Answ. No; ther were many faithful witnesses of their consentes; and, if it were not lawful, we have many examples of the ancient fathers, who, by your judgement, did amisse.

Quest. What say yow to the church of England? Is it a true established church of God?

Answ. The whole common-wealth is not a church.

Judge Anders. But doe yow know any true established church in the land?

Answ. If I did, I would not accuse them unto yow.

Quest. But what say yow, Is not the whole land, as it standeth now ordered, a true established church?

Answ. No, not as the assemblies are generally ordered; if it please yow, I will shew yow the reasons.

L. Cheif Just. No, yow shall have time ynough hereafter to shew the reasson; it is not now to be stood upon.

Quest. What doe yow say to the church of England, as it is now guided by bishopes? Is it antichristian?

Answ. By such bishopes and lawes, as it is now guided, it is not according to the Scriptures.

Winch. Thow hast Scriptures often in thy mouth; is it then antichristian?

Answ. Yea, I hold it contrarie to Christe's word.

Quest. What say yow to the sacramentes then? Are they true sacramentes?

Answ. No; they are neither rightly administred according to Christe's institution, neither have promise of grace, because yow keep not the covenant.

Quest. Speak plainly: are they true sacramentes, or no?

Answ. No: if yow have no true church, yow can have no true sacramentes.

Quest. How say yow, Are we baptised?

Answ. Yea, yow have the outward signe, which is the washing, but no true sacrament.

Quest. How can that be?

Answ. Very well. (Then I thought to have shewed reasons, but I could not be suffred.)

Quest. Is it lawful baptisme?

Answ. Yea.

Quest. Need we, then, to be baptised againe, if we had that ministerie and government, yow speak of?

Answ. No.

Quest. Should we be baptised at al?

Answ. Yea; or els, if we contemne it, we deny the profession of grace.

Quest. Do yow hold it lawful to baptise children?

Answ. Yea; I am no Anabaptist, I thanke God.

Quest. How far differ yow?

Answ. So far as truth from errors.

Quest. Yow have a boy unbaptised; how old is he?

Answ. A yeare and a halfe.

Quest. What is his name?

Answ. Abel.

Quest. Who gave him that name?

Answ. My self, being father.

Quest. Why hath he not bene baptised?

Answ. Because that I have bene in prison, and cannot tell where to goe to a Reformed church, where I might have him baptised according to God's ordinance.

Quest. Wil yow goe to church to St. Bride's?

Answ. I know no such church.

Quest. Wil yow goe to St. Paul's?

Answ. No.

Quest. Doe yow not hold a parish the church?

Answ. If all the people were faithful, having God's law and ordinances practised amongst them, I doe.

Quest. Then yow hold, that the parish doe not make it a church?

Answ. No; but the profession which the people make.

Quest. Doe yow hold, that the church ought to be governed by a presbyterie?

Answ. Yea; every congregation of Christ ought to be governed by that presbyterie, which Christ hath appointed.

Quest. What are these officers?

Answ. Pastor, teacher, elder, &c.

Quest. And by no other?

Answ. No, by no other then Christe hath appointed.

Quest. May this people and presbyterie reforme such thinges as be amisse, without the Prince?

Answ. They ought to practise God's lawes, and correct vice by the censure of the Word.

Quest. What if the Prince forbid them?

Answ. They must doe that, which God commaundeth, neverthelesse.

Quest. If the Prince doe offend, Whither may the presbyterie excommunicate the Prince or no?

Answ. The whole church may excommunicate any member of that congregation, if the partie continue obstinate in open transgression.

Quest. Whither may the Prince be excommunicate?

Answ. Ther is no exception of person; and I doubt not, but her Majestie would be ruled by the Word; for it is not the men, but the word of God, which bindeth and looseth sinne.

Quest. Whither may the Prince make lawes in the government of the church, or no?

Answ. The Scripture hath set downe sufficient lawes for the worship of God, and government of the church; to which no man may adde, or diminish.

Quest. What say yow to the Prince's supremacie? Is her Majestie supreme head of the Church over all causes, as wel ecclesiastical, as temporal?

Answ. A supreme magistrate over all persons, to punish the evil, and defend the good.

Quest. Over all causes? &c.

Answ. No; Christ is onely head of his church, and his lawes may no man alter.

Quest. The Pope giveth thus much to the Prince?

Answ. No, that he doth not: he setteth himself above princes, and exempteth his preisthood from the magistrate's sword.

Quest. What say yow to the oath of the Queene's supremacie? Will yow answer to it?

Answ. If these ecclesiastical orders be meant such, as be agreeable unto the Scriptures, I wil; for I deny all forreigne power.

Quest. It is meant the order and government, with all the lawes in the church, as it is now established.

Answ. Then I will not answer to approve therof.

A breif Summe of the Examination of John Penrie, by the Right Worshipful Mr. Fanshaw, and Mr. Justice Young, the Tenth of the fourth Moneth April, 1593.

Fanshaw. IT is strange unto me, that yow hold such opinions, Penrie, as none of the learned of this age, or any of the martyrs of former times mainteyned. Can you shew any writers, either old or new, that have bene of your judgement?

Penrie. I hold nothing, but what I will be bound to prove out of the written word of God; and will shew, in regard of the special pointes controverted, to have bene mainteyned by the holy martyrs of this land, who first assailed the Babylonish Romane kingdome; as, namely, by Mr. Wicliffe, Mr. Brute, Mr. Purvey, Mr. White, &c. with many other the famous witnesses and martyrs of Christ in former times; and by Mr. Tindal, Mr. Lambert, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Latimer, &c. the Lorde's most blessed witnesses of this latter age. I speak nothing here of the doctrine and practise of the Reformed churches in other countries, whom I have wholly of my side, in the controversies of greatest moment.

Fan. But doe the martyrs teach yow, that there is no churche of Christ in England?

Pen. If yow mean by a church, (as the most doe,) that publick profession, wherby men doe professe salvation to be had by the death and righteousnes of Jesus Christ; I am free from denying any church of Christ to be in this land: for I know the doctrine touching the Holy Trinity, the natures and offices of the Lord Jesus, free justification by him, both the sacramentes, &c. published by her Majestie's authoritie, and commaunded by her lawes, to be the Lorde's blessed and undoubted truthes; without the knowledge and profession wherof no salvation is to be had.

Fan. Seing yow acknowledge, that her Majestie hath established the truth in so many weightie pointes, seing she hath commaunded the true sacramentes to be administred, what mislike yow in our church? And why will yow not be partaker of these truthes and sacramentes with us?

Pen. I mislike, 1. The false ecclesiastical offices. 2. The manner of calling unto the offices. 3. A great parte of the workes, wherin these false officers are imployed. 4. The maintenance, or livinges, wherby they are mainteyned in their offices; all which I wil be bound to prove (by the Lorde's helpe) to be derived, not from Jesus Christ, but from the kingdome of Antichrist, his great enemie. And therfore, for as much as I cannot be partaker of the former holy thinges of God, but I must be subject unto the power of Antichrist in these officers, and knowen by those markes, wherby his subjectes are noted; therfore I am enforced and bound to seek the comfort of the word and sacramentes where I may have them, without the submitting of myself unto any ecclesiastical power in religion, save onely unto that which is derived from Christ Jesus the Lord, 'in 'whom all fulnes of power dwelleth,' Col. i. 19. and from whom all those must derive their power and office, unto whom the Saintes of God are to submitte their consciences to be wrought upon in religion.

Againe, seing the forenamed four enormities of this church are markes which properly belong unto the kingdome of the beast, *viz.* of the Romane Antichrist; we dare not have any communion and fellowship with them, nor be knowen by them, least we should be partakers of those most fearful and most dreadful judgementes, which are denounced by the Spirit of God against all those, that have communion with any of the irreligious inventions of that beast, Revel. xiv. 9, 10.

These are the thinges, togither with the want of Christe's true order, which I especially mislike, and the special causes why I dare not joyne with the assemblies of this land: 1. The false officers, wherby these assemblies are guided, and by whom the whole worship is performed in them. 2. Their manner of calling. 3. A great parte of the devised workes, wherin these officers are conversant. 4. The livinges consecrated sometimes unto idols for the most part, wherby they are susteyned in their offices.

Fan. What offices meane yow?

Pen. I meane the offices of lord-archbishopes and bishopes, archdeacons, commissaries, chancellors, deanes, canons, prebendaries, preistes, deacons, &c. al which properly belong to no other bodie, either ecclesiastical or civil, but onely unto the Romish church, where they were first invented, where they now are, and by whom they were left in this lande, when the head of that body, the Pope, and some other of his members, were cast out by her Majestie and our soveraigne lord, her noble father.

The church of Christ is perfect without them, in all her offices; the civil state is absolute without them, for they are ecclesiastical; heathen idolatrie hath them not, and requireth them not; onely the kingdome of Antichrist can in no wise be whole and entire without them, wherof, as I say, they are visible and knowne members. Now, if it be not lawful for me, or any other member of Christ, to be subject unto the orders and ceremonies of the old Law, as, circumcision, &c. which sometimes were the Lorde's owne blessed ordinances, How can it be but sin unto us, to be subject to the constitutions of Antichrist, the maine adversarie of the Lord Jesus? The Lord hath not delivered us from the yoke of his owne law, that we should be in bondage unto the inventions and order of Antichriste's kingdome and offices.

Fan. Belike yow would have no other offices in the church now in the time of peace and prosperitie, then were in the Apostles' dayes under persecution?

Pen. There is great reason we should not: for if the order, left by Moses in the church, was not to be altered, to be diminished or added unto, except it were by special commaundement from the Lord, 1 Chron. xxviii. 19. then may not any man or angel, but upon the same warrant, adde any thing unto that holy forme, which the Sonne of God left for the ordering of his owne howse; for as the Apostle saith, Hebr. iii. 3. 'He (yea and his

ordinances) 'are worthy of more honour then Moses his were.' And, 'He that addeth unto 'the wordes of this book, (that is, to the true order of the church, and pure worship of God conteyned therin,) 'the Lord God will adde unto him of the plagues that are written in 'this book,' saith the Spirit of God; Revel. xxii. 19.

Fan. Yow allow of M. Luther, I am sure; what office had he?

Pen. He was first a moncke, and so a member (by his office) of the kingdome of Antichriste; even a good while after the Lord had used him as a notable instrument to overthrow that kingdome; afterward he was utterly disgraded and deprived of all offices, so that as the Spirit of God saith, Revel. xiii. 17, he could neither buy nor sell by vertue of any libertie or freedome that he had within the kingdome of the beast. And by this meanes, in the Lord's great favour, he caried not in this regarde any of the beaste's markes; he was not of his name, nor of the number of his name; he denied himself to belong to that kingdome of Satan, and that malignant church utterly refused him to be any of her body and members. Since his excommunication and degradation by the Romish church, he nameth himself 'Ecclesiasten,' in a book of his so intituled, that is, a preacher of Christe's blessed truth and gospel. Now whither he preached by vertue of a lawful office wherunto he was called in the church of Christ, or whither he taught by vertue of his giftes, and the opportunitie which he had to manifest the truth, having neither time nor leisure, nor yet thinking it needful (it may be) to consider by what office he did it, I know not: of this I am assured, that he was one of the famous and glorious witnesses of the Lord Jesus, raised up to testifie on his behalfe, against the abominations of the kingdome of Antichrist; and I am assured that by his tongue and pen the Lord appeared gloriouslie in the power of his Gospel, to the consumation of that man of sin: 2 Thess. ii. 8. Of his office I judge the best, as of a matter unknowne unto me; that is, I thinke him to have had a pastoral office in the church of Wittemberg: whither he had or not, his example is no law for the church to walke by, it is Christ Jesus alone that we must heare and folow; according to his will and word must we frame our walking, and if it be an angel from heaven that will draw us to swarve from the same, we dare not give eare unto him: Gal. i. 8, 9.

Fan. And what office had yow in yowr church, which meet in woods and I know not where?

Pen. I have no office in that poore congregation; and as for our meetings either in woods or any where els, we have the example of our Saviour Christ, of his church and servantes in all ages, for our warrant: it is against our willes that we goe into woods, or secret places; as we are not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, so our desire is to professe the same openly; we are ready before men and angels, to shew and to justifie our meetings and behaviour in them, desiring earnestly that we may have peace and quietnes to serve our God even before all men, that they may be witnesses of our upright walking towards our God and all the world, especially towards our Prince and countrie. We know that meeting in woods, in caves, in mountaines, &c. is a part of the crosse and baseness of the Gospel, wherat it is easy for the natural man to stumble; but we are gladly partakers of this mean estate for the Lord's sacred veritie; and the question should not be so much *where we meet*, as *what we do* in our meetings; whither our meetings and doings be warranted by the Word or not; and what inforced us to meet in these places?

Fan. We will speak of your unlawful assemblies afterwards; but what calling have yow to preach? were yow never made minister according to the order of this land?

Pen. I might, if I had bene willing, have bene made either deacon or priest, but I thanke the Lorde I ever disliked those popish orders; and if I had taken them, I would utterly refuse them, and not stand by them at any hand. I have taught publickly in the church of Scotland, being therunto desired earnestly, and called by the order of that church; charge I never had any, therfore I never bare office either there or in any other church.

Fan. Did not yow preach in these your secret meetings? What warrant have yow so to doe, if yow have no publick office in your church?

Pen. Whither I did or not, I doe not tell yow for the present: but this I say, that if the same poore congregation desired to have the use of my small giftes for the instruction and consolation thereof, I would (being therunto prepared) most willingly bestow my poore talent to their mutual edification and mine.

Fan. And may yow teach in the church publickly, having no publick office therin?

Pen. I may; because I am a member therof, and requested therunto by the church, and judged to be indued in some measure with giftes meet for the handling of the Lorde's sacred word. The body of Christ (that is, every particuler congregation of the church) ought to have the use of all the giftes, that are in any member therof; and the member cannot deny unto the body the use of those graces wherwith it is furnished, except it will break the lawes and order of the body, and become unnatural unto the same. Rom. xii. 1 Cor. xii.

Fan. Then every one, that wil, may preach the word in your assemblie?

Pen. Not so; for we hold it merely unlawful, yea tending to the Anabaptistical inversion of all good order in the church, for any man to intermedle with the Lorde's holy truth, beyond the boundes of his giftes; or yet for him that is indued with gifts, to preach or teach in the church, except he be desired, and called therunto by the body.

Fan. But may any preach, that hath not an office in the church so to doe?

Pen. Yea, that he may; and the word of God bindeth him to preach, whosoever he be that intendeth to become a pastor or teacher in the church of Christ, before he take his office upon him; and bindeth the church to take the trial of his giftes before they give him his office; least otherwise he should not be meet for it; or, at the least, that handes should not be suddenly laid upon him. 1 Tim. iii. 10, and v. 23.

Fan. What office hath he all this while?

Pen. No other office then every member of the body hath, who are bound to have their several operation in the body according to that measure of grace which they derive from their Head the Lord Jesus, by the power of his Spirit working in them; Rom. xii. 3, 4. The Word calleth these by the name of Prophets; not such as doe foretel things to come, but those who are furnished with graces meet for the interpretation and application of the word unto the edification and comfort of the church, as the Apostle teacheth us expressly; 1 Corin. xiv. and therfore mistake not the word prophet or prophesie, as though we leaned unto any inward revelations or motions, besides the written word.

Fan. I know wel ynough what yow meane, and will not mistake your wordes, for the Scripture useth them in that sence.

Pen. Now it should be no new thing unto yow, to heare that they may preach who have no office in the church, seeing this is so common a thing in the colleges and universities of this land.

Fan. Yea, that is in the scholes.

Pen. If that exercise, wherof yow and I meane I am sure, be in your confession warrantable in the scholes and colleges, it is much more in the church and congregation: for the Lord, in his word, hath set downe the rules how the church and assemblies of his saincts should have the use and exercise of his holy word; and not that it should be brought to humane scholes, whither it never 'came into the Lorde's minde' to command that ever it should enter. Let the artes, tongues, and other humane knowledge, be taught in scholes; and let the holy truth and exercises of religion be derived from the church of Christ, which the Apostle for this purpose calleth the piller and ground of truth.

Fan. Wel, then yow beare no office in this your church: yow will not tell us whither ever yow taught amongst them or not; but yow would, yow say, if they required yow.

Pen. True.

Fan. But how came it to passe that yow were not made an officer amongst them?

Pen. Surely, I was desired to take a charge, and to continue with them; but I would not, because it hath bene my purpose alwayes to imploy my small talent in my poore coun-

trie of Wales[5], where I know that the poore people perish for want of knowledge; and this was the onely cause of my coming out of that country, wher I was, and might have stayed privately all my life, even because I saw my self bound in conscience to labour for the calling of my poore kinred and countrymen, unto the knowledge of their salvation in Christ: purposing indeed, before I had gone thither, to have offred my self unto her Majestie, or some of their Honours, that it might be made knowne unto her Highnes, what I hold in religion; and how cleere I am of those greevous crimes of sedition, and disturbing of her Majestie's peaceable government, wherewith I am wrongfully charged.

Fen. Why, yow labour to draw her Majestie's subjects from their obedience unto her lawes, and from this church of England, to heare yow, and such as yow are, teaching in woods.

Pen. Nay, I perswade all men unto the obedience of my Prince, and her lawes; onely I disswade al the world from yeelding obedience and submission unto the ordinances of the kingdome of Antichrist, and would perswade them to be subject to Christ Jesus, and his blessed lawes: and I know this enterprise to be so far from being repugnant unto her Majestie's lawes, as I assure my self, that the same is warranted therby. Her Majestie hath graunted, in establishing and confirming the great charter of England (wherunto, as I take it, the kinges and queenes of this land are sworne, when they come to their crowne), that the church of God, under her, should have all her rights and liberties inviolable for ever. Let the benefite of this lawe be graunted unto me, and others of my brethren; and it shall be found, that we have done nothing, but what is warrantable by her lawes.

Fen. What, is it meet that subjects should charge their princes to keep covenant with them, and enter to scanne what oathes they have taken for this purpose? Where finde yow this warranted by Scripture?

Pen. The subjects are in a most lamentable case, if they may not allege their princes' lawes for their actions; yea, and shew what their princes have promised unto the Lord, and to them, when the same may be for declaration of their innocencie; and it is the crowne and honour of princes, to be knowne not onely to hold, but even to be in covenant with their subjects; that they will maintaine and preserve them from violence and wrong: nay, heathen princes have thought themselves honoured, when their meane subjectes have charged them very earnestly with the covenants wherby they wer bound unto their people. The lawes of this land are so full this way, as no man, conversant in them, can be ignorant, that our princes have preferred the observing of those equal covenants; wherby they are tied unto their people, before the accomplishing of their owne private affections; yea, and commandements in some cases. Hence it is, that the judges of this land are bound by law to administer justice and equitie unto the poore subjects, notwithstanding that the princes' letters be directed to them to the contrary. And, as to the law of God, all kinges and princes are bound therby, to be so far from thinking themselves tied by no bands unto their subjects, as they are plainly forbidden even to be lifted up in minde above their brethren; Deut. xvii. 20. for so the word, in that place, calleth their subjects and servants. The kinges of Judah, who had the greatest privileges and prerogative, both ecclesiastical and civil, over their people, that ever any kinges or princes can have, because they were types and figures of that great King of kings, the Lord Jesus; entred into covenant, notwithstanding, with their people, even particulerly, besides the general former law, wherby they were bound unto them. Yea, the prophet Jeremie (being in no lesse daunger and disgrace, with all estates, then I and my brethren are at this present,) required his soveraigne lord and king Zedekiah, to promise that he would doe him no violence and wrong, nor yet suffer others to doe the same, for telling him the truth of the word, in the

[5] [Penry was a native of Wales, became a subsizer of Peterhouse in Cambridge, and took a degree in arts at that university. He then entered himself a commoner of St. Alban's-hall, Oxford, where he took a master's degree, obtained ordination, and was esteemed by many (says A. Wood) a tolerable scholar, an edifying preacher, and a good man: but upon some discontent, he changed the course of his life, became a most notorious Anabaptist, and in some sort a Brownist, and the most bitter enemy to the church of England of any that appeared in the reign of Elizabeth.]

thinges wherin the king required, to be resolved at his handes; the which thing Zedekiah yeilded unto, and that by an oath and covenant of the Lord, Jer. xxxviii. 15, 16. wherby it appeareth, that it is not without great warrant of the Word, that princes should enter covenant with their subjects, and that subjectes should require promise and oath to be kept with them; otherwise, wherto serveth the covenant? But, alas! I enter not to scanne her Majestie's oath; I onely tell yow what her lawes alow me and my poore brethren. And I am assured, if her Majestie knew the equitie and uprightnes of our cause, we should not receive this hard measure which we now susteine. We, and our cause, are never brought before her, but in the odious weeds[6] of sedition, rebellion, schisme, heresie, &c. and, therefore, it is no mervaile to see the edge of her sword turned against us.

Fan. Hath not her Majestie, by her lawes, established these offices, and this order that now is in the church of England?

Pen. Her lawes have, I graunt, of oversight, as taking them for the right offices and order, which appertaine unto the church of Christ; the which, because we evidently see that they are not, therefore flie we unto her former promise and act, wherby she graunteth us the injoying of all the privileges of the church of Christ.

Fan. Why then goe ye about to pull downe bishopes?

Pen. Alas! far be it from us, that ever we should intend any such actions; we onely put her Majestie, and the state, in mind of the wrath of God, that is likely to come upon this land, for the upholding of many Romish inventions. We labor to save our owne sowles, and all those that wil be warned by us, in avoiding all corruptions in religion, and practising the whole will of our God, as neere as we can. Further then this we have no caling to goe, and therefore dare not so much as once in thought conceive of any thing that we should doe, in the altering or pulling downe of any thing established by her lawes.

Fan. Why then meet yow in woods, and such suspicious and secret places, if yow purpose no insurrection for the pulling downe of bishopes?

Pen. I have told yow the reason before: our meetings are for the pure and true worship of God, and there is not so much as a word or thought of bishopes in our assemblies, except it be in praying for them, that the Lord would shew mercy and favour unto them, which we wish, as to our owne sowles. Our meetings are secret, as I told yow, because we cannot, without disturbance, have them more open. Our earnest desire and prayer unto our God and our governours, is, that we might have them open, and not be inforced to withdraw our selves from the sight of any creature. Of the Lorde's pure worship in the congregation of his people, are we bound to be partakers, and that in woods, in mountaines, in caves, &c. as I told yow, rather then not at all.

Fan. Then yow are privy unto no practise or intent of any sedition, or commotion, against her Majestie and the state, for the pulling downe of bishopes?

Pen. No, I thanke God, nor ever was: and I protest before heaven and earth, that if I were, I would disclose and withstand the same to the uttermost of mine abilitie, in all persons, of what religion soever they were.

Young. But what meant yow, Penry, when yow told me at my house, that I should live to see the day, wherin ther should not be a lorde-bishope left in England?

Pen. You doe me great injury, Sir, but I am contente to beare it. This was it that I said unto yow; namely, that I gainsaid nothing in this whose cause, but what I could prove, out of the word of God, to be the remnants of the Popish antichristian kingdome; which religion, I said, the Lord hath promised utterlie to overthrow and consume; in so much as yow (said I) may live, though yow be already of great yeares, (for my self, I may be cut of by untimely death,) to see all the offices, callings, works, and livings, derived from, or belonging at any time unto the kingdome of Antichrist, utterly overthrowne in this land: for the Lorde hath promised, that that man of sin, that body of the Antichristian religion, shall be so consumed by the breath of his mouth, and the brightnes of his appearing in the power of his Gospel, before his second coming, 2 Thes. ii. as that false

[6] [Or clothing.]

synagogue shall have no power in any of her officers or partes, either to be lifted up over the truth and saincts of God, *viz.* over any thing that is called holy, or yet to oppose her self, as a bloody adversarie unto those truthes and servants of Christ, who refuse to be in spiritual bondage and slavery to her. This I shewed yow to be verified in the type, Babylon of the Chaldeans, according to the word of the Lorde, spoken by Isaiah and Jeremiah, and the casting of the stone into Euphrates, by Sheraiah, at Jeremee's commandement; Isa. xiii. 19, 20. Jer. l. 40. and li. 61. 64. and this I shewed to be decreed by the Lorde of Hostes, against the true body, the antichristian Babel, under the New Testament; for so we are taught by the Spirit of God, that she shal be consumed and be no more; that her chapmen shall in this life bewaile, and the saincts of God rejoice at her utter overthrow, and at the spoile and decay of her merchandise; Revelat. xviii. The comparing of the act done by Sheraiah against the type, and what followed therupon, with that of the angel against the true Babylon, I declared most fully to confirme my speech: for Sheraiah, throwing the stone into Euphrates, said, 'Thus shal Babel be drowned, and rise no more;' and so it came to passe: the angel, in the Revelation, casting the great stone into the sea, saith, 'With such 'violence shall the great city Babylon be cast, and shall be found no more;' and so it will be accomplished, I am sure. This was my speech unto yow, Mr. Young, and I beseech yow, yea and charge yow, as yow shall answer in that great day, not to misreport my speeches, but to relate them as they are uttered by me.

Young. I conceived some great matter of your speech, I tell yow.

Pen. Yow did me the greater wrong therin: I pray yow hereafter to conceive of my wordes, according to my meaning, and their natural signification.

Fan. Yow say, that these offices and livings derived, in your conceit, from the body of Antichrist, shal be overthrowne by the Lord; we would know how you meane that this wil be accomplished?

Pen. I have already shewed yow, that this worke shall be done by the appearing of Jesus Christ, in the shining brightnes of his Gospel, through the efficacie wherof, the Lord shall so lay them open, as he will put into the hartes of princes and states, wherin they are now mainteined, to abolish their offices, callings, and works utterly from among men, and to imploy their livings unto the holy civil uses of the princes and states wherin they are. After this sort did the Lord consume the Pope's primacie, office, and maintenance, which he had in this land; and after this manner did he consume by his Gospel the cardinals, priors, abbots, moncks, friers, and nunnes, out of this land; and after this, or some other way seeming best to his wisedom, shall he (I doubt not) consume the rest of that body of iniquitie, now remayning wheresoever. The worke, I am assured, shall be accomplished; because the Lord hath said it in his written word: the maner how, or the time when, it shal be performed; I leave to Him who ruleth all thinges according to the counsel of his owne will, and whose wayes and judgements are past finding out.

Fan. and *Young.* What yow doe, or purpose to do, in these your assemblies, we cannot tell; but this is sure, that the papists seeme to be so incouraged by this dealing of yours, that there were never so many in this land since her Majestie's reigne, as are at this present: and they themselves say, that your separating from us is a great stombling-block unto them, wherby also they take occasion to doe the like.

Pen. What we doe in our meetings, and what our purposes are, I have told you simply, as in the presence of the Lord; and we are ready, by the grace of God, to approve our actions and purposes to be in all good conscience both towards the Lord, and our Prince, and toward all men. If the number of the idolatrous ignorant papists be increased, it is no wonderful case, by reason of the small teaching that the poore people of the land have; and their increase is in the just judgement of God, in that so many remnants of popery are left unbanished in the land; but specialy, because these baits are retained here, wherby the Pope is continually drawen to send over his jesuits and seminaries, wherby also they are most easily and willingly induced to come and pervert her Majestie's subjects from their obedience unto the Lord and his lieuetenant, and to bestow their native prince and countrie into the hands of aliants[7] and strangers.

[7] [Aliens.]

Fan. What are those baits that yow meane?

Pen. I meane, the former popish offices and their livings, wherof I spake; as the offices and livings of archbishopes, lord-bishopes, deanes, archdeacons, canons, preists, &c. the continuance wherof, and of the popish corruptions belonging to them, keepeth the Pope and his sworne subjects, in daily hope of re-planting the throne of iniquitie againe in this land; wherof I trust in the Lord, that they shall be utterly disappointed. The traiterous jesuits, and seminary preists, hoping to possesse these execrable livings and offices againe, are also therby allured readily to become most unnatural traitors against their natural Prince and countrie; and the papists at home are by this meanes kept still in remembrance of that Romish Egypt, and in continual expectation of their long-desired day: whereas, if these offices and livings were once removed, the devised works and callings would fall with them, the Pope and his trafiquers would be utterly void of all hope, to set up the standerd of the man of sin againe in this noble kingdome; here being not so much as an office, or one penny of maintenance, left for any of his members: the jesuits and preists would have no allurements to make them rebelles against their Prince, and the other seduced papists at home would easily forget their idolatrie; there being here neither office, nor any other monument of that antichristian religion left, to put them in mind of that Babel: and so the Lord would accomplish that which the Apostle saithe shall be fulfilled, even the utter consuming of the man of sin in this land; 2 Thes. ii. And therfore the reteining of these offices and livings are not onely joyned with the great dishonour of God, and the offence of his saincts; but turned, in the just judgement of the Lord, to be a snare of the peace of this noble kingdome; yea, and of the prosperitie and welfare of her Majestie's most royal person (whom the Lord blesse, body and sowle, from all dangers both at home and abroad,) as it is well knowne by over-many popish trecheries intended against her. I marvaile not that the papists dislike our separation; and yow may be assured, that if they knew what may bring us into danger, or discredit us with her Majestie, with any of our superiors, the honorable and worshipful magistrats, under her Highnes, or any els of our countrymen, they will be sure to utter the same, though it were in their owne consciences never so untrue. For they know, that of all the men under heaven, we are the greatest enemies unto their religion; we leave the same neither branch nor root, but would have all the world to be as clear of that spiritual contagion, as it was the same day wherin the Lord Jesus went up on high, and 'led captivitie captive.' Their reason of their separation, drawen from our example, is like their religion. We dare not joyne with the assemblies of the land, notwithstanding that we know many of the truthes of Jesus Christ to be professed therin; because in the offices, and many of the workes remayning in them, we should have communion with the religion of the Roman Antichrist, in many of the workes and inventions therof. They, on the other side, will not joyne with the publick worship of the land, because therby they should have over-much communion with the doctrine of Christ, and over-little with the poisoned inventions ordeined by Satan in the Romish synagogue; and who moved them to their treason and disobedience, before we took this course. Is their reason any thing tolerable, that because we indevour to worship the Lord purely, they should take example therby, to give themselves wholy to the worship of Satan?

Fan. But why refuse yow conference, that yow may be reformed in those things wherin yow erre?

Pen. I refuse none: I am most willing readily to yeeld unto any, as Mr. Young hath it to testify under my hand; onely my desire and request is, that I may have some equal conditions graunted unto me and my poore brethren in it; the which yet, if I cannot obteine, I am ready to yeeld unto any conference, though never so unequal: yea, I am desirous of any conference that her Majesty and their Honors may be truly informed of that, which I and my brethren do hold; and of the warrant that we have therof, from the word of the Lord. Onely I crave, that my judgement, my reasons, my answers, may be reported in my owne words; and hereof, I beseech your Worships to beare witnes with me. Lastly, I beseech yow to consider, that it is to no purpose that her Majestie's subjectes should bestowe their time in learning, in the study and meditation of the word of God, in

the reading of the writings and doinges of the learned men, and holy martyrs that have bene in former ages, especialy the writings published by her Majestie's authoritie, if they may not, without danger, professe and hold those truthes which they learne out of them; and that in such sort, as they are able to convince all the world, that will stand against them by no other weapons then by the word of God. Consider also, I pray you, what a lamentable case it is, that we may joyne with the Romish church in the inventions therof, without all danger; and cannot, but with extreme peril, be permitted in judgement and practise to dissent from the same, where it swarveth from the true way. And, as yow finde these considerations to carry some weight with them, so I beseech yow be a meanes unto her Majestie and their Honors, that my case may be weighed in even ballance. Imprisonments, inditements, yea, death itself, are no meet weapons to convince men's consciences.

The Travels of three English Gentlemen, from Venice to Hamburgh, being the grand Tour of Germany, in the Year 1734. (MS.)

The gentleman, who drew up the following piece, is a person of curiosity; and, when he first went abroad, as well as during his residence in foreign parts, was a member of the Royal Society, and of the University of Oxford. The observations it contains, many of which are entirely new, are related with the utmost fidelity. It may, therefore, be considered, as a supplement to the ingenious Dr. Brown's Travels in Germany[1]*; and will likewise serve to supply various omissions, and illustrate several obscure passages, of other modern relations, with which gentlemen of erudition, who have visited the countries herein mentioned, have entertained the publick.*

SECT. I.

A Journey from Venice to Gorizia, or Goritia, the Capital of a County of the same Name, in the Duchy of Carniola.

THE war breaking out between France and her allies and the house of Austria, towards the close of the year 1733, we took for granted, that the maritime powers could not avoid concerning themselves in that quarrel; and, therefore, laid aside all thoughts of returning to England through France, as we had proposed, when at Rome. This induced us to make the grand tour of Germany; and, in order thereto, to meet at Venice, the beginning of February, 1734. Here, according to agreement, we arrived; and having seen all the principal curiosities, and the conclusion of the Carnival, we went by water, with our baggage, and two post-chaises, to Mestre, February the twenty-seventh, O. S. 1733; or March the tenth, N. S. 1734.—Mestre is a small town or village, about five miles almost west of Venice; and the place where the barcas, bound from that

[1] [The second volume of Dr. Brown's Travels, published in 1677, includes an account of a great part of Germany, in four journeys: viz. from Norwich to Cologne; to Vienna; to Hamburgh; to London. Much of this account relates to mineralogy. A former volume described the Doctor's travels in Hungaria, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thessaly, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Friuli, &c. Both of these were published together in 1685, with an added report of a journey from Venice to Genoa: but the book is not much more interesting than the present travelling-journal of three English gentlemen.]

capital to the Venetian territories in Italy, and particularly those with gentlemen for Germany, frequently land their passengers and effects. The padrone of the barca (whom we paid according to agreement, upon our landing) was a man of some politeness and address, though very desirous of imposing upon us; but this is not to be wondered at, since it exactly corresponds with the general disposition of the Italians.

The vetturino, who supplied us with six horses from Venice to Gorizia, for twelve zecchins or sequins, each consisting of twenty-two Venetian lire or livres, furnished us with two very good postiglioni. These conducted us first to Treviso, Trivigi, or Trevigio; (for it goes by all these names;) a post and half from Mestre, through the villages of Mojana, La Croce, and La Frascar. Mojana has a handsome church, with a pretty high tower; and, as our postiglioni informed us, is famous for the fineness and whiteness of its bread. It is about four Italian miles from Mestre. La Croce and La Frascar are not considerable enough, to deserve any particular notice. The country between Venice and Treviso is a plain, and even at this time of the year, covered with a beautiful verdure. We entered Treviso, February the twenty-seventh, about sixteen hours[2], according to the Italian computation of time.

Treviso, or Trivigi, (as it is called by Leandro Alberti,) is a city of considerable note, as being of great antiquity; and the principal place, unless we will have[3] Venice itself to stand in this territory, of the Marca Trevisana. However, scarce any traces of its former grandeur are now to be seen. It is seated upon the river Sile, Silo, or Silio, the Silis of Pliny, (lib. iii. cap. 18.) which runs through the town; and, according to that author, has its source in the neighbouring mountains, called, by him, *Montes Tarvisani.* The first writers of authority, that mention this city, are Procopius (lib. ii. Bell. Goth.) and Paulus Diaconus (lib. iv. cap. 3.) though the *Montes Tarvisani* of Pliny (lib. iii. cap. 18.) seem to intimate, that these mountains received their denomination from Tarvisium, the antient Roman name of Trevisa; and, consequently, to imply, that this place existed in Pliny's time. Nay, that it was a Roman *municipium*, in early ages, evidently appears from stones dug up near it, with Roman inscriptions upon them, *viz.* MVN. TAR. and DECVRION. Upon the declension of the Western Empire, it became subject to the Ostrogoths, whose fifth king, Totila, was born here. Afterwards Alboinus, king of the Lombards, (having made himself master of Aquileia, and other cities in that neighbourhood,) resolved to pillage and lay in ashes Trevigi; because its citizens had not been early enough in their submission to him: but Felix, the bishop, found means to prevent the execution of so barbarous a design. The Lombard marquisses, or governors, whose business it was to keep every thing quiet on the frontiers; for a considerable time, made this the place of their residence: and from them it passed to the emperors and kings of Italy, in common with the other Italian towns. Afterwards, one Ezzelinus, a cruel tyrant, possessed himself of it; though the emperors, as should seem, soon recovered it. The Emperor Henry VI. made one Ricciardo da Camino (a person of great wealth and popularity here) vicar of Trevigi; reserving to himself the sovereignty of the Marca Trevisana. In succeeding ages, the Carraresi were lords of the town and district; after them the Scaligeri, or Signori della Scala; and, last of all, the Venetians; by virtue of a treaty concluded between them, the Scaligeri, and Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti, first duke of Milan, in 1388. The Emperor Maximilian besieged it ineffectually in 1509. The district of Treviso abounds with all the necessaries of life; and, particularly, with corn, wine, animals, &c. The wine it produces is excellent, and the bread extremely white and fine. There are, likewise, here many delightful fountains, whose pure limpid water appears as agreeable to the eye, as it is grateful to the taste. The noble families of Treviso are so numerous, that we must beg

[2] The Italians compute their time from sun-set to sun-set, and, therefore, their greatest number of hours is twenty-four.

[3] Buno, in his notes upon Cluverius's Introduction to Geography, is clearly of this opinion; as our readers will find, by consulting him there. See Buno's notes upon Cluverius, lib. iii. cap. 34. pag. 277. ed. Amst. & Lond. 1697.

leave to refer our readers to the Italian [4] writers, for a catalogue of them, which the narrow limits we have prescribed ourselves, will not permit us to insert here. The principal churches are those of San Nicolo, Honesto, Giesu, the Domo, San Martin, San Paulo, and Santa Margarita. Among the great personages born here, may be ranked Pope Benedict XI. and Ponticus Virunius, who died in 1520.

Having staid some hours here, (where, in truth, few curious objects present themselves to a traveller's view,) we continued our route. About five in the afternoon, we passed the river Piave; directing our march towards Conegliano, or Conigliano, a post and half from Treviso. Dr. Brown thinks the Piave to be the Anassum of the antients; but Father Hardouïn looks upon the modern Stella as the antient Anassum. Be that as it will, the Piave has a fine bridge over it at Belluno, to whose district both Conegliano and Sacil appertain. This district is an extremely fertile country, diversified with little hills, valleys, mountains, and woods. It also abounds with game of all kinds, as well as veins of gold, silver, iron, and vitriol. Conegliano, though a large village, has nothing, at present, more remarkable, than being situated on the post-road. We lay this night at Colimbrigo, in an house belonging to an English merchant, settled at Venice; which obliged us to deviate a little from the direct road to Gorizia. From thence, the next morning, we proceeded to Conegliano, where we met with nothing remarkable. This place stands on the river Mottegano, whose source is on a hill, near the town of Ceneda. The people of Treviso, though subject to the Venetians, seemed extremely incensed against the French, and their allies, for seizing upon the Milaneze, and so unjustly attacking the House of Austria.

The next place in the road to Gorizia, where fresh horses are to be taken, is Sacil; a post and half distant from Conegliano. This village, which stands on the Livenza, at present makes no figure, but was formerly a bishop's see, and under the patriarch of Aquileia. Pordenon (a post from Sacil) is, at present, likewise very obscure. Between Pordenon and Codroipo we passed the Tajamento, or, as the natives call it, Tagliamento; a river of some note, on account of the swiftness and rapidity of its stream. The Tagliamento we take to be the Tilaventum Majus of Pliny, and the Τιλαύεμπος of Ptolemy. From Pordenon to Codroipo is one post. Codroipo is a large village, and has a pleasant situation. Many of the women, in these parts, have a very masculine air, quite void of that softness so natural to their sex. We found the Italian here, for the most part, very corrupt, and sometimes scarce intelligible.

From Codroipo we went to Palma, Palmada, or Palma Nova; a fortress belonging to the most serene Republick of Venice, and two posts distant from Codroipo. This fortress, which is seated in Friuli [5], was built by the Venetians, in 1593 and 1594. It was intended to repress the courses of the Turks, who sometimes, before the erection of it, committed, on the coast of the Adriatic, dreadful depredations; and in the reign of Mohammed the Great, A. D. 1477, made an incursion as far as Treviso. The Doge Pascale Ciconia (who then presided over the Venetian state) likewise imagined, that it might serve as a barrier to the Venetian territories, on that side, against any attempts of the House of Austria. The plans of this fortezza, given us by Signior Francesco Bertelli, in 1629, and Dr. Brown, in 1669; do, in the main, agree: neither is the present face of it much different from these plans. It is, perhaps, one of the largest regular fortifications in Europe. The town, exclusive of the fortification, forms a circle, whose diameter is six-hundred paces. There are near seven-hundred pieces of cannon in the place. For a particular description of it, the curious may have recourse to the abovementioned Signior Bertelli and Dr Brown.

[4] See the 'Theatro delle Città d' Italia' of Signior Francesco Bertelli, printed at Padua, in 1629.

[5] The Latin name of Friuli is *Forum Julii*; which some take to be derived from that of its principal city; so called from Julius Cæsar, who led a body of his troops through this country against the Helvetians. Be that as it will, the city of Friuli, or Forum Julii, now the Cividad di Friuli, a place strong by its situation, was destroyed by Cancanus, king of Bavaria, according to Paulus Diaconus; or, as others will have it, Cagana the Pannonian. Pliny calls the people of Friuli *Forojulienses Transpadani*, to distinguish them from the *Forojulienses Cispadani*, seated in Umbria; and tells us, that their territory produced excellent wine.

To oblige our curious readers, we shall here give them the original names of the bastions of Palma, *viz.*

San Fortunato.	San Lorenzo.	Santa Maria.
Santo Hermagora.	Santa Giustina.	San Clemente.
Santa Croce.	San Stefano.	Santa Eufemia.

We staid some time at Palma, to refresh ourselves; and to learn the strength, and other particulars, of the place. In answer to some of our queries, we were told, that the fortezza was garrisoned only by ten companies of Venetian foot, three of Sclavonians, and a small body of horse; and that General Mocenigo commanded there. The cattle of this country, as well as those of Carniola and Carinthia, are, in many parts, extremely small. The habits of the women, and, particularly, their hats or caps, betwixt Palma and Gorizia, differ considerably from those used in any other part of Italy.

Between Palma and Gorizia (which are distant two posts), taking a sort of *détour*, we passed through Strasoldo, Villes, and Gradisca. Strasoldo is a little village with a tower, not far from the river Lisonzo, or Lisonczo; and probably gave a title to the Counts of Strasoldo, one of which family, if we mistake not, was an imperial general, employed by the Emperor Leopold against the Hungarian malecontents in the year 1680. Villes is likewise a small village, seated almost in the midway, between Strasoldo and Gradisca. But Gradisca[6] is a pretty considerable town, situated not far from the conflux of of the Wibach or Vipaco, and Lisonczo. It is the first fortezza in the duchy of Carniola, about eight miles from Palma, and four or five from Gorizia. Some authors have erroneously placed both Gradisca and Gorizia in Friuli. The fortifications of the former place seem to be in a ruinous condition; but the Imperialists are now repairing them. The garrison, according to the natives, does not exceed two-hundred men. Here we crossed the Lisonczo, a pretty celebrated river. About twenty-three hours, or an hour before sun-set, Feb. 28, O. S. we arrived at Gorizia; betwixt which town and Venice, the number of posts stands thus:

From Venice to Mestre, five miles.
From Mestre to Treviso, a post and half.
From Treviso to Conegliano, a post and half.
From Conegliano to Sacil, a post and half.
From Sacil to Pordenon, one post.
From Pordenon to Codroipo, one post.
From Codroipo to Palma, two posts.
From Palma to Gorizia, two posts.

As, therefore, these posts are reckoned, one with another, to be something above six miles each, the distance between Venice and Goritia may be fixed roundly, at seventy-two or seventy-four miles. According to the Italians, Goritia is, at least, seventy-six or eighty Italian miles from Venice.

Gorizia, or Goritia, (called by the Germans, Görz or Görtz,) is a large town, capital of a county of the same name, and subject to the Emperor. It stands on the river Lisonczo, partly on an eminence, and partly on a plain, about fourteen German miles N. W. of Laubach, the metropolis of Carniola. The streets are long and narrow, and the houses, for the most part, mean. It consists of two parts, the upper and lower town. The castle, with the upper town is situated upon a hill, which commands the lower town. We found the fortezza in a bad condition, and defended only by a garrison of three-hundred men. Count Rabata, the commandant, has a fine house, which seems to be a part of, or at least adjoining to, the castle, built in an oval form. The Wendish, or Sclavonian tongue, reaches no farther west than this place. The languages, spoken here, are the Italian, the German, the Sclavonian, and an odd corruption of Latin inclining to the French. The burghers

[6] Gradisca is supposed by Cluverius, to be the same place with the *Ad undecimum Lapidem* of the antient Romans.

use this last, and therefore are, with great difficulty, understood by the Venetians, and other Italians. The Italian, spoken here, is the Friulian dialect. All the proceedings of the courts of judicature, and the edicts of the Emperor, are published in the German tongue[7]. Some learned men take Goritia to be the antient Noreia; but as this notion depends upon a supposition, that the antient Noreia first changed its name into Noritia, and afterwards Goritia, which is very precarious, not to say improbable, it seems to deserve no great credit. Besides, there is no need to have recourse to such a notion, in order to discover the etymon of the word Gorizia, or to investigate the origin of this city. For, the word Gorizia is undoubtedly of Slavic, or Sclavonic, extraction. In the Slavic language, which is spoken here, Gora signifies a hill, and Goriza, a little hill or eminence, such as that occupied by the castle of Gorizia, where Count Rabata lives, and the upper, or antient town. And indeed the antient town seems to have been the only part of the place, built by the antient Slavi; the other being modern, void of all fortifications, and seated in a plain, commanded by the aforesaid hill. As to the present face of Goritia, it has a famous parochial church, over which a mitred archdeacon presides; a convent of Minorites; another of Capucins; a nunnery, belonging to the virgins of Santa Ursula; another to those of Santa Clara; a college of Jesuits, founded by the Emperor Ferdinand II. with a noble *gymnasium*, where youth is not only instructed in the *literæ humaniores*, but likewise, in the principles of moral theology, and the Aristotelian philosophy, appertaining to it. To which likewise may be added, a convent of Carmelites, on a neighbouring hill. The Jesuits' college seems to be the best building in Goritia. We could not forbear observing, that though the houses here are, for the most part, mean, and the streets narrow, a considerable number of coaches, and persons of distinction, were moving about the town. The principal, if not only piazza in Goritia, is the Piazza di Traunt, where the Jesuits' college stands. We put up at the *Aquila Negra*, or Black Eagle, which is reckoned by foreigners, and particularly English gentlemen, the best inn here. The landlord was a very cheerful, pleasant man, mortally hated the French, and spoke Italian with such elegance and propriety, together with so fine a pronunciation, that he might justly be said to have *la lingua Toscana in bocca Romana*. One of us told him, "that the French would soon demolish the Emperor:" to which he replied with great warmth, "*Aspetta un poco, Signiore mio, adesso adesso saranno ben bastonati i Francesi da nostro Carlo:*" *i. e.* 'Have a little patience, my good Sir, the French will soon be well drubbed 'by our Charles.' The lodging here was not extraordinary; but in return, our bill in the morning was pretty moderate. We shall hereafter have an opportunity of saying something of the duchy of Carniola.

SECT. II.

A Journey from Goritia to Laubach, or Lubiana; the Metropolis of Carniola.

HAVING seen every thing remarkable in Goritia, we made the necessary dispositions for leaving that place; and, amongst other things, agreed with the post-master, for three horses to each of our post-chaises, and two more for two English servants that attended us. We had besides these a Swiss; but he rode with one of us, for the most part, in a post-chaise. It is worthy observation, that a gentleman, who travels in his own chaise, is obliged to take the same number of post-horses through the empire, that he sets out with from Goritia. So that, if the post-master there insists upon his having four horses, he will be saddled with that number, every post, throughout the empire; if three only, then three will afterwards suffice: though there are instances of four horses being imposed upon a

[7] The Venetians besieged and took Goritia in 1508; but the Emperor Maximilian I. recovered it in 1509. In 1616, a body of Venetian troops attempted to surprize it, but were obliged to retreat without executing their design.

traveller, who had before but three, when the roads render it necessary: but, in such a case, when they become better, the fourth horse is taken off. From Goritia to Vienna, we paid fifteen grosse, that is, forty-five creutzers or karantani a horse, *per* post; and eight grosse *per* post to each of our postiglioni. In order to meet with the better entertainment this Lent-season, we gave a Venetian physician a zecchin, to certify, under his hand, that we were all in a sickly condition, and could not live without flesh; though our countenances rendered this very improbable. However, as it happened, we had no need of such a certificate; the inns all along the road, without producing it, not scrupling to supply us with whatever provisions we desired. The wine in Goritia, which is white, is of quite a different taste from any we met with in Italy; but bears some resemblance to that of the Rhine and the Mozelle. The meat is good, and the cookery sufficiently elegant, though different both from the French and the Italian.

All points relating to our journey being settled, and the horses ready, we took our leave of Goritia, March 2, O. S. early in the morning, and set out for Laubach; or, as the Italians call it, Lubiana. About nine o'clock we reached Czerniza, a small town or village which terminates the first post. Though this post must be allowed a long one, the country, through which we passed, being a plain, appeared agreeable enough; but the road in some parts was very rough. It deserves to be here remarked, that the gentleman who wrote this account, though he tried several times, could not pronounce the word Czerniza as our postiglioni, who were natives of Carniola, did. This was owing to the power of CZ, which an Englishman's organs of speech will not permit him exactly to utter. It seems to be a sound of a middle nature betwixt those of SH and CH, in the English words shoe and cherry. The Sclavonians, Hungarians, Bohemians, and Moravians, begin several of their proper names with CZ, as Czerna, Czaslaw, Czacki, Czernin, Czechorod, &c. in some of which they pronounce it not very differently from the people of Carniola. The complex, or compound consonant CZ, properly belongs to the Hungarians, who have a character equivalent to it in their old Hunnic, or Hunno-Scythian, alphabet. This we learn from the famous Matthias Belius[8], in his curious treatise, intituled, '*De vetere Literaturâ 'Hunno-Scythicâ Exercitatio;*' to whom, for farther satisfaction on this head, we refer our ingenious and inquisitive readers.

From Czerniza we went to Pipaco, a considerable village, where fresh post-horses are taken in. The Italians call this village Pipaco, and Vipaco; the Carnioleze, Vipava; and the Germans, Wipach. It was formerly a large and populous city, subject to its own prince, or at least, possessed by a family who derived their surname from it. Afterwards it came into the possession of Count Osterwicz, whose family was one of the noblest in Carinthia. In 1487, the Emperor Frederick IV. made a present of it to Leonard Count Herberstein; and with that family it remained for some time. The Turks pillaged Wipach, and all the adjacent country, in 1478; and the Venetians took it by surprise, in 1508. It stands upon a river of the same name, which first issues from a neighbouring craggy mountain. This river is the celebrated Frigidus of the antients, taken notice of by Peutinger's table, the Itinerary of Antoninus, and Claudian. It has been rendered famous by a great victory obtained, in a most wonderful, and even miraculous manner, over the tyrant Eugenius, by the Emperor Theodosius, A. C. 394. This victory has been minutely described by Ruffinus, Orosius, Socrates, Sozomen, Jornandes, and Claudian; the last of which authors, in his description of it, breaks out into the following most beautiful exclamation:

O nimium dilecte Deo, cui fundit ab antris
Æolus armatas hyemes, cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt in classica venti!
Alpinæ rubuere nives, et Frigidus amnis
Mutatis fumavit aquis, turbâque cadentum
Staret, ni rapidus juvisset flumina sanguis.

[8] Vid. Matth. Bel. *de vet. Lit. Hunno-Scythic. Exercit.* p. 34. Ed. Lipsiæ, 1718.

It is seated at the southern foot of the Carnian Alps; or, as the natives term them, the Czalin mountains. Count Lanthieri has a fine palace here. All the adjacent country is famous for the pleasant and generous wine it produces. Between Czerniza and Pipaco, which are distant about two German miles, we passed through a village, and crossed a little river. The village stood on the river. The name of the former, our postiglioni informed us, was Aiduschna, or Adushna, and of the latter Fouble. Besides Adushna and the Fouble, nothing meriting our attention occurred this post.

The next post-town, or village, we came to was called Resderda, which made no very great figure. The road was rough and mountainous, and the post pretty long.

From Resderda to Planino is one post, two German miles long. The Germans and Carnioleze call Planino, Plania. It stands upon the river Alben, about a German mile from Logatiz, or Logitsch. As this last place is a post from Vernich, Planino must be a post and half, or at least a very long post, from that village; as will appear to every person who consults the map of Carniola. Here we staid an hour, to refresh ourselves and our servants, having all of us been pretty much fatigued by the badness of the road, the two last posts. We met in this place, though a village of no great note, a glass of very good wine, which not a little raised our drooping spirits. The wheels of the post-chaises had considerably suffered, so that we were obliged to have them greased here, which cost us ten grosse, or half a florin. We took a post-chaise for our two English servants at Resderda, and another here; which having done, we immediately proceeded on our journey.

Nothing remarkable occurred betwixt Planino and Vernich; the next place that furnished us with post-horses and a chaise for our servants. The Carnioleze and German name of Vernich is Franicz. The town stands upon the river Franicz, and not far from its source. Vernich, the Italian name of Franicz, confirms what we have before observed in relation to the power of the complex Carniolian consonant CZ. Vernich is a small town, or village, eminent for nothing (as far as we could learn) but being situate on the post-road. We staid about half an hour here; and then, after having had our wheels greased again, set out for Laubach, or Lubiana. We paid our servants' postiglioni, the two preceding posts, 20 creutzers or karantani, *per* post.

The road is excessively bad from Vernich to Lubiana: therefore some passengers choose to go by water from the former to the latter of these places; which they may easily do, by means of the rivers Franicz and Laubach. The post between Vernich and Lubiana consists at least of three German miles. We entered Laubach about an hour before sunset; and found the landlord of the Black-Horse, where we put up, very obliging and agreeable. From what has been observed, our readers will easily collect the number of posts between Goritia and Laubach to be as follows:

From Goritia to Czerniza, one post, three German miles.
From Czerniza to Pipaco, or Wipach, one post.
From Wipach to Resderda, one post.
From Resderda to Planino, or Plania, one post.
From Plania to Franicz, or Vernich, one long post.
From Vernich or Franicz, to Laubach, three German miles.

Laubach, the metropolis of Carniola, (in Latin *Labacum*,) is called by the natives, Lublana, by the Germans Laybach and Laubach, and by the Italians Lubiana. It stands upon a river of the same name, in N. lat. 46 deg. 10 min. and long. 38 deg. 40 min. about 27 German miles south of Gratz, the capital of Stiria. It is surrounded by a wall, has six gates, and is divided into two parts by the river Laubach, that runs through it. That river moves so slowly here, that its motion is scarce discernible, till it comes to a descent a little farther, down which it rushes with great rapidity into the Save. It seems to be the *Nauportus* of Pliny and Strabo. According to the German writers (who have probability on their side), Laubach occupies the same spot of ground that the antient Æmona, Hæmonia, or Hemona, did; though it cannot be said to have put on the form of a city, till

the year 1416. The inhabitants then erected a slight sort of wall round it, which was afterwards strengthened and improved by the Emperor Frederick IV. in 1475, to secure it against the insults and excursions of the Turks. This being afterwards demolished, the city remained without a wall from the year 1520 to the year 1553, when the citizens built a new one much stronger than the former; adding to it several bulwarks, and ditches excavated within, still extant; which made it look like a regular fortification. The greatest part of the expence of this necessary work was defrayed by Ferdinand I. king of the Romans. There is appertaining to the city a ducal castle, or palace, of great extent, seated on the top of a hill, covered with a wood that is always green. This fortezza is a place of considerable strength, being fortified by a single solid wall towards the east, and with a triple one in some other parts, which, at present, seems very antique. That the antient Æmona either stood where the modern Laubach at present does, or at a very small distance from the spot taken up by it, may be collected from several stones, with Latin inscriptions upon them, dug up at Laubach. If we admit the former notion, Laubach may vie with most cities of Europe, in point of antiquity; since, according to Zosimus and Sozomen, Æmona was built by the Argonauts, in their return from their Asiatic expedition. In this case, Laubach will be, at least, four-hundred years older than Rome.

As for the churches here, if we include those in the suburbs, they are thirteen in number. 1. The cathedral church of St. Nicholas, said to have been built long before the year 1386, by some sailors and fishermen; which is probable enough; since, being burnt down that year, it was afterwards rebuilt and adorned with many altars. 2. The church of the blessed Virgin Mary, annexed to the house of the knights of the Teutonic order, built in the form of a cross, and supposed to stand upon the ruins of the walls of the antient Æmona. 3. The church of the Minorites, called the church of the glorious Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. The foundations of this were first laid in the year 1403, upon the ruins of another built in 1073. 4. The church of the Jesuits, founded in the year 1596, a large account of which has been given by the Baron Valvasor. Before the front of it is a beautiful and spacious area, on one side of which stands the Jesuits' college, and on the other their gymnasium, where all kinds of polite literature are cultivated, as likewise moral theology. The scholars here are divided into seven schools. This gymnasium has a very large *auditorium*, which is graced with a noble theatre. We are told, that the schools are always extremely full of scholars; and that the Jesuits took care of their education. Opposite to the Jesuits' church there is a brazen colossus of the Immaculate Virgin, standing on a marble base, the four corners of which are adorned by the statues of St. Joseph, St. Leopold, St. Ignatius, and St. Francis Xavier. 5. The church of St. James, which is large, but not of a very high antiquity. 6. The little church of St. Elizabeth, adjoining to the hospital; which must be very antient, since it was destroyed by fire in 1386. 7. The church of St. Frideline, which the common people call the church of St. Lawrence, because on that saint's day they annually celebrate its dedication with great solemnity. 8. The church of St. Florian, built by the charitable contributions of pious persons since the year 1660, when a great part of the city was laid in ashes. 9. The church of St. George, within, and appertaining to, the castle or citadel. 10. The church and convent of the Austin friars in the suburbs, consecrated in the year 1669. 11. The church of St. Joseph, together with the convent of discalceated[9] friars, built by the prince of Eggenberg in 1657. 12. The church and convent of the Capuchins, founded and endowed by Ferdinand II, when archduke of Austria. At the foundation of this church and monastery, *anno* 1607, Thomas Chrön, bishop of Laubach, laid the first stone. The building was finished the summer following, and consecrated with great solemnity; 20,000 men, under 500 banners, from all parts of Carniola, Stiria, and Carinthia, attending that ceremony. 13. The church of St. Peter, one of the oldest in this place, and very large. There is extant a list of all the pastors of this church, from the year 1385, to the present time. It will be proper like-

[9] [Or, bare-feeted.]

wise to observe here, that there is in Laubach a religious house, or nunnery, belonging to the virgins of Sancta Clara, founded by one Michael Hiller in 1648.

Laubach has likewise other elegant edifices, that deserve the attention of every curious traveller; the principal of which are the following: 1. The *Domus Provincialis, Comitium*, or Province-house; where the states of the province meet, and have their *comitia*. These states consist of four orders: the first or ecclesiastical, composed of the bishops of Laubach, Freisingen, Brixen, Pedena, and Trieste; besides some heads of religious houses, and canons of the cathedral church: the second made up of princes, counts, and barons: the third formed of knights, or as some of the German writers style them, provincials: and the fourth consisting of the judges of ducal cities. 2. The town-hall, built in 1484, in the room of another erected in the old market-place, about the year 1297. 3. Three noble armories; the two first, belonging to the emperor and the province, stand upon the hill where the castle is seated, separate from all other buildings; but the third, appertaining to the citizens, has its situation in the town. 4. The houses of several of the Carniolian nobility residing here, which are built in a very elegant taste. Here is likewise a printing-press, from whence many curious and learned pieces have been sent out into the world. Laubach was made a bishoprick by the Emperor Frederick IV. in 1461, who first invested with the episcopal dignity there Sigismund de Lamberg, constituting, at the same time, for his assistance and the support of his dignity, a provost, a dean, and ten canons. The following year Pope Pius II. declared this see (made up of several districts formerly belonging to those of Saltzburg and Aquileia) free from all patriarchal and archiepiscopal jurisdiction. From the foundation of this see to the beginning of the present century, Laubach has had thirteen bishops princes of the holy Roman empire.

Laubach has produced many learned men, and among the rest Joannes Ludovicus Schönleben, S. T. D. apostolic prothonotary, who published an ingenious piece, intitled '*Carniola Antiqua et Nova*,' being an essay towards a natural, civil, and ecclesiastical history of Carniola, in 1681; and Joannes Weichardus Valvasor, who printed another curious piece, intitled '*Gloria Carniolæ Explicata*,' being a great improvement of the former, in 1689. Both these pieces were printed at Laubach, and do honour to the place. Many antient Latin inscriptions are found at Laubach, as above observed, and in the neighbourhood of that city. Some of these have been described by Lazius; but a much greater number by Schönleben, who frequently censures Lazius, and rectifies his mistakes. The principal tongue spoken here is the Carniolian, which is a dialect of the Sclavonic; though the German and Italian are very well understood. It is no wonder the Carniolian complex consonant CZ should be of Hungarian extraction, since the Avares and Huns, the progenitors of the Hungarians, were formerly in possession of this country. The wine here is generous and good, and exactly answers the character Valvasor gives of the wine of Carniola.

Our landlord here was a cheerful agreeable person, and a man of very good sense and understanding. He talked Italian with great fluency, and Latin tolerably well. In these languages the gentleman who penned this account conversed with him, and asked him many questions relating to the duchy of Carniola. To all of which he gave very satisfactory answers, containing, amongst many others, the following particulars.

Carniola, called by the natives Krainska des Kela, at different times went under different names. This was occasioned by the various nations that inhabited it, who had various appellations. The principal of these were the Aborigines, Japydes, Taurisci, Pannones, Norici, Romani, Vandali, Gothi, Hunni, Avares, Longobardi, Slavi, Franci, &c. The air in general is good, as appears from the great number of old people to be met with in every part of this province; most of whom, that are near an hundred years of age, are hearty, robust, and strong. However, in the several parts of it, the air varies extremely; insomuch, that in some of them peaches and grapes are ripe, when cherries are scarce so in others: these last are sometimes gathered about Michaelmas-day. Neither is the distance betwixt the places where peaches, grapes, and cherries, arrive at maturity, about the same time, frequently greater than three German miles, though this tract is generally

covered with woods. As a farther argument of the salubrity of the air in general here, it may also be observed, that many of the antient people abovementioned seem not to be above fifty or sixty years old; and that there are more births than burials every year in Carniola. The peasants are noted for their vast strength, though they live in a very spa ring abstemious manner. The soil in many parts is so fertile, that it produces two crops a year; and the wine, though fine-flavoured and generous, is limpid as water itself. The poorest people in Carniola drink a liquor made of juniper-berries, of which here are incredible quantities, of a scarlet-colour, such as those that grow in Istria: some of these berries are however black, like those in most other countries. The weather here is often very tempestuous; and the Carnioleze have, almost every day in summer, thunder and lightning, which, with the violent storms of hail not seldom attending them, destroy annually a fifth part of the corn and fruits of the earth. This havock the vulgar attribute to the malevolence of witches and wizards, without enquiring into the natural cause. All persons of taste and learning in Carniola have in high esteem the piece of Baron Valvasor, intitled '*Gloria Ducatûs Carniolæ*,' which, they say, is wrote with the utmost truth, accuracy, and exactness. According to him, in the year 1689, Carniola contained twenty-one cities, thirty-nine towns, above four-thousand villages, and two-hundred fifty-four castles; not including those places, called in the Carniolian language Tabor, being the ruins of fortifications, raised in the mountains, for the security of the country against foreign invaders. The same ingenious gentleman informs us, that this duchy is divided into five parts, Carniola Superior, Carniola Inferior, Carniola Media, Carniola Interior, and Portio Istrensis, or that part of Istria annexed to it. Each of these, he likewise tells us, is governed by a proper officer. Here are also several baths, called by the people of the country Töplitz; as likewise a sort of beacons on the mountains, consisting of heaps of wood piled on one another, to give notice of the approach of any enemy, and particularly of the Turks, who formerly made irruptions into this province. The fires lighted here were preceded, or attended, by the explosion of several mortars placed upon the aforesaid heaps of wood, in order the more effectually and expeditiously to alarm the country, and draw together the people, either to defend themselves, or make their escape from the enemy: these places are styled by the Carnioleze, Kreutt or Creutzfeuer. This region is very mountainous, and therefore more capable of affording such early intelligence to the natives of an enemy's approach. The established religion here is the Roman-Catholick, though the Usgoki, or Usgoks, observe the rites and ceremonies of the Greek church. The men among the Usgoks esteem it honourable to defer the consummation of marriage four or five years; which they frequently do. Some of them attain to an extreme old age, of which Valvasor mentions one, who died a little before the year 1689, about 124 years. But he was much younger than a Turk, who died in the castle of Perussich about 1684, and completed his 190th year. Usgok in the Sclavonian language signifies a fugitive or deserter, this people having fled from Turkey into Carniola near two-hundred years ago. Carniola is watered by several rivers, and some of note, of which the principal is the Save. These abound with fish of various kinds, particularly pikes or jacks, and river-crabs. Of the former several weigh twenty, thirty, and even forty pounds; and of the latter many are fifteen or sixteen inches long. They also produce a fish called pfrillen, so extremely small, that twenty or thirty of them may be swallowed at once; and trouts of a purple colour, often twenty-five pounds weight. As for the woods in this province, they are large and numerous, and harbour a great variety of animals; of which at present we shall mention only two or three species. There are some vipers here as thick as a lusty man's arm, though not above three spans long. Scorpions are found under the large stones in these woods, and particularly those on the Carnian Alps, in such vast numbers, that incredible quantities of them are exported from hence into foreign countries. The bramble-bushes also are frequently in a manner covered with a small lucid worm, about an inch and half long, and as thick as a goose-quill, emitting light in the night-time from its whole body, and not from one particular part only, as glow-worms do. There is, besides, an animal that lives in woods, particularly those consisting chiefly of beech-trees, peculiar to this

country, called by the Germans pilich or bilch, and by the Carnioleze, pouh. It is a little bigger than a dormouse, of an ash-colour, and not unlike a squirrel. It lives under ground all the winter-season, and has no other nourishment, whilst in that situation, than what it receives by licking a certain stone: but, in summer, some thousands of these animals issue frequently out of one hole. The vulgar think that they are drove out from thence in these numbers by the devil to feed, who for this purpose makes use either of the sound of a whip or a whistle; and that chiefly on sabbath-days, and other holidays, in the evening. It is likewise said, that this infernal shepherd, at their first appearance, makes an incision in one of their ears, in order to mark them. Be that as it will, it is certain such an incision is visible in every one of these creatures, after it has been some time out of its hole; whereas all the young ones taken in the hole, though full-grown and adult, have nothing of that kind discernible upon them. Most of the Carnioleze use them for food; the fat with which they abound, when rightly seasoned with salt, rendering them very elegant and delicious; but several will not touch them, on account of the vulgar notion abovementioned. They likewise make use of their skins or furs to line the garments which they wear in cold weather. They cover these with a preparation made of chalk or lime, in such a manner, that they appear full of black spots, and extremely beautiful: and of these furs they sell vast numbers to the Dalmatians, Turks, Croats, and neighbouring Germans. The bears, stags, and wild boars, in the woods of Carniola, are said to be larger than those met with in any other part of Europe; and the eagles (many of which birds are found here), according to some, are of such an enormous size, that they will carry in their talons, through the air, a full-grown sheep. There are likewise here numerous flocks of pigeons that lie concealed, all the winter, in the caverns of the mountains; but at the first appearance of the spring, fly from thence by myriads, and disperse themselves all over the country. Many of the stones called by naturalists *glossopetræ* are produced in four districts of Carniola, as well as the island of Malta, of different sizes; the smallest weighing about the eighth part of an ounce, and the largest ten ounces. Considerable quantities also of petrified cockles, oysters, &c. occur in several places. Valvasor relates, that there are in this region thirteen sorts of marble, of different colours, some of which are finely variegated; but several of the natives increase this number. Many of the glossopetræ, abovementioned, perfectly resemble a viper's tongue, and some of them, especially the largest, are esteemed as great curiosities. The iron-mines here it will be sufficient just to mention; among those of quicksilver, or mercury, the most famous is that at Idria, described by Dr. Pope, Dr. Brown, and Baron Valvasor, which was first discovered in the year 1497. For a description of the famous lake of Circkniz, or Circknitz, the *Palus Lugea* of Strabo, we shall beg leave to refer[10] our curious readers to M. Schönleben, and Baron Valvasor; and in the mean time observe, that the subterraneous fountains and rivers in the neighbourhood of the place, together with the stormy and tempestuous weather abovementioned, will enable us to account sufficiently for the wonderful phænomena of that lake. Sometimes it has been known to appear and disappear several times in a year; and at other times, though rarely, to remain one, two, three, four, or even five years together, as in the year 1655, &c. The town, from which it derives its name, stands about six German miles from Laubach; and was plundered four times by the Turks, between the years 1522 and 1560.

We must not omit observing here, that our landlord seemed to pay some regard to what Baron Valvasor has related of the Vampyres, said to infest some parts of this country. These Vampyres are supposed to be the bodies of deceased persons, animated by evil spirits, which come out of the graves, in the night-time, suck the blood of many of the living, and thereby destroy them. Such a notion will, probably, be looked upon as fabulous and exploded, by many people in England; however, it is not only countenanced by Baron Valvasor, and many Carnioleze noblemen, gentlemen, &c. as we were informed; but likewise actually embraced by some writers of good authority. M. Jo. Henr. Zopfius,

[10] See likewise Philos. Transact. num. 191, where a full and ample account of this surprizing lake is given.

director of the *gymnasium* of [11] Essen, a person of great erudition, has published a dissertation upon them, which is extremely learned and curious, from whence we shall beg leave to transcribe the following paragraph: 'The Vampyres, which come out of the graves in 'the night-time, rush upon people sleeping in their beds, suck out all their blood, and 'destroy them. They attack men, women, and children; sparing neither age nor sex. 'The people, attacked by them, complain of suffocation, and a great interception of spirits; 'after which, they soon expire. Some of them, being asked, at the point of death, what 'is the matter with them? say they suffer in the manner just related from people lately 'dead, or rather the spectres of those people lately dead, or rather the spectres of those 'people; upon which, their bodies (from the description given of them, by the sick 'person,) being dug out of the graves, appear in all parts, as the nostrils, cheeks, breast, 'mouth, &c. turgid and full of blood. Their countenances are fresh and ruddy; and 'their nails, as well as hair, very much grown. And, though they have been much longer 'dead than many other bodies, which are perfectly putrified, not the least mark of cor-'ruption is visible upon them. Those who are destroyed by them, after their death, 'become Vampyres; so that, to prevent so spreading an evil, it is found requisite to drive 'a stake through the dead body, from whence, on this occasion, the blood flows as if the 'person was alive. Sometimes the body is dug out of the grave, and burnt to ashes; 'upon which, all disturbances cease. The Hungarians call these spectres *Pamgri*, and the 'Servians, *Vampyres* [12]; but the etymon or reason of these names is not known.' Vid. *Dissert. de Vampyris Serviensibus, quam Suprem. Numin. auspic. Præsid. M. Joan. Henr. Zopfio Gymnas. Assind. Direct. publicè defend. &c. Christ. Frid. Van Dalen Emmericens. &c. p.* 6, 7. *Duisburgi ad Rhenum, typis Johannis Sas, Academiæ typographi, anno MDCCXXXIII.*

These spectres are reported to have infested several districts of Servia, and the bannat of Temeswaer, in the year 1725, and for seven or eight years afterwards; particularly those of Mevadia, or Meadia, and Parakin, near the Morava. In 1732, we had a relation of some of their feats in the neighbourhood of Cassovia; and the public prints took notice of the tragedies they acted in the bannat of Temeswaer, in the year 1738. Father Gabriel Rzaczynski, in his Natural History of the kingdom of Poland, and the great duchy of Lithuania, published at Sendomir, in 1721, affirms, that in Russia, Poland, and the great duchy of Lithuania, dead bodies, actuated by infernal spirits, sometimes enter people's houses in the night, fall upon men, women, and children, and attempt to suffocate them; and that of such diabolical facts his countrymen have several very authentic relations. The Poles call a man's body thus informed, Upier, and that of a woman, Upierzyca, i. e. 'a winged or feathered creature;' which name seems to be deduced from the surprizing lightness and activity of these incarnate demons. If we remember right, an account of them also, from Poland, is to be met with in some of the news-papers for 1693; perfectly agreeing with those of the Servian Vampyres given us by M. Zopfius. In fine, the notion of such pestiferous beings has prevailed from time immemorial over a great part of Hungary, Servia, Carniola, Poland, &c. as is [13] evinced by several authors in conjunction with the aforesaid M. Zopfius. To which we shall beg leave to add, that the

[11] Essen is an imperial city in the duchy of Bergue, that enjoys many privileges granted it by the Emperor Charles V. in 1523. Here is a noble and rich nunnery, founded by St. Alfrid, bishop of Hildersheim, about the year 877; to which at present belongs the greatest part of the town, together with several large manours in the neighbourhood. The revenues were at first settled for the maintenance of fifty-two nuns and twenty canons; but these numbers have since been retrenched. Some time since, scarce any girls were admitted into the nunnery, but the daughters of barons, and other superior nobility: these ladies are at liberty to marry, when they please. Here is also a fine *gymnasium* for the liberal education of youth.

[12] [They have also been termed *Oupires* or *Upiers*, according to a curious communication on the subject, in the Athenæum for June 1808, taken from Calmet's Dissertation on Apparitions, &c.]

[13] Many authors might here be produced, but we shall content ourselves with the two following. P. Gengell, S. I. in Evers. Atheism. & P. Gabr. Rzaczynski, in Hist. Nat. curios. Regn. Polon. magn. Ducat. Lituan. annexarumque Provinciar. in tract. 20 divis. p. 365. Sandomiriæ, 1721.

antient Greeks also seem to have been firmly persuaded, that dead bodies were sometimes acted by evil spirits, as appears from a fragment of Phlegon [14]. Neither is this opinion (however it may be ridiculed by many people) altogether without foundation; since the Supreme Being may make wicked spirits his instruments of punishment here, as well as plagues, wars, famines, &c. and, that he actually has done so, is sufficiently apparent from [15] Scripture: to omit what has been said on this head by some of the most eminent profane authors.

Before we take leave of the city of Laubach, it will be proper to observe, that though the bulk of the people there speak the Carniolian or Sclavonian tongue, and have some customs peculiar to themselves, they agree in most points with the other Germans. All the people of fashion and distinction speak German fluently and purely.

Laubach was taken by Ottocar, king of Bohemia, in 1269; and attacked ineffectually by the Turks in 1472 and 1484. Albert, archduke of Austria, likewise failed in his attempt upon it, in 1441. The streets are not very broad, nor the houses grand; though, every thing considered, it may be esteemed a fine city. Here we lay, for the first time, betwixt two feather-beds; which threw the writer of this account into so violent a sweat, that he had scarce any rest all night, and found himself extremely faint the next morning. Many of the Germans, however, like this sort of lodging; though it is very disagreeable, for the most part, to gentlemen of other nations.

[14] Phlegon. Trallian. de Reb. Admirabil. cap. 1.

[15] See Calmet's Dissertation upon good and bad Angels, prefixed to his Comment. on St. Luke; as also his Biblical Dictionary, at the words Angels, Demon, Devil, Diabolus, Satan, &c. Many texts might be produced on this occasion; but the following will be sufficient to prove what is here advanced. Psalm lxxviii. v. 49. Job, chap. i. Matth. chap. xii. v. 22—32. Mark, chap. iii. v. 22—31. Luke, chap. xi. v. 14—31. chap. xiii. v. 16. Acts, chap. xix. v. 13—17.

[*Continued in the present Volume.*]

Rome for Canterbury: Or, a true Relation of the Birth and Life of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. Together with the whole Manner of his Proceeding, both in the Star-Chamber, High-commission Court, in his own House; and some Observations of him in the Tower. Dedicated to all the Arminian Tribe, or Canterburian Faction, in the Year of Grace 1641. Whereunto is annexed a Postscript in Verse.

Printed in the Year 1641.

[Quarto, containing Eight Pages.]

GREATNESS and goodness are two several blessed attributes conferred upon man, but seldom meet in one person. Greatness may be styled a gift inferred by fortune; but goodness, a grace infused by God. The first labours in mistrust, and is born the bond-slave of chance, seldom attended without envy; and, though to many persons it appears exceeding

pleasant, yet the higher we are seated, although by virtue, the greater is our fall, if corrupted by vice. By honour and office men become great; yet it is not the place that maketh the person, but the person that maketh the place honourable: and that preferment and power, which is both well acquired, and worthily conferred, *non est invitamentum ad tempus, sed perpetuæ virtutis præmium;* 'is no temporary invitation, but a perpetual inheritance.'

Goodness is of a contrary condition. Men are not to be accounted good, either for their authority or age; but for their sincerity and actions. He that is good, is better than the good he doeth; and he, that is evil, is worse than the bad deed done by him. All great men are not considerately good; but all good men are consequently great. Greatness and goodness, with grace added, to cement them together, make unquestionably a perfect and complete man. Here was grace, which had it been celestially inspired, as it was but temporally disposed, might to that greatness have so combined goodness, as, from thence, could have grown no such tribulation.

Howsoever, let no man grieve at his present afflictions; for they are the rods, by which God chastiseth his children. There is nothing that the world can take away from us, because it can give nothing unto us. Fame fadeth, potency perisheth, wealth wasteth; true riches consist in our constancy in casualty; and though perturbation and punishment be the prison of the body, yet courage and comfort are the liberty of the soul, to which I only add patience, which is so allied to fortitude, that she seemeth to be either her sister or her daughter. Things, that compulsively come upon us, should be borne with patience and courage, of which we have had a late precedent; and more generous it is for a man to offer himself to death in triumph, than to be drawn unto it with terror: *Gaudet patientia duris.* I come now to the person.

He was born at Reading, of honest parents; his father was a clothier in that town, of a competent estate, and careful to see his children to be well educated and instructed. This his son William, being of an excellent wit and pregnant capacity, was sent from the grammar-school to Oxford, where he was admitted into St. John's College [1], where shortly he proved an ingenious disputant; and before he took his first degree of bachelor, was well versed in logick, philosophy, and the liberal arts: after he devoted himself to the study of theology, in which he proceeded doctor, with no common applause, attaining to the dignities belonging to so famous an academy; and, being of an active spirit, was called from thence to the court, where he grew so gracious, that after some private preferments, he was first made bishop of St. David's, and thence removed to London; and after the decease of the Right Reverend George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, was inaugurated into that prime see, and was metropolitan of all England: steps that his predecessor, who was a clothier's son in Guilford, had trod before him, who in less than two years was bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, London, and Canterbury.

What this Prelate's deportment (now in agitation) in so high a dignity was, is sufficiently noised amongst all; made apparent by his Draconical censures in the Star-chamber, the High-commission court [2], &c. And it was a great aspersion justly cast upon such high authority, that he so much affected *summum jus*, justice without mercy, as sparing neither person nor profession: and, to leave all others, witness how he did persecute the good Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Williams, being of his own degree and function [3]: his (more than) severity in his rigorous censure and sentence upon Master Burton the

[1] [Sir Thomas White, a native of Reading, when he founded St. John's College, gave two fellowships to the grammar-school there, and Laud was sent upon one of them. See Coates's Hist. of Reading.]

[2] [The rigorous prosecutions in the Star-chamber and High-commission court, which he had instigated, have been thought to originate from a visionary project he had indulged of uniting the three kingdoms in a ceremonial uniformity of religion.]

[3] [Laud, it seems, was in expectation of obtaining the deanery of Westminster, after being made a prebend; but Dr. Williams, then dean, wanting to keep it *in commendam* with the bishoprick of Lincoln, to which he was promoted, got Laud put off with the see of St. David's: hence their disagreement, and the harsh persecution which followed.]

divine, Master Prynne the lawyer, and Doctor Bastwick the physician[4]; and even that poor fellow Thomas Bensted, whom he caused to be hanged, drawn, and quartered: he could make that a matter of treason, though he was but a subject: his threatening of honest judges, his menacing other officers and ministers of the king; his sternness and surly answers even to gentlemen of worth, and now parliament-men, who have but pleaded for poor men in just causes. It was a good wish, that either he might have more grace, or no grace at all; which is now come to pass.

It is observed by some, that in all the time of his pontifical prelacy, he never promoted any to church-preferment, that savoured not of the Arminian sect; and still, when benefices fell, that were either in his gift, or where his power was to have them bestowed, he hath caused such men to be instituted, and inducted, as either were dunces in learning, or debauched in their lives: such men being most apt, for their temporizing or ignorance, to embrace any innovation that should be brought into the church. Nay, when places have not been void, but supplied by pious pastors, and devout ministers, that were constant professors of the Protestant faith; yet, by spies and intelligencers, such cavils have been made at their doctrines and disciplines, that notwithstanding their charge of wife and children, and that their utter undoings impended upon the taking away of their means, yet they have been supplanted, that the other might subsist in their places: the first turned out, the latter taken in. But that which far transcends the former, that he hath laboured to suppress the French and Dutch Protestant churches here in London, who, for their conscience and religion's sake have abandoned their countries to avoid persecution, and have made this famous city their asylum and sanctuary for themselves and families.

It hath been observed also, that he never gave censure upon a Jesuit, or Seminary, or any popish priest, though brought before him, by his own warrant, and the pursuivant employed by himself. For though apprehended, yet they were never punished: but, if to-night imprisoned, to-morrow infranchised and set at liberty: or else he so cautelously and cunningly dealt by his agents, Secretary Windibank, Sir John Lambe, and others, that they were sent abroad, and he seen to have no hand in the business: when, in the interim, all the rigorous sentences that passed him, were against the zealous professors of our Protestant religion.

A poor curate, having long waited to speak with this great Archbishop, and being, after much attendance, admitted to his presence; in their discourse, the great Metropolitan told him, "he was an idle fellow:" to whom the other replied, "It is most true; for had I not been so, I could not have spared so many idle hours to attend upon your Grace, to such small purpose." At which he being much moved, "Why, what, fellow, dost thou think of us bishops?" Who replied, "I will in plain terms tell your Grace, what I think of you: I can no better compare you than unto the huge brass andirons, that stand in great men's chimneys, and us poor ministers to the low creepers: you are they that carry it out in a vain-glorious show; but we, the poor curates, undergo and bear the burthen." Another told him, when he used to play upon other men's miseries, "that his Lordship must needs be witty, (he being a very little man,) that his head and his heart were so near together."

Some have observed, that as he was a prelate, and primate, so he greatly favoured the letter P. (by which may be conjectured the Pope, whose emblazons, amongst other of his pontifical escutcheons, are three bishops, *viz.* I take it three Bibles); and to shew he much affected the episcopal letter, his three benevolent and well-beneficed chaplains were Browne, Bray, and Baker. And, for the letter P, he was also a great patron and protector to Dr. Pocklington, who, for publishing one book called 'Sunday is no Sabbath,' (wherein he vilified all the observance due to *dies Domini*, 'the Lord's day,') and another intitled 'The Christian's Altar,' (wherein he would have first produced, and after

[4] [See p. 12. in this Volume. Laud was ordered by the house of commons to make satisfaction and reparation for the damages Burton, Prynne, and Bastwick had sustained, by their sentence and imprisonment.]

propagated popish superstition,) he did confer upon him three or four benefices, worth some two or three hundred *per annum;* and a prebendary in Windsor, valued at three-hundred more by the year.

Many are the probabilities that he purposed to bring popery [5] into the kingdom; as the Scotch service-book, differing from our English liturgy, especially in words concerning receiving the eucharist, or Lord's supper; which was the first incendiary of all these late troubles between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, in which some blood hath been drawn, but infinite treasure exhausted. Apparency needeth no proof: but that we leave to the censure of the higher powers, being an argument, as it hath been long, so now at this present in agitation. Yet the better to define that, which before was disputable; when he came first into the Tower, and not being acquainted with the place, he desired, that by no means he should be lodged where the Bishop of Lincoln had before lain; and being demanded the reason, (because they were sweet and good,) he made answer, "Oh! but I fear they smell so of Puritanism, that the very air will half stifle or choak me." These, sympathizing with the rest, may give the world room to suspect his religion.

Upon Monday, being the tenth of May, when it was known that the Lieutenant [6] should prepare himself to die, tidings was brought the Archbishop of the setting up of the scaffold upon Tower-hill, whereon the Deputy of Ireland was to suffer death. He immediately spoke to his men, saying, "It is no matter when or where we die, so we first have time to make our peace and reconciliation with God: we are all of us born to die, though there be many several ways to death; for death must at last conquer, and have victory over the bodies of all flesh whatsoever. Be of good comfort; do not ye be discouraged for me; I am a man of sorrow, and born to this sorrow. Lord, give me strength to bear thy chastisements patiently, and endure them constantly, even to the end and period of my life! I am indeed a man born of a woman, of a short continuance, and full of trouble and heaviness; a man indeed, made like to vanity, and compared to the flowers of the field; here this day, it may be, gone to-morrow: nay, I am worse, a child of wrath, a vessel of dishonour, begotten in uncleanness, living in care and wretchedness, and dying in distress. O Lord! I will cry unto thee night and day, before I pass through this vale of misery; I will sum up all my offences, I will confess my vileness before thee, and will not be ashamed: for true confession is the very way whereby I may come unto thee, who art the way, and the only true way, that leads unto life eternal.

"O the most happy life which the angels enjoy, in the right blessed kingdom, void of death everlasting; where no times succeed by ages; where the continual day without night hath no end; where the conquering soldier, joined to that joyful choir of angels, and crowned with the crown of everlasting glory, doth sing to his God a song amongst the songs of Sion!"

I meddle not with any state-business whatsoever: but it seems he bore no great affections to the Scots, which is probable, by the little love they bear unto him [7]. But most sure we are, that he was arrested of high and capital treason, first committed to the knight of the black-rod, and thence conveyed to the Tower, where, ever since he hath been in custody of the lieutenant, of whose demeanour, during his abode there, I shall next speak, by the true information of some credible persons that have observed his deportment. He was not only frequent and fervent in and at his orisons in his own chamber, where he spent the greatest part of the morning at his private meditations, but very careful and observant

[5] [Lord Clarendon says that both houses of parliament accused him 'of a design to bring in popery, and of 'having correspondence with the Pope:' yet no man, he declares, was a greater or abler enemy to popery,—no man a more resolute and devout son of the church of England. His zeal, however, seems not to have been 'according to knowledge.']

[6] [Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, i. e. the Earl of Strafford, who was beheaded, on Tower-hill, May 10, 1641; about two months after the commitment of Archbishop Laud.]

[7] [He had tried to get the English liturgy introduced in Scotland; but it caused a violent tumult among the people there, who reviled him in the most abusive manner.]

at the week-day's service, at the chapel: but especially on the Lord's day he came duly, and prostrated himself devoutly on his knees, giving great attention to both the service and sermon; and taking special notice of some particular psalms that were sung before the parson went up into the pulpit; especially the second part of the three-and-thirtieth psalm, the second part of the forty-ninth, and the first part of the hundred-and-fortieth, which are worthy any man's reading, being so aptly picked out for that purpose. He called the clerk unto him, and courteously demanded of him, "whether he happened on them by accident, or had called them out by his own conceit?" The plain old man ingenuously confessed unto him, "that he chose them out purposely to put him in mind of his present estate:" at the which he modestly smiling, made him no further answer, but departed towards his lodging. Further, he was heard to say, that, if ever God delivered him from that present durance, and that the King would restore him to his pristine dignities, he would much improve that place, meaning the church,) in remembrance that he had been there a prisoner. It is also reported, that a gentleman of quality coming to the Tower to give him a visit, and asking his Grace how it fared with him at that present; he made him answer, "I thank God I am well; for it hath pleased his sacred Majesty, my Sovereign, to provide for me an honourable and convenient lodging, where I have good and wholesome fare; and where, notwithstanding all my troubles and tribulations, I never yet broke an hour of my usual and contented sleep." And the morning when the late Earl of Strafford passed by his lodging, as he was led to the place of execution, and moved his hat unto him (then standing and looking out of his window), he held up his hands and eyes towards heaven, without speaking any thing audible to the observers, as if he prayed earnestly and inwardly, for the salvation of his soul, &c. He was observed also sometimes to speak those words of the Psalmist, Psal. lxxxii. ver. 6, 7. 'I have said, ye are 'gods, and children of the Most High; but ye shall die as men, and ye princes fall like 'others,' &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

AH, Bishops! Where's your power you bragg'd of late
Was unremoveable? Where's that glorious state
You pray'd in? Are your pompous mitres, copes,
Thus quickly chang'd for halberts, if not ropes?
What! has the blue-head Scot thus turn'd the game,
That what before was glory, now's your shame?
Can Lesley's regiment thus wheel about
The brigade of our clergy? put to rout
Our bishops, deans, and doctors? Not a man,
Amongst so vast a multitude, that can,
With all their titles, dignities, withstand
The Switzish-Scottish eldership's command?
Has Calvin's doctrine puzzled all your choir,
Silenc'd your organs, and yourselves with fear?
Can neither Laud's, nor Wren's strong canons make
Stiff Henderson[8] subscribe; nor yet to quake
At the report? What! were they not of strength?
Or naught'ly cast? or did they fail in length?
Invent some stratagem, employ your brains,
And answer the pure challenger with strains
Of primitive doctrine; that the world may see
Th' apostolick warrant for the prelacy.

[8] [Mr. Warton has named three Hendersons in the list of fanatics of this period, to one of whom this sturdy character may probably have been applied. See Todd's Milton, vi. 94.]

Employ your chaplains' pens, and muster all
The stalls of prebends; for the time doth call,
And waits an answer: give some living to
Some scholar, that this venturous task shall do.
The cause concerns you nearly: will ye not
Now vindicate the quarrel with the Scot?
Why did ye enter in the lists, and mould
Your canons to dismount Geneva's hold?
Ye did begin the counter-march; and would
Ye thus fly off again, if that ye could?
Th' Exonian prelate [9] hath twice given a charge,
One Jesuit hath given fire unto't at large:
Both miss'd the mark; march on, and quickly mine
Yourselves, and prove your prelacy divine.
Where are your chaplains, all so far renown'd,
Who for your cause, the like could not be found?
They have great skill in cringing, bowing, writing,
Let's see their weapons, and their skill in fighting:
Produce their arg'ments for such store of wealth,
Gotten by simony, base usury, and stealth.
Let's know your tenure, by what right ye hold
Such store of livings, and yet starve the fold.
Do not delude us longer with such toys,
More fit for mimic apes, or slaves, or boys:
Now speak, or never; else you will be thought
To be Rome's calves, far better fed than taught.

[9] [The celebrated Joseph Hall, D. D. translated from Exeter to Norwich in 1641.]

A Catalogue of Petitions, ordered to be drawn up and presented to the Honourable House at their next Session.

[Quarto, containing Four Pages.]

A PETITION of the Brewers and Butchers; that the former may be incorporated with the Vintners, and the latter with the Apothecaries.

A petition of the Bandbox-men, and Trunk-makers; that the Athenian Mercury, and all weekly papers of the like nature, be continued.

A petition of twenty-thousand Tradesmen; that if their wives offer to draw bills more than once a night upon them, they may be empowered honourably to reject them.

A petition of the Quack-doctors; that the constables may not disturb the industrious night-walkers in the Strand, Fleet-street, and Cheapside.

A petition of Dr. Salmon, and two more of the Fraternity; that they may have the sole benefit of a new religion, by them lately invented; and that no other persons presume to interlope upon them.

A petition of the Quakers; that their bare word may be equivalent to swearing, and

nonsense to true reasoning; and likewise, that it may be lawful for them to fornicate out of their own tribe.

A petition of all the Married Women in the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweede; that the Dog-days be immediately repealed.

A petition of the moderate Divines; that the Thirtieth of January and Twenty-ninth of May be discarded out of the almanack, as being great eye-sores to the godly party.

A petition of the Maids; that the Mosaical signs of virginity be declared void and unnecessary, and unfit to be required under the Christian dispensation.

A petition of the Ribbon-weavers; that shoulder-knots and pantaloons of happy memory be revived.

A petition of the Booksellers; to declare, that licensing of books is popish and superstitious, and destructive of the liberty of the subject.

A petition of the Inhabitants of White-Friars; that their bounds be enlarged, that they may have room enongh to receive the broken merchants and tradesmen, that daily flock in to them.

A petition of the Poets; for a speedy restoration of claret, and the utter banishment of little diminutive pagan bottles.

A petition of the Midwives and Highwaymen; that savin and hemp may be rooted out of the commonwealth.

A petition of the Glaziers and Tallow-chandlers; that it may be lawful to break windows, on thanksgiving-days, where no lights are set out.

A petition of Dr. Oates; that every evidence, for the future, shall be obliged to repair to him for a licence.

A petition of the Prisoners in Newgate; that their confessions and dying-speeches may not be printed before they are hanged.

A petition of Dr. Partridge; that no almanack-maker pretend to prophesy for the government, but himself.

A petition of the Fiddlers; that kicking down stairs and broken heads be reckoned no scandal.

A petition of the Players; that they may be allowed plurality of wives, in order to be sure of a maidenhead once in their lives.

A second petition of the Booksellers; that when a dull heavy book lies upon their hands, it may be publicly burnt, to promote the sale of it.

A petition of Bully Dawson, and the rest of his brethren; that swearing and roaring be adjudged as effectual a sign of valour, as fighting.

A petition of several young Gentlemen of the Inns of Court; that a statue be erected to Dr. Wall, at the public charge.

A petition of the Northern Attorneys; for a speedy conclusion of the war, because, at present, the people cannot spare money to go to law.

A petition of the Harlots; that pluralities be denied to all married women, of what degree or quality soever.

A petition of the Coffee-houses; that they may be privileged in fornication up stairs, and for treason and false news below.

A petition of the Country-Parsons; that, in favour of them, the House will be pleased to take off the additional duty upon tobacco.

A petition of the City-Clergymen's Daughters; that 'Increase and multiply' be made the eleventh commandment.

A petition of the Knights of the Post; that all the pillories in the kingdom be burnt on the next thanksgiving-day.

A petition of the Drawers, about the Temple and Covent-Garden; that they may be allowed to lie a-bed till eleven.

A petition of the Royal Society; that the comb-makers, mouse-trap men, and Athenians be suppressed, as interlopers upon them.

A petition of the Chimney-sweepers; that they may have the scouring of all Ecclesiastical consciences, every spring and fall.

A petition of the City; that none be suffered to talk treason, but such as are well-affected to the commonwealth.

A petition of the College of Physicians; that the importation of Dutch doctors be prohibited, as prejudicial to the manufacture of our own universities.

A petition of the Taylors; that leave be given to bring in a long bill to promote new fashions.

A petition of the Seamen; that the parsons may not meddle with politicks, but every one keep in his own element.

A petition of the Barbers; that they may be made free of the church, since the divines have usurped upon their trade, by turning trimmers.

A petition of the Country Inn-keepers; that the soldiers, quartered in their houses, would be content to tap their hogsheads, but not their wives or daughters.

A petition of the Dissenting Divines; that none shall be admitted into that class, but men of strong lungs and stronger backs.

A petition of the Anabaptists; that they may be empowered to erect a public dipping-pond at Lambeth-Ferry.

A petition of the Painters; that they may have leave to enter all the conventicles in town, and draw their respective pastors in their proper colours.

A petition of the Waistcoateers of Wapping; that it may be lawful for them to go sixteen months with child, in cases of necessity.

A petition of the Printers; that all distinctions of bawdry, blasphemy, and treason, be utterly abolished.

A petition of the Proctors of the Commons; to have fornication encouraged, that they may have the sole punishing of it afterwards.

A petition of the Claret-Drinkers; that red noses shall qualify people for all sorts of preferment.

A petition of several Mayors and Aldermen; that money be adjudged to comprehend both wit, sense, and good breeding.

A petition of several Recorders in the kingdom; that making of speeches be utterly abolished, unless bulls be tolerated.

A petition of the Ordinary of Newgate; that all sorts of breaking be declared sinful, but especially Sabbath-breaking.

A petition of the Orphans; that the Monument be hung with mourning once a year, and that at the expence of the chamber.

A petition of the several Ladies living near Westminster; that all deserters be brought to condign punishment.

A petition of the Athenians; that they may have a patent for their new invention of making second-hand Spira's.

A petition of the Parish-Clerks; that a day be set a-part to celebrate the pious memory of Hopkins and Sternhold, and that the City-poet draw up the service for the day.

And for your Worships then we'll pray,
For eke, for ever, and for ay.

How to advance the Trade of the Nation, and employ the Poor.

[Folio, containing Four Pages.]

Humbly offered to the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, assembled in Parliament.

TO employ our poor, and advance the trade of the nation, are matters of great concern at this time. This honourable Assembly are not insensible of the abundance of complaints throughout the kingdom in general in most trades, for want of sale for their goods. It is supposed there may be five-hundred thousand poor of one sort or other in the nation; and if these poor are to be put to work on the same manufactories which we are overstocked with already, what will be done with all those goods so many thousand hands shall make more every year? It is but undoing in one place to make another. The merchants generally send but very little more to markets abroad one year than another; they commonly know what quantities of goods will glut each market abroad. Most commodities and manufactories are brought to so low an ebb, that slow workmen cannot get their living at their trades, and many of such, with their families, are become the poor of the parish wherein they are; yet the slowest of handicraft tradesmen will out-do those poor which never wrought before in each trade, if they were put into a work-house together; and for any number of persons joining together to employ the poor in the woollen-manufactories, or any other where the price is beat down to so low a rate that the slow workmen cannot maintain themselves, what those persons gain by such poor is by oppressing the oppressed, and the cries of them will rage against the kingdom and government, because of the hard usage of several of their task-masters for lucre of gain to themselves. The poor ought to be encouraged, and mercifully dealt with, and kindly used, until their slow hands be brought to ready working, and ought at first to have the highest price the commodity will bear to themselves; and their overseers, and master-workmen that teach them, be paid by the parish: it is sufficient advantage for them if they can in some small time bring those poor to maintain themselves, which has been so burthensome to them heretofore. But how to set so many hands to work at this time, when trade is at so low an ebb, requires great consideration; and several manufactories, which at present are manufactured abroad, must be encouraged at home: there are several commodities in this kingdom, which cannot be had in any of our neighbouring countries, which ought to be wrought up at home; but we encourage foreign-wrought goods to be brought here, and send our unwrought goods to our neighbouring countries, who manufacture the same. By such methods we may well wonder what is become of the trade of the nation, whereby our merchants are undersold at markets abroad in those commodities which cannot be well had elsewhere but from England; which, if they were manufactured at home, and kept amongst our merchants to export, it would be an inlet to the selling of several other commodities, which are supplied now by the Dutch, and others of our neighbouring countries: but our trade is over-burthened by duties laid on our wrought goods, and our unwrought encouraged to be exported, with several other obstructions too tedious to set forth; by which the poor tradesmen and their families are become a far greater tax to the nation than all that the king's customs amount to.

Likewise, in our merchants' goods, which are imported and exported again in less than a year, are allowed to draw back the duty so formerly paid by them, if the property be not altered, by chipping, cutting, grinding, garbling, shaving or rasping, or otherways

altering thereof; so that the Dutch and other countries employ their poor, in doing that which ours ought to do; by which their merchants serve abundance of markets abroad with such goods as we cannot do, because if the property be altered, the draw-back will not be allowed; which is in several goods above twenty-five pounds *per cent.* which is a great hindrance to the merchant, and quite loses the profit of working the same here. And suppose the property should be altered, so that the same be exported in time, it would occasion a greater employ of the poor, and it would be no detriment or hindrance to the king in his customs, nor obstruct our navigation; and our merchants may serve other countries with those commodities as well as the Dutch and others.

The Dutch consider how to employ their poor, and prepare all the work they possibly can contrive for them; and all goods, which are capable of labour, they commonly have it done before they will part with it; which is the reason they have none but what get their living at one thing or other: they employ their poor in rasping dyers' woods, which they have commonly from us, and serve all markets abroad with that commodity, which we cannot do, by reason of that obstruction at the Custom-house, in not allowing the draw-back where the property is altered: and in abundance of other goods too long to insert here.

The Dutch buy their hemp at Riga, and other places where we buy ours; but they employ their people to manufacture the same into sail-cloth, and they import it on us, and we, to encourage them, use it for our royal navy, and all our merchants' ships, and all other small vessels, hoys, busses, lighters and boat-sails; which trade, were it encouraged here, would go a great way in the maintenance of our poor, and great gain is to be had thereby. We had at first our woollen-manufactory from the Dutch; we sold them wool and fulling-clay, and we took their woollen-cloth, and now we take their sail-cloth; but after we prohibited our wool and fulling-earth from being sent to Holland, and their cloth from coming here, it put our workmen on invention, and in a little time we became the famousest at that trade in the world; and so we might be as well at sail-cloth, were we encouraged, and the Dutch discouraged. We ought to contrive all ways to employ our poor, and keep within ourselves the working up of all our own commodities; as leather, lead, fulling-clay, wool, copper, calaminaris, tin, pewter, and all other of our own product. The planting of trees is neglected, by which in a little time we shall lose the making of iron and steel, the refining our brass and other metals, and great part of our lands lie waste and barren, not cleared or tilled, whilst thousands of our people want employment, and many thousands hide themselves in obscurity, in places remote from their beings, for fear of arrests, who are not able to pay their debts, and would willingly fly any where for refuge: bad debts contracted to relieve some in necessity, and many others in prisons without any satisfaction to the creditor but revenge, and their families become chargeable to the parishes wherein they are; many by their poverty are driven to the last extremity, take to ill courses to rob and steal, and our counties sued; great sums of money paid for apprehending and trying these robbers, and several other great mischiefs occasioned by poverty, which is burthensome to the country; which, if all matters were computed, is more loss to the nation than the charge will amount to, in clearing most of our barren lands throughout the kingdom: and rightly considering, so sure as the people work in clearing and tilling the ground, so consequently those lands will be so much richer, and what is laid out will bring in again with considerable profit, and enrich the nation. It would be better for the kingdom in general, that there were a tax laid on every parish to regulate these great mischiefs, than to lie under the burthen thereof, without any hopes of relief: therefore this following method is humbly proposed,

By William Goffe.

THE PROPOSALS.

IMPRIMIS, That there be a tax laid on every parish throughout the kingdom, according to the poor-tax rate, to be continued for three years, and paid quarterly.

2. That there be six pounds *per cent. per annum*, allowed to any person or persons who shall lend the said three-years tax at once, that there may be money sufficient to carry on the undertaking.

3. Near each fishing-port throughout the kingdom, there are commonly barren lands, which may be rented at four pence or six pence, *per annum*, an acre.

4. That a convenient parcel of such lands, near each fishing-port, be rented or purchased at the nation's charge, to erect fishing-factories on, for sowing hemp and flax, and planting of trees; such as are convenient for building of ships, hoys and busses.

5. That there be some knowing men chosen out of the neighbouring parishes, near each of these fishing-ports, to mark out the land into parcels; and that they ascertain the price of every acre what the labour is worth to clear the same.

6. That there be a proclamation published throughout the kingdom, that all persons that are willing to work in clearing those lands, at the price ascertained, shall have ready money for their labour as they constantly do their work; and each of them shall have ground given them to build a house on, free. And all those who are in debt, and do deliver up to their creditors all the effects they have, (wearing-apparel and household-goods only excepted,) shall be protected from being arrested or molested from any such debt or debts; and all tradesmen likewise, that are willing to inhabit or settle there on any of the fishing-factories, shall be likewise protected.

7. That these persons shall not be protected at any other place or places, but at these fishing-ports or factories; or whilst these persons are fishing or selling their fish in any other markets throughout the kingdom.

8. And that whereas, at most of these ports are places, where wool is commonly sent away by stealth, and prohibited, and other custom-goods privately run a-shore; that any person belonging to these fishing-factories, who shall seize any of such goods, shall be allowed one half-part of all such goods to themselves.

9. That, at every of these fishing-ports, there be four fishing-busses belonging to each factory, with all nets and other fishing-tackle, provided with the master, and manned with fishermen to teach the people to catch fish, and they to be paid first, at the public charge: and all those belonging to these factories, that are willing to go a-fishing, may every one take their turn each month; and that two-thirds of all such fish be divided amongst those who go a-fishing; the other third of the fish to be sold, and applied towards wear and tear and charges, in nets and tackle. And, that some of the masters and officers belonging to the neighbouring parishes be chosen to take charge of the same, and see all things performed.

10. That in every of these factories, some of the military officers be appointed to discipline these men, every week or fortnight, and they to be the governors over these people, at each of these fishing-factories; the men to be paid by the publick, those days they exercise.

11. That all the parishes throughout the kingdom do send their ablest poor to be employed at these factories; some to dig, plant, and till the ground, and the others to be employed to work up the hemp and flax, and to make sail-cloth, cordage, nets, twine, lines, and sails; the women to spin, and make coarse linen, &c. and, as the profits come in by this undertaking, the parish-taxes will abate throughout the kingdom.

12. That there be a large work-house, or work-houses, erected at every of these fishing-ports; and that there be master-workmen, paid at the public charge, to teach the people to work, which, in time, will teach one another: that these master-workmen be men of knowledge and understanding in making of sail-cloth, nets, cordage, twine, lines, and all other necessaries belonging to the fishing-trade: and that they do take care, that the

people's stock of goods be not embezzled, and that they do give account to the masters of the neighbouring parishes, who shall be appointed for that purpose every week, and that they be appointed to pay and receive all goods, and to keep the stores, and give an account of all rising profits.

13. That in every particular sort of work, the full current price for every thing be ascertained; and that they be allowed a sufficient rate for their work, until their slow hands be brought to quick working; for afterwards, the price will fall in course, and those which are become used to clearing of lands, will take lands of their own accord, and clear it to get themselves a livelihood; and so likewise, in fishing, they will in time be able to join together, and go a-fishing at their own charge, when they find the profit thereof.

14. To encourage this undertaking, that all the sail-cloth which shall be used for the royal navy, be wrought up at these work-houses belonging to these fishing-factories; and to bring the merchant-men to buy theirs, in the nation, the following method is proposed:

15. That there be a high duty laid on all new sails of foreign-made cloth, which shall be used to any of our English ships, hoys, lighters, busses, boats, or any others; that the duty be collected at the Custom-house, which will in time hinder merchant-men, and others, from buying their sails at markets abroad; and that all our sail-cloth be made with some blue-stripe or other mark through every piece.

16. That all foreign nets be prohibited from being imported, because now most nets come from France and other parts.

17. That in every parish throughout the kingdom there be work-houses erected; and, instead of supplying the poor's necessities with money, as now they do, that they be obliged to supply them with a stock of goods to work up, and let them have the full price for the same. It is better for each parish to receive goods, which carry the intrinsic value with them, than to lose all the money so gathered every year, as they now do.

18. That all charity-money, voluntarily given by any person or persons to the poor of each parish, be laid out in unwrought goods, and equally divided, to every one share and share alike; and that the parish be obliged to take all such goods so made by the poor, and give them ready money for the same, or more stock of unwrought goods to put them to work again.

19. That the poor be most encouraged to work on those commodities, which at present are wrought beyond sea, as, sail-cloth, hemp and flax-dressing, making of coarse linen and woollen-cloth, &c. We ought to consider how to force all trades, and how to find as much employment for our trades, as possible; therefore it is proposed,

20. That all foreign hemp and flax be imported duty-free.

21. That there be a high duty laid on all unwrought lead and tin exported.

22. That all manufactured lead, or tin, be exported duty-free.

23. That there be a duty laid on all fulling-earth, tobacco-pipe clay, and calaminaris; to be paid at the pit, at so much a yard or rod, and not suffered to be dug without oath first made, and a certificate from the next justice of the peace, of what quantity, and what use, and where to be sent; and the duty gathered by those of the parish, who collect the king's tax, &c. For the duty-sake, these pits will be taken notice of, which will hinder the carrying it away by stealth.

24. That there be a duty laid on all unwrought leather exported.

25. That all leather, manufactured into shoes, boots, harnesses, &c. be exported duty-free.

26. That all raw silks, cotton, or any other commodities, which are useful to employ the tradesmen, imported, may not be allowed any draw-back at the Custom-house on exportation, as in other goods; which will hinder merchants from exporting them abroad again; that our tradesmen may be supplied, as cheap as our neighbouring countries, with those goods they want to put them to work.

27. That all goods, which are imported and exported again in time, may be allowed the usual draw-back at the Custom-house, as well in goods where the property is altered, as in others where the property is not altered; by which means several of our poor may

be employed, and all those who want work, and are in debt, and have not to pay, will flock to these fishing-factories; and, instead of lying in jails, and their families becoming burthensome to the parishes, we shall have our barren lands cleared, tilled, manured, and well wooded with fine groves of trees fit to build shipping; which will shelter those bleak and wild places; and those ports in time will become famous fish-markets, and these men well disciplined; which will be good outguards for our kingdom, ready to assist in time of necessity, and will breed up a nursery of seamen ready to man our royal navy on any occasion. By this, our lands and our livings will be secure from the attempts of any foreign enemy, our trade will flourish, and our poor be provided for, and will be an everlasting safety and happiness to our kingdom and government: which God long preserve!

A Synopsis, or contract View of the Life of John Armand, Cardinal of Richlieu, great Favourite and Minister of State to Lewis the Thirteenth, King of France. To be engraven on his Tomb [1]. First written in Latin, and now, *verbatim*, rendered English.

Quis leget hæc? - - - - -
Vel duo, vel nemo. PERSIUS.

Printed in the Year 1643.

[Quarto, containing Eight Pages.]

Cardinal Richlieu's Epitaph.

THE first thing requested of thee, O passenger! is, that thou wouldst bless Almighty God, that in France thou mayest now read these lines securely.

Next, wonder that he, whom the earth was too angust [2] for, when he was alive, should be imprisoned in so small a space of ground, now he is dead.

When he had commoved earth, he aspired to rule even heaven itself; as appears by his arrogating to himself this symbolum, or motto, *Mens sidera volvit.*

And, that thou may understand what kind of intelligence this was, know that he was of a sagacious industry, but unquiet; an enemy both of the public, and of his own private tranquillity.

In a great wit, by many revered; not a few, that knew him, found a great mixture of madness.

He had a mind that was made worse by every thing, bettered by nothing.

He stood thus long; not so much through favour, as his power with a mighty king; and was happy in the event of things, rather than a prudent management of them.

Only he was unhappy in the disfavour of Almighty God; for, having continually con-

[1] [His real tomb was in the church of the Sorbonne, which he rebuilt, and where a magnificent monument was erected over him by the celebrated sculptor Girardon.] [2] [Narrow, confined.]

flicted with noisome diseases, he was ignorant of the seat of happiness; which yet, to the rendering both himself and others unhappy, he sought after.

Nor did he ever seem happy even in his own eyes, as not honest in the eyes of those who called him happy.

He was vexed with two great tormentors of life, choler and melancholy. In the flames of the former, and the fumes of the latter, he continually suffered.

So that venom which he spit out, to the perdition of others; he could not keep in, without hurt to himself.

He outwent most men in covetousness; all men, in ambition. A waster of the royal exchequer, but a niggard of his own purse. Cruel, if offended; but more cruel, where he offended others.

By the conferrings of the Queen-mother[3] he was made rich; by her plottings, preferred; and, by her power, made more potent. Yet her did he deprive of the King's favour, of her liberty, of her estate, of France, and, at last, of her life; she being an exile at Cologne. And, lest he should spare her, when she was dead, he nulled her last will, and caused her corpse to lie five months (at the end of which, himself followed her) in her chamber unburied.

The honour of Monsieur, the King's brother, he violated; and endeavoured to supplant even his person.

He not only withdrew the affections of[4] son from mother, and of[4] brother from brother, but of[4] husband from wife.

Mariliack he caused to be beheaded by the greatest wrong; Montmorency, by the greatest right; Cinkmart[5], partly by right, partly by wrong; M. de Thow, whether by right or wrong, no man knows.

Some noblemen he condemned to perpetual imprisonment, more to banishment; but those he drove from court were innumerable.

He proscribed many, lest they should hinder his designs: nor did milder France ever behold so frequent punishments.

Building upon the power of a great King, whom, with a great deal of art and study, he deceived, and supplied with the wealth of a most fruitful kingdom; he spent an infinite number of arrows, in aiming to hit the main mark, which he had missed.

A continual working and agitation of mind, backed with many mad attempts, together with a rigid severity, and an all-trying boldness, produced a few fortunate issues. But he had soon been supplanted, if among foreign enemies, he had found some more wary, or, among Frenchmen; scarce any of whom but were averse to him, had met but with one adversary.

It well besteaded[6] him, that hardly any body knew him, or believed those that did.

He was so fortunate, that those of the nobility, as well as of the army, whom he had irritated, did yet, for his honour, shed their own and others' blood, whilst himself mingled his with the King's.

He had perished in the same design, in which Sejanus once perished, had he not taken out of the way (O grief to think on!) the royal Count of Soissons.

Germany, Spain, Italy, and the Low-countries, but especially France, will hardly be able, in a whole age, to efface the bad impressions of so hurtful an authority.

Taking pleasure in the miseries both of the citizens and suburbers, that he might fleece these, he lanced the very entrails of those.

Nor did he anywise indulge to the sacred health of the King, but disturbed that, whilst with anxieties and various passions of mind, he wore out his own.

The Divine justice first ulcerated his arm, which he had stretched out against Heaven. Next, it took from him the use of his right-hand, which had subscribed to unnecessary wars. His arm, eight months before his death, rotted; by reason of which his hand

[3] [Mary de Medicis, to whom he was made almoner.] [4] King of France, [Louis XIII.]
[5] [Or Cinquemars.] [6] [Profited.]

withered. And yet (which is a sad thing) he, that so plainly felt God an avenger, would not plainly enough acknowledge him.

This appears, in that he more hotly exercised his fury upon his private enemies.

In that, death approaching, rather out of a politic prudence, than a Christian piety, he commended his favourites to the King, more than his soul to God.

In that, a few days before the catastrophe of his tragic life, he caused a play of his own devising, which he called '*Europa Triumphata*,' to be acted in the most royal pomp, that could be; though himself could not behold it.

In that, being a cardinal, he afflicted the church; being a priest, he shed blood; being a Christian, he forgave no injuries; and being a man, he yet would not remember himself to be mortal, even when the worms, crawling out of his many ulcers, did admonish him to how frail and noisome a mortality he was obnoxious.

When by all ways (the most impious not unassayed) he had, for the space of eighteen years, prosecuted his private ends, to the undoing of the publick; he, at length, arrived to the ordinary end of men, by a death, to appearance, peaceable; but more lingering than that of many, whom he had sent before him.

He died at Paris[7], where he had been born fifty-seven years and three months before.

Forsaking France, and his own house, he seemed to endeavour the combustion of them both: of that, by an extorted declaration against the King's brother; of this, by a will framed to a woman's[8] fancy.

For the rest: nor did the kingdom of France, being opulent, ever deal with any so bountifully; nor, being of a genius impatient, did it ever bear with any so continuedly; nor, affecting quietment, did it ever part with any so gladly.

I assert these things openly, which thou, O passenger! didst privily suspect, and, in wisdom, kept to thyself.

If thou encounterest any one who still doubts, entreat him not to give credit to abused men, nor to corrupt flatterers; but rather to me, who speak nothing but truth, and that out of a conscientious sincerity.

And I would have all men persuaded, that the least justice is more acceptable to God, than the greatest power; that a name is to be esteemed, not for being far and wide diffused, but for being good; that to trouble and unsettle many things, is not to do much; but being unsettled, to compose them, more; to keep them from being unsettled, most of all.

Prosperous wickednesses are, by the multitude, accounted for virtues; but do thou, on the contrary, think nothing more wretched, than such thriving impieties.

This egregious artisan of cheats, Richlieu, deceived many for a while, and himself haply to eternity.

Who, alas! shall reduce to order that infinity of things, which he hath confused; who deemed of peace, because it suited not with his turbulent brain, that it was disagreeable even to his fortune? From whence sprang those many evils, which, for these last fifteen years, have so oppressed the Christian world?

Pray, that God would not eternally avenge it upon the author; who needed much mercy, and many of God's compassions, amidst his many and great crimes.

Do thou, O Christian! seriously perpend, what a nothing that is, which is subject to a momentary vanish: 'None of those, whom thou seest clad in purple, are therefore happy; 'no more than they, whose part in a comedy allows them a robe and sceptre; who 'having buskined, and on tiptoes strutted it before the staring spectators, as soon as they 'come to their exit, are un-pantoffled, and return to their own stature.'[9]

Furthermore, see how small an ash-heap he now is, who once was so great a fire; how fetid a stream he now sends forth, who lately darted a splendour so coruscant, that every one's eyes were thereby dazzled.

I wish he prove not a firebrand to himself, in another world, who was so to Europe in this.

[7] [In 1642.] [8] The Duchess of Eguillon. [9] Seneca.

Poor Europe now hopes for peace, the fuel of her wars being extinct.

I should entreat thee, O passenger! to pray for peace to this so mortal an enemy even of his own peace; but that I fear thou wouldst but trouble him, in wishing a thing to him, which he so greatly hated. Yet pray notwithstanding, in that thou art commanded to love thy enemies; if the peace, thou prayest for, reach not him, it will return unto thyself. Such was the commandment of our Saviour; in whom I wish thee peace whilst thou livest, that thou mayest sweetly rest in him when thou diest. In the mean time, farewell.

Encouragement for Seamen and Mariners: In Two Parts. Being a proposed Method for the more speedy and effectual furnishing their Majesties' Royal Navy with able Seamen and Mariners: and for saving those immense Sums of Money, yearly expended in attending the Sea-Press. In order to prevent those many Mischiefs and Abuses daily committed, by disorderly Press-Masters, both at Sea and Land; to the great Prejudice of their Majesties, and Injury of the Subject. By George Everett, Shipwright.

London, printed in the Year 1695.

[Quarto, containing Twenty-four Pages.]

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of England, assembled in Parliament.

With submission,

IN humble respect to his Majesty's most gracious speech, I do most humbly offer these following proposals, for the encouraging of seamen, in order to furnish their Majesties' royal navy on all occasions: wherein is briefly set forth the great hardships and sufferings of those employed in the sea-service, together with proper remedies to prevent the same; whereby their Majesties, and the publick, may save those immense sums of money yearly expended on such occasions; the seamen be happy and easy in such service; the merchants enjoy a free trade, without interruption; the whole nation be happy under the present influence of a war, many grievances attending thereon be redressed, vice punished, virtue promoted, our enemies terrified, and ourselves encouraged, by the blessing of the Almighty, to prosecute this so great and glorious undertaking; and thereby regain our former honour of being master of the British seas, to the glory of their Majesties, and the peace and happiness of the whole nation: most humbly begging your Honours to pardon this my undertaking, to pass by my errors with patience, and to correct all that is amiss with prudence, and to consider my former proposals, humbly offered for the saving one-hundred-thousand pounds *per annum* in building and repairing the royal navy; which, by his Majesty's order of the 22d of March last, was referred to the Right-honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and, at the writing hereof, is yet lying under their Lordships' consideration. All which, out of a hearty and zealous inclination of serving

their Majesties and the publick, I do most humbly recommend to your Honours' consideration, as the only physicians under God, from whom a redress of our grievances is desired and expected, in hopes of your favourable acceptance and encouragement thereof, for the service of their Majesties, the benefit of the subject, and the good and welfare of the whole nation; most humbly praying, that a committee may be appointed to examine and consider the same; and that I may be admitted to give reasons, and answer to all objections. I humbly submit myself,

Your Honours' most faithful and obedient servant,

GEORGE EVERETT.

PART I.

FORASMUCH as it is altogether needless to give an account of the particular charge of the nation, in impressing seamen for their Majesties' service, that being already performed by others; and it being well known, that, after all the charge and trouble therein, many of the most able and fittest for sea-service, do lie lurking and concealed, (taking an opportunity to make a voyage or two to Newcastle, or otherwise, as they see most convenient for their own advantage,) to the great hindrance of their Majesties' service, the discouragement of others belonging to the fleet, and great prejudice of many, who, being unfit for sea-service, are forced to supply in such case.

Proposal 1. For remedy thereof, upon the especial approbation of the honourable Admiral Russel, and several other eminent persons of known experience in maritime affairs, it is humbly proposed, 'That in every sea-port town, according to the greatness thereof, an officer or officers, being persons of known integrity, and good repute, may be erected and settled, for taking and keeping a register of seamen and mariners: and, to that end, the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of every parish, within ten miles of any sea-coast or navigable river, within this kingdom, shall, within fourteen days after notice given by proclamation, be sworn duly to enquire and take a list of all seamen and mariners, inhabiting and residing within their respective parishes, being between the ages of sixteen and sixty, whether at home or abroad; and shall deliver the same, under their hands, to the sheriff of the county to which they do belong; which said sheriff shall, within twelve days after the receipt thereof, transmit a copy of the same to the next port-office, where the same shall be carefully entered alphabetically, for every parish and county distinctly, in a book or books for that purpose to be provided.'

*** This cannot be accounted any great trouble, there being in every parish four or six such officers at least, who dividing themselves, with their beadle, who is generally acquainted with all the parishioners, may perform the same effectually in one day.

*** Neither can it be accounted troublesome to the sheriffs, it being not expected to be more than once a year at most; and may, by their directions, be performed by their servants: and, being a national concern, ought to have a national assistance, which will partly be effected by such officers changing places every year.

Prop. 2. 'And that all masters of ships, and other vessels, using the sea, or trading from port to port coast-wise, (except such vessels as are, or shall be employed in the home-trade of fishery, for supplying the several markets of this kingdom,) shall, at the beginning of their voyage, and before they depart the first port, give into that port-office a true list of the names of all seamen and mariners retained to serve on-board their said ships or vessels; together with their age, and what outward marks may be found; as also their place of residence or habitation, if any such they have: which being performed, the said masters (if not restrained by embargo, or other order) may, with their company, have liberty to proceed on their intended voyage, both out and home, without danger of being impressed; one of the said officers first giving a certificate under his

'hand and seal, as a protection, for the use of every seaman thereunto belonging, being 'between the age of sixteen and sixty years, as aforesaid; and also a duplicate thereof to 'the master, for which he shall pay unto the said officer (if a coaster) two shillings and 'six pence, and (if a trader to foreign parts) five shillings *per* head for every person therein 'nominated; which said monies may be allowed for and towards the maintenance and 'encouragement of such officers.'

*** By the aforesaid means, it may be possible to obtain a full register of all the seamen of England, and thereby know who is in service, and who is not; whereby the royal navy, upon all occasions, may be readily manned with able seamen, and no hiding-place left for deserters, or others; and the head-money proposed will be gladly paid; to avoid those great perils and losses, which too often happen, to the great prejudice of their Majesties, and all others concerned at sea, by means of the sea-press.

Prop. 3. 'And, upon return of the said ship or vessel, to her port of delivery or unla- 'ding, that then the said master thereof shall be further obliged (if belonging to a ship or 'vessel using the coast-trade) within four days; or, if a merchant-ship trading to foreign 'parts, within ten days, or more, (as may be thought convenient,) to pay such his ship's 'company, in the presence of one of the aforesaid officers, at a place and day prefixed. 'And, if it happen that any change or alteration hath been made amongst the said com- 'pany, during the said voyage; that then the said master do give an account to the said 'officer, who may be empowered to make enquiry therein: and whosoever of the said 'company, shipped outward or homeward, appeareth not in person to receive his wages, 'at such time and place prefixed, (without some lawful cause or let shewed to the con- 'trary, being such as may be allowed by the directors of such office, or officers,) shall 'lose and forego his whole wages; one-half to the use of their Majesties, and the other to 'the chest at Chatham, or otherwise, as may be thought convenient.'

*** And the said officers, being empowered to make enquiry, as aforesaid, will cause masters to be more cautious how they do imprison and pack their seamen off in foreign countries; an abuse too much practised, even to the ruin of many families, which brings much poverty on the nation; especially about rivers and sea-port towns.

Prop. 4. 'And, if it should happen, that any of the said ships, or vessels, should deliver, 'or unlade at any other port within this kingdom; that then the officer of such port may, 'by the master's duplicate, (he being obliged to produce the same, or otherwise by a copy 'of the register from the other first officer,) be enabled to proceed, in all respects, as 'aforesaid.'

*** For conveniency, a copy of all registers may be transmitted from all ports to Yarmouth and Portsmouth, for the ready dispatch of all such affairs; but more especially to the Port-office of London.

Prop. 5. 'And that every officer," in his respective place, (at the time of paying such 'seamen, as aforesaid,) shall then cause all such, as are fit for their Majesties' service, to be 'forthwith sent on-board some ship belonging to the fleet, as occasion shall require; the 'charge thereof to be paid by their Majesties; and all such as are so sent on-board their 'Majesties' ships, shall have equal benefit with those seamen who do, or shall enter them- 'selves as volunteers.'

*** By such means, there will be a constant supplying of the royal navy with able seamen; and, by this means, such who used to steal a voyage or two, will unavoidably be brought into their Majesties' service, without prejudice to any; which will be an encouragement to others belonging to the fleet, and will prevent the pressing of tradesmen from their business.

Prop. 6. 'And as every merchant-ship, or vessel, hath a carpenter or two belonging 'unto it, who for great wages go voluntarily to sea; their Majesties' ships may, by the

'means aforesaid, be plentifully supplied with able shipwrights, the most experienced and fittest for sea-service.'

Prop. 7. 'And at the end of every year, the said officers shall present their Majesties 'with a general list of all seamen and shipwrights, so sent on-board of every particular 'ship; and, if thought convenient, shall have an additional allowance from their Majesties, 'of two shillings and six pence *per* head, as an encouragement and maintenance for such 'their service.

Prop. 8. 'And whatsoever officer or shipmaster offendeth herein, contrary to the true 'intent and meaning thereof, shall forfeit .... pounds to the use of their Majesties, ... 'pounds whereof may be allowed to the informer.'

*** This charge cannot be accounted great; for by this means, the prodigious expence of hiring smacks and ketches to attend the press will determine; and one-thousand men and boys, commonly employed therein, may be at liberty to serve their Majesties on-board the fleet; besides the charge allowed and expended by captains and lieutenants, on such occasions.

*** And the seamen and shipwrights belonging to merchant-ships, being so secured for their Majesties' service, may enjoy the benefit of selling and disposing of what they have, as an adventure on-board their respective ships; together with the happiness of receiving their wages and providing themselves with apparel and other necessaries fit for sea-service, and be sent on-board the fleet like men; who otherwise, after a long and tedious voyage, without recruit or money, are forced on-board their Majesties' ships in a poor and ragged condition, which is one main occasion of sickness and distempers on-board the fleet; and for such reasons many refuse to go to sea, and others forsake their ships, in foreign nations.

*** And by such means, as aforesaid, merchant-ships at sea, and under convoy, may be secure from the rage and ill usage of some commanders; who, if denied their unreasonable demands for light or convoy money, do often cause the seamen to be impressed; whereby such ships or vessels are too often disabled, and the ships and goods, with the small and helpless number of men left on board, do often miscarry, or perish at sea; whereby the merchants lose their goods, their Majesties lose their customs, the subjects lose their lives, the owners their ship or vessel, and many become widows and fatherless thereby; which brings great complaints and poverty throughout the nation.

PART II.

Proposal 1. 'AND, as the honour and glory of the English nation doth so much 'depend upon the strength and good conduct of the royal navy; so it may be highly neces-'sary at such time, when the common enemy is so potent and powerful, that all due encou-'ragement be given to seamen and mariners; and, to that end, it is most humbly proposed, 'that no offices belonging to the fleet be bought or sold; but that every person may be 'preferred according to his deserts and merits.

Prop. 2. 'That the said seamen be allowed their full share of all prizes that shall be 'taken, and that some law be passed to prevent embezzlements therein; and that those 'persons, in what station soever, that shall endeavour to defraud them of such parts and 'shares, as have by custom, or may hereafter be allowed, shall (being convicted thereof) 'forfeit his said office or employment.

Prop. 3. 'That, if any seamen be dismembered in their Majesties' service, such smart-'money, as hath been formerly allowed, may be advanced, and be forthwith duly paid.

'And further, that there may be an additional allowance made for all such pensioners, as 'shall be dismembered in their Majesties' service.'

Prop. 4. 'That, if any seamen be killed in their Majesties' service; that the bounty-'money, generally allowed on such occasions, be forthwith paid to those who shall pro-'duce a just right to receive the same.'

Prop. 5. 'That all profaneness, which having, by long custom, gotten the ascendant on-'board the fleet, be forthwith suppressed and abolished; and all offenders, being officers, 'may be displaced, and others receive such punishment, as may be appointed by au-'thority of parliament.'

Prop. 6. 'And that no seaman or mariner, that hath served twelve months in any of 'their Majesties' ships, shall be turned over, to serve on-board any other of their Majesties' 'ships, before he be paid all wages due to that time.'

Prop. 7. 'That when, and so often as their Majesties, by their royal proclamation, 'shall require the service of such seamen, on-board the royal navy, by such a day or time 'prefixed; that all able seamen, who shall, in obedience thereunto, voluntarily enter 'themselves, by applying to the next port-officer or officers, shall be allowed, during the 'whole voyage, twenty-eight shillings *per* month, according to the course of the navy; 'and that so often as any of their Majesties' ships shall arrive into any harbour, to lay up 'for any time, that then the seamen and mariners, thereunto belonging, shall be forthwith 'discharged; and that all wages, to them then due for such service, be fully paid, not in 'tickets, but in money. And if the voyage be long, that then their wives or friends, ha-'ving a lawful power to receive the same, may be paid six months wages out of every 'nine months, that such ship shall be abroad.'

Prop. 8. 'That all such seamen, now belonging to the royal navy, as shall be continued 'on-board the fleet, at such time as the service of others shall be required by proclama-'tion as aforesaid, may have and receive the full benefit of such, as shall then enter them-'selves volunteers.'

Prop. 9. 'That there be one clerk at the navy-office, to attend all accidental business 'that may happen touching the premisses, and that he be allowed, by their Majesties, 'fifty pounds *per annum*, to answer and receive money for all such persons, as shall em-'ploy him on such occasion; and that he may be allowed sixpence or twelve-pence *per* 'pound, as shall be thought fit, for all such money as he shall so receive; and the said 'clerk, making default therein, to be displaced, and suffer such fine, or other punishment, 'as the Parliament shall think fit.'

*** By such payments, as aforesaid, seamen may be enabled to provide for themselves and families, and to pay their debts; which is one means to make money plenty, throughout the nation; and will encourage them, when occasion shall require, freely and gladly to enter themselves into their Majesties' service, without the charge of being pressed, or continued in pay for the whole year. And being certain of such provision, made for the maintenance of themselves and families, it will make them bold and daring, not being afraid to look death in the very face of their enemies.

*** It is to be observed, that for want of such payment as aforesaid, the seamen are greatly injured and discouraged: first, especially, when, instead of money, they are put off with tickets, whilst many of them, and their families, wanting food and raiment, are compelled to sell such tickets at one-third part, and, sometimes, one-half loss; so that thereby, the seamen's pay is very small and insignificant; who, after having exposed themselves to the greatest dangers, are so cut off, being but as slaves and drudges to the common ticket-buyers, and their upholders; who, for supplying them so with money, do carry

away the greatest part of their labour, when many of their poor families are ready to perish. Secondly, The paying such their wages on-board the fleet, at such time as they are ready to sail, is very injurious to seamen and others; for, by such means, they have not the opportunity to serve themselves or families, but are obliged to buy all their necessaries on-board the common higlers or boomboats, and they not many; who, making it their business to attend the fleet, do, by their extortion, bring away the greatest part of the seamen's wages. So that a great part of the treasure of the nation, which ought to be divided amongst all, falls into the hands of a few private persons; whereas, if such payment were to be made on shore, as aforesaid, they may have the benefit to buy all they want at the best hand, to pay their debts, and relieve their families. And by this means, all such money would, as from a fountain, pleasantly distil itself into so many silver streams, until it returns again to its first rise; which would be a great encouragement to seamen, and all other their Majesties' good subjects, who, being now obliged to give them and their families, credit, are forced to sit down by loss, which is one great cause of the decay and detriment of trade.

*** If it should be objected, that paying the seamen their wages on shore, upon the discharge of their service, as aforesaid, will cause them to desert their Majesties' service; it is humbly answered, That, there being, in England, a sufficient number, to serve both their Majesties' royal navy and merchants' ships, at one time, (as, by sufficient testimony, did appear this last summer,) it is impossible to believe the royal fleet should ever want seamen, if good payment was to be made, and encouragement given, as aforesaid; for these reasons following: First, They, being in such service, are more secure from the enemy, than in merchants' ships. Secondly, Being allowed thirteen months to the year, without after-claps, or paying damages; which, in merchants' ships, often cuts off one month's pay in three. Thirdly, If a ship of their Majesties happen to be lost, the seamen's wages stand good. Fourthly, Being out of all danger of being impressed, during the whole voyage: by means whereof, in merchants' ships, they often lose both their wages and adventure. Fifthly, Having a prospect in making advantage, by taking of prizes. Sixthly, If loss of members happen, smart-money is allowed, with a yearly pension, during life. Seventhly, If killed in fight, a considerable bounty-gift is bestowed on their families, according to the greatness thereof; when seamen, in merchants' ships, running all risks, as aforesaid, fall short of these so great advantages.

Prop. 10. 'Furthermore it is proposed, That if any difference should happen, within the 'term of the said voyage, between the master of such merchant's ship or vessel, and any of 'the seamen belonging thereunto, for or by reason of any wages due, or goods damaged, 'by leakage of the ship or vessel, such differences may be determined by such officer, as 'aforesaid; who may be empowered to call to his assistance two, three, or more, honest 'and indifferent men, being sufficient house-keepers, who may have power to hear and de'termine all such differences, as aforesaid; which would be of so great advantage to poor 'seamen, who, by reason of poverty and the press, being not in a capacity to maintain or 'attend a suit of law, are often ruined and undone.

*** If it should be objected, that this may prove prejudicial to the government; it is humbly answered, that the seamen in general, by such injuries, and for such reasons, as aforesaid, are not in a capacity to go to law; so that, where nothing is, nothing can be expected.

*** So that by thus civilly impressing of some, and paying and encouraging of others, as aforesaid; it may be presumed, their Majesties' royal navy may, at all times, be readily and plentifully provided, with the most able seamen and mariners, on all occasions; and all extraordinary charge of impressing and maintaining them on-board the fleet, in the winter-season, (which, by Captain St. Lo, was computed at five-hundred-and-four thousand pounds for one winter-season, besides sixty-thousand pounds, expended for conduct, bounty, and impress-money,) avoided and saved, as well now as in former-times. And to this, all the seamen, and faithful people of England, will say *Amen.*

*** If any objection should be made, that, in manning the royal navy, according to the methods of this second proposition, their Majesties' affairs may be prolonged or prejudiced thereby; then it is humbly proposed, that a recourse may be had to the aforesaid register, as followeth.

Prop. 11. 'That the Right-honourable the Lords-commissioners of the Admiralty, calling to the port-officers of London for a general list of all seamen in each county, taken as aforesaid, may direct their warrants to the several sheriffs of the counties aforesaid; requiring them to direct their precepts to the several constables of each parish, as aforesaid, who, with the assistance of the churchwardens and overseers of the poor, shall forthwith, to the utmost of their power, cause such, and so many as are required, by an equal *quota*, to appear before the next port-officer, who shall dispose of them on-board their Majesties' ships, as shall be most meet and convenient for their Majesties' service; and such as press men, to be allowed but twenty-four shillings *per* month. And what seamen soever shall abscond from their habitation, or usual place of being, at such time as the service of their Majesties shall require them on-board the fleet, shall suffer imprisonment, or as the Parliament shall think fit. And that the port-officer do then forthwith pay unto the said constables, for travelling and other necessary charges, the sum of two shillings and sixpence *per* head, for every person by them delivered, or produced as aforesaid; and that the said port-officer be allowed the same (with other necessary charges) for sending such on-board the fleet, out of their Majesties' treasury.'

By what hath been proposed, I hope, it will appear, that the impressing of seamen, and others, by sea-officers, may be wholly laid aside; which hath, hitherto, been very chargeable to their Majesties, and injurious to the subjects, as is briefly summed up as followeth.

1. That several vessels, employed in that service, after having laid twelve or fourteen days in the river of Thames, on that occasion have (by the ill management of some lieutenants, thereunto belonging) been sent on-board their Majesties' ships with twenty or thirty men at one time; who, being not fit or useful in such service, have been often discharged, and turned ashore; by which means, their Majesties' treasure hath been vainly expended, and many landmen and tradesmen have been often carried from their habitations to the Downs, Portsmouth, and Plymouth, to their great charge and prejudice.

2. That the impressing and detaining seamen in their Majesties' service, on such hard terms as before specified, causeth many to defer their Majesties' service, who, by such means, come to an untimely exit. And many seamen there be, who, having families, will rather expose themselves to such vile and shameful ends, than leave their families to perish for want of food and raiment.

3. Many other inconveniences there be attending the present discipline of the navy; as, paying the fleet at Portsmouth, &c. whereby their Majesties' affairs are often retarded, and the seamen (whose wives or friends are very populous about the river of Thames) do, by travelling and attending at such remote parts, often expend more than they receive; whereby many families are ruined and undone. And many others there be, who, for want of money, are obliged to take up all they want upon trust, paying one shilling for the value of nine-pence, losing thereby 25*l. per cent.* and by selling their tickets, as aforesaid, they generally lose 30, 40, or 50*l. per cent.* so that, by a modest computation, their whole loss amounts to 60*l. per cent.* out of their small wages.

4. The turning of seamen over from one ship to another (after having been in such service one, two, or three years) without money, produceth the same effect as the former.

5. For the aforesaid reasons, the seamen, their wives and friends, are at a great charge and trouble, by petitioning and attending the admiralty and navy-board, on such occasions; who spend great part of their time in hearing and examining these and such-like grievances.

6. Whereas if seamen were paid and encouraged, as aforesaid, these mischiefs and disorders, with many others, occasioned by several indirect practices of clerks of the navy, &c. would soon cease and be abolished.

7. And, for promoting the same, it is further proposed, That a suitable fund of money be raised and set a-part for such uses and purposes: and if the same should fail, or fall short of what is intended, that then they may be supplied with such funds as shall be appropriated to pay merchant-dealers and tradesmen; who, being under no compulsion in making agreement for their commodities, are in a capacity to help themselves.

8. And if a sufficiency of money cannot be raised, as aforesaid, that then it may be borrowed; and suppose at 10*l. per cent. per annum*, yet will be of so great use in answering these ends, that it is presumed their Majesties will thereby save 200,000*l. per annum*, or more. But if the late ingenious proposals to supply their Majesties with money, at 3*l. per cent. per annum*, be put into practice; the advantages accruing to their Majesties by this proposed method will be much greater, and the doubts and objections that may arise touching the insufficiency of making such orderly payments, as aforesaid, will be removed.

9. Thus, by preferring frugality and abolishing extravagancy, their Majesties, with the usual funds generally raised and allowed for such occasions, will soon be in a capacity of paying and providing, with ready money, all things necessary for the carrying on the war; and the enemy, taking notice of our industry and abilities (the usual forerunners of great actions), will be thereby discouraged, as they are certain presages of their approaching downfall.

10. And that, by such means, the general trade of the nation will be better supplied at home, and secured abroad; and the subjects thereby enabled and encouraged to give supplies to carry on the war; and their Majesties thereby be the better supported to prosecute and continue the same.

11. Thus having, as I humbly conceive, proposed a sure and certain method to prevent those evils occasioned by the sea-press, which, if put in practice, I dare affirm, will be a useful instrument to vanquish and overcome all our enemies, both foreign and domestic; it being observable, that since my former proposals made for performing of shipwrights' work, the impressing of workmen for that service hath been little practised.

In all that hath been most humbly offered, I have studied brevity more than curiosity; my design being to serve my country, rather than to shew my skill in learning; and therefore do present the same, not as the labour of my spare minutes, but as the fruit of a laborious brain, that hath and will be always ready to serve their Majesties and the government upon all occasions. I shall only offer these following queries, most humbly praying they may be considered:

1. Whether the nation, under the present circumstances of a war, can long continue a suitable supply of money to carry on the same, under the pernicious effects of extravagancy?

2. Whether money raised in parliament with care, collected with trouble, and paid with tears, requires not the most serious thoughts and endeavours of all its disposers, for converting the same, in all circumstances, to the most useful and advantageous purposes?

3. Whether the King exposing his royal person, in so many dangers abroad, for promoting the happiness and well-being of the nation, doth not expect the due assistance of all other his officers and subjects, indispensably to use their utmost endeavours for the full accomplishing his royal purposes?

4. Whether the saving those immense sums of money, as aforesaid, will not settle the minds of their Majesties' good subjects, and stop the mouths of the most disloyal and restless spirits, who raise animosities amongst us, and instil wicked notions into the minds of their Majesties' subjects; representing the government as under an unsettled condition, and groaning under oppression, by reason of great taxes, and a lingering and expensive war, and a want of trade, and raising their expectations of a speedy change; who finding their hopes defeated, by an unanimous resolution of rooting out the evils occasioning the same, can have no future pretence to such calumniating reflections on the government for bringing to pass their evil purposes?

5. Whether the buying and selling of public places be not an undoubted inlet to bring their Majesties' enemies into such stations; being of dangerous consequence to the government?

6. Whether it will not be for their Majesties' and the nation's interest, to advance persons to places of trust according to their merits; and not permit those to be discountenanced, and to labour under difficulties, who expose frauds and extravagancies, and propose proper remedies for the cure of those evils? And whether the brow-beating and discouraging those, who endeavour to make such discoveries, is not an effectual means to prevent all others from appearing in such-like cases?

Much more might be added, which, for brevity-sake, is omitted. I shall humbly conclude with the following admonition of King Henry the Fourth, who, upon his death-bed, spoke to his son as followeth: "So long as Englishmen have wealth, so long shalt thou have obedience from them; but, when they are poor, they are then ready for commotions and rebellions." From which, and all other evils, good Lord deliver us, both now and for evermore!

The Petition of the Widows, in and about London and Westminster, for a Redress of their Grievances.

By the same Solicitor that drew up the Petition for the Ladies *.

London, printed, for the Use of the Wide—o's, 1693.

[Quarto, containing Four Pages.]

LAST week a petition, subscribed by the unmarried Ladies, came before you; and what reception it found, yourselves know best. It is true we wondered to find an army of maids, from whom the world usually expects modesty and silence, so emboldened on the sudden as to petition for husbands, and that in the face of the world. Widows indeed, who lie under no such restrictions, are allowed in all countries to speak for themselves; and it is but reasonable we should, for few besides will submit to the trouble. It is our privilege to be obstreperous, when we are not heard; and there is one of our predecessors upon record in the New Testament, who by virtue of her everlasting clack, forced an old musty gentleman of the long robe at last to grant her request.

Now heaven be praised, we are acquainted with mankind, (which the maids, we suppose, will not pretend to,) and therefore may appeal to them without infringing the rules of decency. We have seen them in their best and weakest intervals. We know what weapons they carry about them, and how often they can discharge in an engagement. We have in our times had very severe conflicts with them; and sometimes they were uppermost, and then they fell on like thunder and lightning; but for all that, your petitioners obliged them soon to quit the field, and leave part of their ammunition behind them. Give us leave, good gentlemen, to talk of these our combates; for we always fought upon the square, and therefore have no reason to be ashamed of a recital. As we hinted to you before, we have been concerned in several fierce engagements; and the men played their sharps against us, when we could only produce flats on our side; and, besides, they drew their heavy cannon upon us, while we were forced to lie by and receive their shot. After all, though we were so disadvantageously set upon, and the blood-shed, that happened on these occasions, was always on our part; yet when the fortune of the battle began to change, and declare herself in favour of us, we never treated them otherwise than

* See p. 326

Christians; we never nailed up their cannon when we had it in our possession, so to render it unserviceable for the future; but gave them time to recover breath again, and furnish themselves with a new train of artillery. Is not this a generous and honourable way of treating an enemy? In short, the devil take that word *short*, for your petitioners mortally hate it; but in fine, we have been intimate with the men, and the men have been no less intimate with us: but what is the chief errand that sent us here, we have every woman of us buried her respective man.

Not that we value ourselves upon that score, for God forbid we should; but widows will speak the truth, let the consequence be what it will; and should you make ten-thousand acts, to oblige us to hold our tongues, it would signify just nothing; we should break them all in a moment, and that with as much alacrity, as the vintners in town daily break the Adultery act. Well then, we have all of us buried her respective man, which we mention not (Heaven knows our hearts) out of ostentation, but with due grief and sorrow. We know a man's value too well, not to regret the loss of so serviceable a creature. We had all of us good husbands, at least we will say so now they are gone; and though perhaps we had some reason to complain of them when they were alive, yet we forgive them all their faults and infirmities, for that single good-natured act of dying, and leaving us once more to ourselves.

The foolish people of Athens, after they had lost a good king, would have no more of the kind, forsooth, lest a bad one should succeed him: but your petitioners are not such a scrupulous sort of people. We, that have had good husbands, are encouraged to try once more, out of hopes of meeting the same success; and we, that have had bad ones, are not for all that deterred from matrimony, but hope to mend our hands in a second bargain. After all, should we be deceived in our expectations; the first may afford to undergo a little penance, since they were so happy before; and the latter, being accustomed of old to bear burthens, are therefore the better enabled to support themselves under them.

The body of your petitioners (for after so much preface it is high time to come to business) consists of four several classes; *viz.* the old widows, the young or middle-aged widows, the rich widows, and the poor widows; and each of them presents you with a different petition.

To begin then with the old widows; and that pre-eminence is due to them upon the score of their age and experience, they humbly supplicate that you would be pleased to take their miserable condition into consideration. Old people, according to the proverb, are twice children; what wonder is it then if they still have a hankering after childish play-things; and long to have their gums rubbed with coral? Pray do not mistake them, good gentlemen; they mean it in a lawful, matrimonial sense, and hope you will not censure or think the worse of them for using this freedom. They appeal to all the world who it is that most stand in want of warm, comfortable things, the young or the old? That it is the greatest charity to relieve the last, needs no formal proof, all the hospitals in the kingdom speak as much: but alas! in this uncharitable age they do not expect to meet with many friends. Upon this consideration, they entirely submit themselves to the mercy of the House, not presuming to carry their petition so high, as to request you to force people to marry them; but only that you would recommend their case to the benevolence of those persons, who having lived wickedly and at large all their life-time, are willing to compound for their sins, and do acts of supererogation in the last scene of it. Nor are they difficult in their choice, they will sit down content with any thing; and cripples with wooden legs will be cheerfully entertained, if they have received no damage in the distinguishing part.

Next to these come the rich widows; and they earnestly beg of your honourable House that you would make it felony, without benefit of the clergy, for any one to make court to them before the mournful twelvemonth is expired. They are so perpetually pestered with suitors of all complexions, that they can neither eat, nor sleep, nor pray for them. A new favourite has not more humble servants in a morning at his levee, nor the com-

missioners of the pay-office a greater crowd of surly grumbling seamen, than they have. Nay, some of their passionate admirers have had the impudence to accost them upon this chapter, as they have been following their husband's corpse to the grave; in the very height of their sorrow, and in the midst of the funeral pomp. If you think it too severe to make it felony in persons so offending, they desire you to commute the punishment, and oblige every person trespassing after that manner, to marry some widow as fancy inclines him: which is all the favour that the poor widows beg at your hands.

And now comes up the main body of the young and middle-aged widows, who, as they are by far the most numerous (especially since the wars made such havock among their husbands), so they crave leave to lay their petitions at your feet. But, before they do that, they think it convenint to remove all those popular slanders and objections, which ill-natured people have been long accustomed to level against widows in general; and, because their adversaries shall have no reason to complain that their arguments are mangled, they will urge them as home as either themselves, or their best advocates, could do it for them.

It is in the first place pretended, that widows want several of those recommendations that set off the sex, and particularly a maidenhead, without which no wife, they say, can be acceptable; that they are still trumping up stories of their former husbands, purposely to confront their new ones; and so excessively talkative, that nothing but deafness is an antidote against the noise; that marrying a widow is like splitting upon a rock, where others have been shipwrecked before. After this, they run the metaphor into Long-lane, second-hand gloves, clothes of another's wearing, and the Lord knows what impertinent stuff. But we shall answer them all in order.

To begin then with the loss of a maidenhead, about which they make so horrid a clamour; we could tell them sad stories of several of their betters, that on the wedding-night have fancied they have dug up this same chimerical treasure, though it was stolen many months before: nay, we have a hundred and more of our company here, that, if occasion were, could attest this upon their own personal knowledge. So certain it is, that the nicest criticks among the men may be as easily imposed upon in this affair, as your pretenders to antiquity in counterfeit medals. But, if no woman can please them without this imaginary wealth, (and indeed it is no more, for most people take it upon trust,) we see no reason why a young widow may not be as capable of obliging them as the best virgin in the world. It is but using a few astringents before, and, at the critical minute, crying out, 'Fie, sir; pray, sir; will you split me up? Will you murder me alive? Can 'you take any pleasure in what is so painful to another?' And the sparks are satisfied they have made a real sacrifice; though, in truth, no more blood was shed in the encounter, than we see upon the stage when one actor kills another. If this is their dear diversion; and, by-the-bye, it a sure sign of their ill-nature, that they cannot be pleased but at the expence of the party, whom they pretend to love so dearly; rather than lose them, we promise them to howl, and sigh, and roar every night in the year, as heartily as an ox, when he is led to the slaughter-house; and so entertain them still with the ceremony, at least, of their dearly beloved maidenhead.

In the next place, why should we not be permitted to refresh the memory of a dull, lazy husband, with the noble performances of his predecessors? The men, in King Charles the Second's reign, took the liberty to talk of the glorious conquests of our former fighting monarchs; and yet, for all that, thought themselves as good subjects as any in the kingdom. If the reproof is just, where a God's name lies the harm? And surely the wife must be allowed to be the best judge of that affair. "Oh no, (say they,) it is not the horse, but the man, that best knows whether he rides easy. Content. But does not the horse likewise know, whether his rider carries true horseman's weight, and whether he sits even in the saddle?" If not, why would Bucephalus suffer himself to be backed by none but Alexander the Great?

But then we are excessive talkative. So are they, and so are most of our sex, but espe-

cially the longing maids; and, under correction, if it is a sin, we are of opinion it sits better upon us than upon them. This is not all, marrying a widow is like splitting upon a rock, where others have been shipwrecked. Well, we are glad, however, it is like something. But, since one simily is best drove out by another; why not, like drinking in a room, where some honest gentleman has made merry before? Since nothing will go down with these squeamish creatures in the matrimonial way but a spick and span new virgin, we wonder why they do not keep up the frolick in every thing else: why, as often as they drink, they do not call still for a virgin-glass; why they do not every meal call for a virgin-plate; why they do not still pull out a virgin-snuff-box, lie in virgin-sheets, talk politicks in a virgin-coffee-house, and pursue their dearly beloved variety to the end of the chapter. Lastly, their indignation rises at the thoughts of Long-lane, and all second-hand things whatever. If the sparks are resolved to be true to their argument, we are well satisfied they must even say good-night to all thinking, and writing, and talking: for at present they think at second-hand, and write and talk at second-hand; and this objection, as terrible as it looks, is a thread-bare weather-beaten second-hand objection with a witness.

A late monarch, of happy memory, (who was inferior to none but Solomon in natural philosophy, and chiefly in what relates to our sex,) was often heard to say, that getting of a maidenhead was a drudgery fit for none but porters. We save all that labour and pains: for there needs no great trouble to enter a city when a breach is once made in the walls; and our husbands have that satisfaction, as to see their ground ploughed up ready to their hands. To conclude all; a widow is a tried gun, and carries the Tower-mark upon her: now who knows but a maid may split in the proving?

Having thus justified the state of widowhood against all the objections that are used to be made against it, we have nothing more to add, but that you would be pleased to give your consent to the three following articles:

First, That all persons, who are not of known parts and abilities, may not only be rendered uncapable of marrying maids, or such as are reputed maids, but confined to the choice of widows only. This we request not so much for our own advantage, as for the ease of the men; for you know several people can make a shift to keep the king's high-way, that are not able to leap a ditch, or break open a quickset.

Secondly, That all persons resolving to marry before the age of twenty-one, if they have made no natural experiments before that time, shall be likewise obliged to take a widow, as they do pilots, in difficult or unknown places. It is an ancient but well grounded complaint, that where two maidenheads meet, they produce nothing but mere butter-prints, addle-pated fops, and dull, senseless, sleepy boobies. Now, if you pass this into an act, in all probability it will contribute much to the improving of our present degenerate race; and, certainly, if ever we wanted solid heads, it is at this conjuncture.

Thirdly and lastly, That all widows, during their widowhood, may be excused from the taxes; for is it not hard, good gentlemen, to pay four shillings in the pound for empty houses? We hope you will consider farther of these our reasonable supplications.

And your Petitioners, as in duty, &c.

The State Gamesters; or the old Cards new packed and shuffled.

[Folio, containing Two Pages.]

A Set of gamesters all together met,
Some came to play, and others came to bet.
The cards produc'd, they first for dealing cut,
Some play'd at Noddy, and the rest at Put.
The Noddy gamesters, having drunk too hard,
Could not distinguish Knave from other card;
But like true Scots, being eager of the cup,
They could not tell the game when it was up.
Instead of minding how the cards were laid,
Fell all asleep, while t'other gamesters play'd;
But, being wak'd to pay their drunken scores,
They chang'd their Noddy game into All-Fours:
And then, with one consent, new cards they buy,
And vow'd they'd play the strict severity.
A cunning blade, that knew each card i'th' pack,
And gain'd experience in the art that 's black:
Says he, " I'll fairly lay the cards all down,
And hold a wager of an even Crown,
That we will have both Lowest, Jack, and Game,
Tho' you have shuffled them, and cut the same."
With that, the cards being dealt about again,
Instead of Jack, comes up a single Ten;
And Clubs were trumps, at which the standers-by
Cry'd 'twas foul play, and gave this reason why;
" Because the King o'th' Hearts, which should have come,
Was put below the Knave, by th' dealer's thumb."
So quick and nimble was that card convey'd,
None knew how it was dealt, nor how 'twas play'd.
But yet the other gamesters hop'd that Jack
Was not in hand, but still among the pack.
Yet some, who fear'd the worst, were in the dumps,
Lest Jack, next time, he should be turn'd up trumps.
Says one, " Chear up, I've cards I will not name,
Tho' they are Lowest, we'll secure the Game;
And, if we lose it, then we are to blame."
With that he play'd the Queen, a card of honour,
But t'other threw the Knave of trumps upon her;
When those, that betted, saw the Queen was lost,
They knew which way the game was riding post.
Yet, like true voters at a new election,
Who scorn to yield it up by bare inspection,
Call for a poll, and so, by telling noses,
Know which side wins, and which side 'tis that loses:

So these high gamesters, they would tell for Game;
For chalks, on both sides, are the very same:
But, seeing them produce two Knaves and Jack,
Concluded they had all the Knaves i' th' pack.
" Alas! (say they,) what good doth Highest do,
When they have got both Jack and Lowest too?
Besides, we now must yield our game is gone,
For you have got three Knaves unto our one;
Which proves the proverb true, just to a letter,
' Most knaves in number makes men's luck the better.'
We'll game no more, till we have learn'd more skill,
Knaves will be knaves, let men play ne'er so well.
But we this resolution have laid down.
Never to play so high as for a Crown."

The Travels of three English Gentlemen, in the Year 1734. (MS.)

[Continued from Page 377.]

SECT. III.

A Journey from Laubach, or Lubiana, to Gratz, the Metropolis of the Duchy of Stiria.

THE post-horses we took at Laubach carried us to a village called, by the[1] natives, Puotpoiz, and by the Germans, Podbetsch. This seems to be the Popetsch of Mercator; and if so, that author has placed it too near the Save. About a German mile from Laubach, we passed the Save, at Porator, over a very large wooden bridge. Porator is a place of so little note, that it is not to be met with in any of the maps of Carniola. About half a German mile from Porator, we also passed the river Feistricz, which has its source in a neighbouring ridge of mountains that seems to separate Carniola from Carinthia. These mountains we take to be the same with those called by Baron Valvasor the mountains of Feistricz, which, according to him, are the highest in Carniola. Some of them he affirms to be ten-thousand two-hundred and seventy-four geometrical feet high. The most famous mountains of Carniola taken notice of by the antients, were Carvanca, Carusadius, Cetius, Ocra, Albius, Phlygadius, Alpius, and Picis; whose respective situations are determined with great accuracy by Valvasor. Cetius in particular, according to him, is a long chain of mountains extending from Laubach to Vienna; though the distance between these two cities is above fifty German miles, of which mount Kalenberg is a part. The country between Laubach and Podbetsch was pleasant enough; several species of flowers appearing in some parts of it, as forerunners of the spring. It may not be improper to observe on this occasion, that a vast variety of flowers is found in Carniola; that region producing at least thirty-five different species of anemones, eighteen or twenty of ranunculuses, and above seventy of hyacinths. We paid for passing the Save

[1] Carniola belonged to Sclavonia, before it was annexed to the dominions of the house of Austria; and even at this day the language of that country is a dialect of the Sclavonian, and the Carnioleze in almost all points resemble the Sclavonians much more than the Germans. For which reason we here distinguish between the Carnioleze and the Germans.

and the Feistricz about half a florin. Podbetsch is near two German miles and a half from Laubach, and a place that makes no great figure. Here we staid about an hour, greased our chaises' wheels, took fresh horses, and then set out for San Osgualdo, the next post-town.

Nothing curious or remarkable presented itself to our view this post. We were drawn up the hill of San Osgualdo, which is very high and steep, by oxen. This cost us fifteen grosse, and pretty much fatigued us. The Emperor's postiglioni here, as well as in the other hereditary dominions of the House of Austria, have strings going over their shoulders, to which their horns are fastened, striped with black and yellow. They are all in this country extremely strong and hale young men. Not only the postiglioni, but almost all the men in a lower station, wear fur-caps, like the Croats and Sclavonians, and not unlike the Hungarians, Russians, and Poles. Nay, a great part of the poorer Carniolian women likewise wear such caps. San Osgualdo is a poor inconsiderable place, and stands on the borders of the county of Cilley. After having staid here about an hour, we set out, with fresh horses, for Franz.

Not far from Franz, we saw an obelisk, or column, standing on the left hand of the highway, with two Latin inscriptions upon it. This, we were told, served for a boundary to Carniola and Stiria, on that side. The inscriptions being long, we did not take them down in writing: but from the beginning of one of them, it appeared that the obelisk was erected, in order to notify to passengers when, and by whom, these roads were repaired and brought to that perfection in which travellers now find them. Jo. Casp. Count Cobentzel, governor of Carniola, first began this important work; which was finished by Wolfgang Weichard Count Gallenberg, a succeeding governor. Several other great officers of Carniola are likewise mentioned in this inscription, *viz.* Orpheus Count Strasoldo, who is styled *prætor et locum-tenens*, Francis Anthony Count Aversperg Marshal, Ernest Ferdinand Count Saurau, called *dep. præs.* Geor. Xav. de Marotti, bishop of Pedena, &c. As we did not read the whole inscription, we cannot say any thing more particular about it; but we are of opinion, that this column, or obelisk, was erected in the year 1728, when the Emperor Charles VI. visited Gratz, Laubach, Goritia, Fiume, and Trieste; for then the roads of Stiria Carniola, &c. were rendered more commodious than ever they had been before, and that chiefly at the expence of the Oriental company of Vienna.

Franz, or Franiz, stands upon the river Soano, Saan, or Saana; two short German miles from San Osgualdo. It appertains to the county of Cilley, which some make a part of Stiria[2]. At Franz there is a sort of turnpike, for passing through which, with our three post-chaises, and two single horses, we paid three grosse. After a short stay here, we departed for Cilley, or, as the Italians call it, Cila.

From Franz to Cilley is a very long post, at least three German miles. Between these two places is a village called Saxenfeld, where there is a bridge over the Soano. The country between Franz and Cilley is a fine beautiful plain, and the road here good. Before we leave Cilley, though it does not at present make any considerable figure, our readers will expect a short description and history of a place that has been so remarkable in antient times.

Cilley, or Cilly, the Celeia of Pliny, and the Celia of Ptolemy, is a very antient town, seated not far from the conflux of the Saan and the Save. Pliny and Ptolemy fix its situation in Noricum. It stands at a small distance from the borders of Sclavonia. In some antient inscriptions, published by Velserus, it is styled *Celeia Claudia;* probably from Claudius, successor to Caligula. In others, published by the same author, it is called a *municipium*, and in one produced by Panvinius it has the title of *colonia.* It is famous for the birth and martyrdom of St. Maximilian, in the year 284, according to Schönleben, or (as Megiser will have it) 288. On the place where he was buried, stands at present, a

[2] Some Italian writers make the county of Cilley a part of Carinthia; but this runs counter to the general opinion of the German geographers. See 'Il Viaggio in Pratica,' da Gio. Maria Vidari, p. 168. In Venezia, 1730. Presso Luigi Pavino.

little out of the town, the church of St. Maximilian. Cilley was formerly a bishoprick, but at present it is only a parish and archdeaconry, subject to the patriarch of Aquileia. The city was destroyed by the Bavarians; but, in the year 850, rebuilt by one Bruno, or Brino, who was expelled from Moravia, and obtained from Louis Duke of Bavaria a large tract of ground bordering upon the Saan and the Save. This tract was afterwards dignified with the title of the County of Cilley, according to Megiser; who relates, that another Louis of Bavaria created Fridericus à Sanneck, Count of Cilley, in 1339. The same author gives us a series of the Counts of Cilley, from the abovementioned Fridericus à Sanneck to Udalricus, who lived in 1457. This Udalricus, according to Megiser, bearing an implacable hatred to Ladislaus and Matthias Corvinus (the sons of the famous John Huniades, who died in 1456,) wrote a letter to George despot of Servia, his father-in-law; promising therein, that upon his arrival at Belgrade with King Ladislaus, he would present him with two bowls to play with; meaning the heads of the two Corvini. This letter was intercepted by a servant of King Ladislaus, and delivered to him at church, on St. Martin's day; who, thereupon, immediately called Udalricus, being then at his court to him, and taxed him with treason. This incensing Udalricus, he drew his sword, and wounded the King both in the hand and the head; who likewise drawing, a combat ensued. But the Hungarian guard coming up, Udalricus was dispatched; though for some time he defended himself very bravely. Udalricus dying without issue, as soon as the Emperor Frederick IV. heard of his death, he seized upon Cilley, which fell to him by a former pact or convention with the Counts of that name, and annexed it to Stiria. In this town, which at present does not seem to consist of above eighty or a hundred houses, and six-hundred inhabitants, there is a fine convent of the Minorites, in whose church the old Counts of Cilley are buried. At a small distance from the town, there is a castle, commonly called Ober-Cilley. Many monuments of antiquity are shewn here. Considerable quantities of Roman coins are dug up also at Ober-Cilley, as well as several remains of human bodies of an enormous size. We shall conclude our account of this place with observing, that the Turks were repulsed in an excursion they made as far as Cilley, with great loss, by Georgius ab Herberstein, in 1492.[3]

From Cilley, or Cila, we went to Gonavitz, or Gonawicz, about fourteen German miles S. of Gratz. Here is a castle, and in it a most extraordinary fountain, or spring; which, according to Merianus[4], never rises or falls. In the severest winter it is hot, and in the most burning summer, cold. The Turks penetrated as far as Gonawicz, in the year 1473. Gonawicz is situated at the foot of a mountain in a fine fertile country, and seems to be near as big as Cilley. It is at least three German miles distant from that place. Here we staid all night, and found the air extremely piercing. It has two churches, and a tole rable pretty piazza in the middle of it. Gonawicz, as well as Cilley, is very clean, and stands in a fine open country. Our provisions here were good; but we had a bill of a very considerable length handed to us in the morning, before we set out. The lodging we met with at Gonawicz was very indifferent.

The post between Gonawicz and Feistricz is a short one, and the road good. Feistricz is denominated by the Germans Windisch Feistricz or Windisch Veistricz, in order to distinguish it from another place so called in Carniola, and stands upon a river of the same name. This river has its source near the village of Frauenheim, about a German mile almost W. of Feistricz, and empties itself into the Drave, a little to the E. of the bridge thrown over that river at Pettaw. Feistricz may be considered as a tolerable good town, and consists of one long street. The houses are clean, and the church handsome enough. The English gentlemen formerly frequented the Bear-Inn here; but they have of late used the inn opposite to it, which has a much better character. After we had rested ourselves about an hour at Feistricz, we departed from thence, and continued our march towards Marburg, where we proposed to dine.

[3] Plin. lib. iii. cap. 22. Ptol. Geogr. lib. ii. cap. 13. Velser. in Monum. pereg. Schönleb. in Carn. Anti. app. cap. 5. sect. 2. & alib. Megiser. in Ann. Carin. lib. ix. cap. 8. & alib.

[4] Merianus in Topogr. Stir.

Before we arrived at Marburg, which is near three German miles N. E. of Windisch Feistricz, we passed the Drave, over a fine large bridge contiguous to that town. Marburg, or Marchburg, is a city of the Lower Stiria, seated on the northern bank of the Drave, and nine German miles S. of Gratz. It consists of some hundreds of houses, and above two-thousand inhabitants, as we collected from what we observed of it. The houses, as well as the inhabitants, are extremely clean and neat. This city was formerly governed by Counts of its own, till Ottocar III. Marquis of Stiria[5] obtained it of Bernard Count of Marburg. It was seized upon by Soliman the Magnificent, Emperor of the Turks, in the year 1532; but he soon abandoned it, and retired with his forces to Belgrade. The wine here is good, and the glasses the natives drink it out of, large; from whence we concluded that the people of Marburg were hard drinkers. We were confirmed in this notion by a custom they, as well as many of the other Germans, closely adhere to, which take as follows: When any company call for wine at an inn or tavern, it is immediately brought them, and the drawer or waiter fills every one of them a bumper; and the moment that is drunk off, he fills another; and continues this practice till the wine is all gone. We were served in this manner, and upon our letting the waiter know, that "we did not desire so much attendance, but would rather be left at liberty to help ourselves;" he replied, "that it was the custom of the country to put forward the glass in this manner, and therefore he begged we would be served as other gentlemen were." There are several churches here, and the streets are clean and well paved. The two best inns in Marburg are the Spread-Eagle and the Golden-Deer.

Between Marburg and Ehrnhausen, the next post-town, the country is very mountainous. This may be deemed a long and tedious post, consisting of three German miles. We paid eight grosse for being drawn up a hill by oxen. Ehrnhausen stands upon the river Muer, about six or seven German miles from the borders of Hungary; but is a place of no great note. We staid but a short time here; having two very long posts to Gratz, where we proposed to lie this night.

The next place that supplied us with post-horses is called Wildan, or, as many of the Stirians pronounce it, Wildon. It is full three German miles N. of Ehrnhausen, and stands upon an eminence, as doth Ehrnhausen, near the conflux of the Kainach and the Muer. The villages between Ehrnhausen and Wildan are Gamblich, Wagna, Seccau near the conflux of the Lasnicz, the Sulm, and the Muer, Leibnicz, and Freybichl. There is a bridge over the Muer at Wildan; besides which, we know nothing of the place very remarkable. The tract on the western bank of the Muer, between Ehrnhausen and Wildan, was covered with a beautiful verdure, and appeared very agreeable to the eye.

From Wildan we proceeded to Gratz, and arrived there pretty late. The distance between these two places is about three German miles, though this post is not so long as the preceding. The post, as well as the miles, from what we have observed, between Laubach and Gratz, our readers will compute in the following manner:

From Laubach to Podbetsch, or Puotpoiz, two German miles and a half.
From Puotpoiz, or Podbetsch, to San Osgualdo, at least, two German miles.
From San Osgualdo to Franz, or Franiz, two German miles.
From Franz, or Franiz, to Cilley, at least, three German miles.
From Cilley to Gonawicz, or Gonavitz, at least, three German miles.
From Gonawicz to Windisch Feistricz, two German miles.
From Windisch Feistricz to Marburg, three German miles.
From Marburg to Ehrnhausen, three German Miles.
From Ehrnhausen to Wildan, or Wildon, full three German miles.
From Wildan, or Wildon, to Gratz, three German miles.

Gratz, in Latin *Gracium*, the capital of Stiria, is a very fine city in about 47° 2′ lat. and 39° 40′ long. It stands on the eastern bank of the Muer, or Mura, about twenty-six

[5] See Schönleben and Lazius.

German miles al. S. of Vienna, according to the common road, though a right line drawn betwixt these cities does not exceed twenty of those miles. It has a very pleasant situation, part of it being seated on a plain, and part on mountains covered with fir-trees. Cluverius makes it to be a place of great antiquity, as answering to, or at least founded upon the ruins of, the Muroela of Ptolemy. But the Muroela of Ptolemy (from the latitude assigned it by that author, as well as the name itself,) seems rather to correspond with the town of Mureck, about six German miles below Gratz. The word Gratz, according to some authors, is only a corruption of the Slavonic Grad, *i. e.* a castle, or fortress; which etymon seems probable enough[6].

The Emperor Frederick IV. first surrounded it with ditches and a wall, flanked at proper distances with towers, after the manner of the antients. But the art of fortification being daily improved, these, which at first were capable of eluding all the efforts of a powerful enemy, soon became contemptible and of no use. The Archduke Charles, therefore, and his son Ferdinand, sunk these ditches deeper, raised the wall higher, and greatly improved the fortifications; insomuch, that it seemed to be completely fortified on all sides, except where it was washed by the Muer. It has five gates, *viz.* the Muer-gate, the gate of St. Paul, the Iron-gate, the New-gate, &c. A little to the N. of the town there is an exceeding high rock, separated from the circumjacent mountains; on the top of which stands a castle or fortezza, amply furnished with all sorts of military stores, and rendered on one side inaccessible by the steepness of the ascent of the mountain on which it stands, and on the other by several batteries mounted with cannon of a very large size. Within this castle is an exceeding good armoury. It is plentifully supplied with water by cisterns, and a most stupendous well has been dug, with incredible labour, out of the rock, even to the very foundation of it. In the centre stands the church of St. Thomas, which is said to be more antient than the citadel itself. Contiguous to this church is a tower, in which there is a bell of an enormous size, that may be heard at a prodigious distance. The Turks took Gratz in 1532; but soon after abandoned it, not finding themselves, though their army was very numerous, in a condition to keep possession of it.

The churches in Gratz are the following: 1. The church of St. Giles of Gratz, the cathedral dedicated to the tutelar saint, founded by the Emperor Frederick IV. in 1450, and given to the Jesuits in 1577; in which the bodies of the martyrs St. Martin, St. Vincentius, and St. Maxentia, sent by Pope Paul V. to the Archduke Ferdinand, in 1617, are deposited. Here are likewise buried the bowels of the Archduke Charles, at the right side of the great altar, as well as the hearts of the Archdukes Maximilian, Ferdinand Junior, and John Charles, in silver boxes, in a subterraneous vault set apart for that purpose. 2. The church, called the Mausolæum of St. Catharine the virgin and martyr, begun to be built in the year 1614, upon the ruins of an antient chapel, and finished, as well as adorned, by the Emperor Leopold. In this church are interred the bodies of Maria Anna, wife of Ferdinand II. then king of Bohemia, who died in 1618; Charles John her eldest son, who died in 1619; and Ferdinand II. himself, who laid the foundations of this church. 3. The parochial church dedicated to the *Sanctissimus Sanguis*, or the Blessed Blood, to which is annexed the hospital founded by Ferdinand I. 4. The church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, or *Templum B. Virginis in Cœlos assumptæ*, given to the Minorites (who were invited into the suburbs by Frederick IV. 1463, and afterwards into the city itself by Maximilian king of the Romans in 1495) in 1515. 5. The church of St. Paul, situate on the mountain above-mentioned; begun in the year 1619, and finished in 1627. It stands on a spot of ground formerly occupied by a church, the most antient of any ever founded here, except that of St. Thomas already taken notice of. 6. The church of St. Joseph, adjoining to the monastery of the Discalceated Carmelites. Before this church (which is opposite to the market-place) there stands a fine statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary, all over gilt, upon a very high pillar or column. 7. The church of St. Lawrence, with the Asceterium of the Capuchins, which Ferdinand II. would have erected in the

[6] See Cluverius, Lazius, Aventinus, Merianus, &c.

same area where he had commanded ten-thousand heretical books to be burnt. 8. The church of St. Leonard, with the adjacent monastery, built (according to some) by Frederick the Pacific, after his return from Jerusalem, about the year 1437. 9. The church of All-Saints, built in 1603, at the expence of Mary, mother of the Archduke Ferdinand. 10. The church adjoining to the Carmelite nunnery; whose foundation was honoured with the presence of the Emperor Ferdinand III, Mary his wife, Eleanora, widow to the Emperor Ferdinand II. and the Archduke Leopold William, in the year 1643. 11. The church of the Ursuline nuns, whose foundation was owing to the charity and magnificence of a certain pious matron of the first distinction, after the arrival of several of those nuns here, from Vienna and Goritia, in 1686.

Besides the churches already mentioned, several religious houses of note are to be met with at Gratz; the principal of which are the following. 1. The noble college of the Jesuits, founded by Charles Archduke of Austria, in 1573, and most munificently endowed by the Emperor Ferdinand II. This college is joined to St. Giles's church abovementioned, and has a university appertaining to it, where philosophy, divinity, and all kinds of polite literature, are taught; founded likewise by the aforesaid Charles Archduke of Austria, in 1586, and confirmed by Pope Sixtus V. and the Emperor Rudolphus II. However, the present building was not begun before the year 1607. This university or academy was not a little honoured by the Archdukes Maximilian Ernest and Leopold, who both frequented its schools publicly; and the first of whom, in a theatric performance here, represented Theodosius the Great, as the other did St. Ambrose, in 1600. Nay, the last of these gloriously maintained several theses, which he dedicated to the Emperor Rudolphus. 2. The convent of the Minorites, near the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary assumed into Heaven, already taken notice of. This convent was formerly adorned (as it is said) by the pious hands of Rudolphus, son of the Archduke Sigismund, who professed himself of the order of St. Francis in it, and lies here interred. Be this as it will, it is certain his name is not to be found in the genealogical tables of the house of Austria. 3. The monastery of the Augustines, founded in 1558, and deserted by the friers in 1601, but soon after repaired and beautified by the Emperor Ferdinand II. who recalled them. 4. The convent of the Discalceated Carmelites abovementioned. 5. The Asceterium of the Capuchins, already taken notice of. 6. The religious house inhabited by the nuns of the order of St. Dominic. The Minorites, called *Minores Observantes*, were first settled in this place; but leaving it in 1515, for their present situation, they were succeeded by those nuns, who demolished their first house (founded and endowed by Udalricus à Walsee, in the suburbs, about the year 1313,) through fear of the arms of Matthias Corvinus, and retired into the city. 7. The nunnery appertaining to the virgins of Santa Clara, already mentioned. 8. That belonging to the Carmelite nuns. 9. And lastly, that where are seated those of the order of Santa Ursula, commonly called Ursulines.

Besides these buildings, set apart for religious purposes, there are others that deserve the notice and regard of every curious traveller. 1. The palace built by the Emperor Frederick IV. surnamed 'The Pacific;' in which two archdukes of Austria, *viz.* Charles son of Ferdinand I. and Ferdinand his grandson, chose constantly to reside. Here are four tribunals instituted. First, the Intimate Council, or *Intimum Concilium*, whose authority is superior to that of all the rest. Secondly, the *Regimen*, or Junto, founded by Charles Archduke of Austria, in 1565; over which the governor of the city presides. Thirdly, the Chamber, or *Camera*, which has a president of its own: and these tribunals determine judicially all causes relating to the Interior Austria, which includes the duchies of Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, and the county of Goritia. Fourthly, and lastly, the *Concilium Bellicum*, or War-Office, founded likewise by the aforesaid Archduke Charles in 1558, in order to have a watchful eye upon the Turkish frontiers. For which reason, at a small distance from it, and contiguous to the university above-mentioned, is an armoury or magazine, filled with ammunition and all kinds of military stores. 2. The *Domus Provincialis*, or Province-Hall, built in the year 1563, and almost as grand as the palace. Here the states of the province, which consist of four orders, *viz.* the order of Prelates, that of

Noblemen and Lords, that of Knights, and that of the Cities, meet and hold their *comitia*. This *domus provincialis* has also an armoury abundantly stored with utensils of war. The citizens of Gratz have likewise their *curia*, or town-house, in which they are governed by a consul, a judge, and a senate, chosen out of their own body. It stands at the upper end of an oblong market-place, or *forum*, in which there are kept two fairs every year. Opposite to this there stands a brazen colossus of the Ever-blessed Trinity, gilt all over with gold, leaning upon a lofty pillar, and surrounded on all sides by statues of saints.

The way into two of the suburbs is by the church of St. Paul, through the Iron-gate. In one of which is erected a church dedicated to St. John, and adjoining to a convent of Capuchins; in the other, the church of St. Anne, annexed to a monastery of discalceated Austin friers. These friers were first settled in a religious house, at some distance from the city, founded by John Maximilian, count of Herberstein; which being demolished, on account of its being too much exposed to the excursions of the Turks, in 1666, they retired hither. The first stone of this new edifice was laid with great solemnity, by the Emperor Leopold, in 1673. But the largest suburb, which in extent exceeds even the city itself, is divided from the body of the town by the Muer. Here many churches are to be seen, of which the four following seem the most remarkable. 1. The church of the Blessed Virgin Mary the Helper; in Latin, *Ecclesia Beatæ Virginis Mariæ Auxiliatricis*; famous on account of many miracles wrought in it. Here the body of St. Anthemius the martyr, having been brought from Rome by John Anthony, prince of Eggenberg, and by him given to this church, is deposited. Close to it is a convent, inhabited by the Minorites, ever since the year 1515. 2. The church of St. Andrew, possessed by the order of Prædicants. 3. The church belonging to the religious virgins of *S. Joannes Dei*. 4. That appertaining to the nuns of St. Elizabeth. This suburb, on that side opposite to the river, ends in a rock rising above the ground, which otherwise in that part is a plain. This rock (by its situation very aptly representing mount Calvary) is adorned with several beautiful chapels, by the pious liberality of the citizens of Gratz; exhibiting all the principal circumstances of our Saviour's passion. About two miles from Gratz stands the noble palace of the Prince of Eggenberg, built by Udalricus Duke of Crumlow, and fit for the residence of an emperor. This palace is moated round, has extremely fine gardens belonging to it, and enjoys a most delightful situation. Within it is adorned with elegant pieces of painting, statues of exquisite workmanship, and many other valuable curiosities.

There are several very good inns in Gratz, one of the best of which is the Hare, where we put up, as do most other English gentlemen, who stop at this town. The landlord was a very sensible man, and from him we learned some curious particulars relating to the place. The *Forum* or Piazza, above-mentioned, in which stands the Colossus of the Trinity, is called by the Italians *La Piazza di Santissima Trinita*, i. e. 'The Piazza, or Place, of the most Holy Trinity.' The garrison of Gratz (as we were informed) consisted of no more than four-hundred regular troops, commanded by Col. Count Sternberg; who is said to be an officer of worth, and in considerable favour at the Imperial court. These we saw drawn up in the Piazza above-mentioned, and thought they made a tolerable good appearance. In the Ducal Palace here, which we have already taken notice of, there is a fine library, containing a good collection of printed books, together with some manuscripts, which are placed in two handsome rooms. In the gallery, besides other curiosities, there is an elegant draught of Charles the Great's acts of gallantry; and a little beyond may be seen a repository of choice rarities, wherein is a pretty good *raccolta* of American and Indian idols, such as have been worshipped by the pagan inhabitants of those parts, from remote antiquity even to this day. The Jesuits' College and Academy have been favoured with so many and great privileges by several emperors, (to say nothing of the rich endowment of the former,) that it is no wonder we meet with such a considerable number of students here, who are promoted to degrees in the several faculties, as in other *gymnasia* and universities of the Empire.

They have a fine printing-press here; but it is entirely under the direction of the Jesuits, as is indeed every thing else in this place. No wonder then, that the learned men produced by this university should have their geniuses so cramped, that few pieces of erudition should be sent into the world from this press; and that bigotry and superstition should rule with an uncontrollable sway in Gratz. However, some books worthy the perusal of the curious have been published here, amongst which may be justly ranked the following: '*Laurus Leslæana, sive clarior enumeratio personarum utriusque sexûs cognominis Leslie, unà cum affinibus, titulis, officiis, dominiis, gestisque celebrioribus breviter indicatis, quibus à sexcentis et ampliùs annis prosapia illa floruit, ex variis authoribus, manuscriptis, et testimoniis fide dignis, in unum collecta.*' Græcii, 1692.

As for the duchy of Stiria, of which Gratz is the metropolis, it is bounded on the east by Hungary and Sclavonia, on the west by the archbishoprick of Saltzburg and Carinthia, on the south by Carniola, and on the north by Austria. It is divided into the Upper and Lower Stiria. The Lower Stiria, especially about Rackelspurg, or Rackespurg, situate on an island in the Muer, near the borders of Hungary and Sclavonia, and Luetenberg, on the confines of Sclavonia, at a small distance from Ratz, or Rascian, Canischa, on the southern bank of the Muer, abounds with wine, fruit, fish, venison, mines, especially those of iron, salt-springs, &c. though it is pretty mountainous in some parts. This district has also now and then plentiful crops of corn; insomuch that sometimes the inhabitants complain of being overstocked with it; notwithstanding which, one unhappy harvest will introduce a famine amongst them. This fertility is occasioned by the fruitful valleys mitigating the barrenness and asperity of the mountains in some parts, and the mild sweet atmosphere of the little hills in others; particularly those inclining to the east, which produce most generous wine. The Upper Stiria is much more mountainous and barren; for which reason the inhabitants trade chiefly in wool and sheep. The valleys likewise here are rich, and well stocked with herds of kine, that furnish their masters with butter and cheese in great plenty; which they exchange with the neighbouring provinces for bread and wine. The air (according to the people of the country) of the Upper Stiria is much more salubrious than that of the Lower, where the Hungarian fevers and pestilences frequently make great havock. The Upper Stiria has no vineyards, and consequently produces no wine; so that the small quantity of that liquor used there, is imported out of other countries. The peasants drink a wretched port of small beer, and the nobles and people of fashion a small thin wine, called 'March Wine;' notwithstanding which, many travellers are said to like the lodging and entertainment here better than in most other parts of the Empire.

The woods, with which both the Upper and Lower Stiria abound, are full of wild beasts and all sorts of game; the water of the fountains clear, but extremely sharp; and even many of the highest mountains perpetually covered with a most beautiful verdure, and rich pastures, that breed an infinity of cattle. No oxen are more esteemed in Piedmont, Savoy, the State of Genoa, Tuscany, the Venetian territories, and that part of Italy subject to the Emperor, than those that come out of Stiria; and vast numbers of these oxen come yearly into those provinces, and particularly out of the neighbourhood of Gratz.

With regard to the antient inhabitants of Stiria, we have not much to say; though we believe our readers will expect a short account of them. Towards the beginning of the Roman Empire, the western part of Stiria belonged to Noricum, and the eastern to Pannonia. The Norici, according to Pliny, succeeded the Taurisci here; though the latter were only a tribe of the former, if any credit may be given to Strabo. That part of Stiria allotted to Pannonia seems to have been formerly called Valeria, and Pannonia Savia. The former appellation, derived (according to Aurelius Victor), by the command of the Emperor Galerius Maximianus, from Valeria, the daughter of Dioclesian, his wife, was applied to that part of Pannonian Stiria above the Drave; and the latter, to the other below that river. The name Pannonia Savia is apparently deduced from the Save, the southern

boundary of the province to which it belongs. Which names and division of part of Stiria are greatly countenanced by Sextus Rufus and Jornandes; if those authors do not put them beyond all doubt.[7]

Stiria, with Noricum and Pannonia, was obliged to submit to the Roman arms. However, the Taurisci, and some of the neighbouring nations, made an attempt to recover their liberty, in the consulate of L. Cornificius and Sextus Pompeius, about thirty-five years before the birth of Christ, according to Dio.[8] Upon their refusing to pay the usual tribute, Augustus (who then meditated an expedition to Africa) found himself obliged to return with his army from Sicily, in order to reduce them. How and when the Romans made themselves masters of this country, Sextus Rufus[9] informs us in the following words: 'Under Julius and Octavianus, the Romans passed the Julian Alps; and having subued the 'inhabitants of those Alps, they approached the frontiers of the Norici. Batho, or Bathon, king of the Pannonians, being vanquished; the Pannoniæ submitted to the Romans. The Amantini (betwixt the Save and the Drave) being likewise conquered, the 'Regio Savensis and the territories of the Secundi Pannonii fell into our hands. The Marcomanni and Quadi were driven from Valeria, which lies betwixt the Danube and the 'Drave. And the regulation of limits, between the Romans and the Barbarians, was settled by a line drawn from Augusta Vindelicorum through Noricum, the Pannoniæ, and 'the Mæsiæ.' The Vandals obtained leave of the Emperor Constantine to seat themselves in the Inferior Pannonia; but being overthrown by Geberic, king of the Goths, not far from the mouth of the Danube (whither they had advanced from the coast of the Baltic), they were obliged to turn off another way. The Vandals being thus repulsed, the Goths marched into this country; and after them the Lombards, or Longobardi. They, in process of time, were followed by the Venedi or Slavi, the Huns or Hunni, and the Avares. Lastly, the Franci or French, were introduced by Charles the Great; who, about the year 790, extended his vast dominions as far as the Adriatic.

After the French, the Bavarians, Boiarians, or Boii, got possession of Stiria, which was their boundary or limit towards the Slavi and the Hungarians; and hence it came to be called Steirmark, or Steirmarch; which name it retains amongst the Germans to this day. From the Bavarians it passed to the Princes of Carinthia, till it was taken from them by the Emperor Conrad II. who erected it into an imperial marquisate, in favour of Ottocar count of Muerztal and Avelanz, lord of Eppenstein, and nephew to Marquardus, duke of Carinthia, in 1030. However, it was not hereditary in that family (though they continued to govern it) till the reign of the Emperor Henry V, of whom Leopold, the son of Ottocar III, obtained it as an hereditary fief, in 1120, according to Fugger.[10] This favour Leopold merited (as the same author relates) by the signal victory he obtained over Abas, or Aba, king of the Hungarians, near Pettaw. Some (according to Merianus) however are of opinion, that Ottocar I. had not the whole country of Stiria, but only the Upper; that Conrad gave him the country of Austria, which he calls Anasperg, at the same time; and that the abovementioned Leopold added the Lower Stiria, or the territory of Gratz, to his dominions, by the indulgence of Henry V. But it must be owned, that the antient history of this country is very dark and obscure. Ottocar IV. the son of Leopold, was first acknowledged duke of Stiria, by the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, in 1165, and married Kunegunda, daughter to Leopold VII. surnamed the Virtuous, duke of Austria; but having no issue, by the consent of the noblesse, he sold the duchy of Stiria to his father-in-law. Afterwards Ottocar, king of Bohemia, seizing upon Austria, for some time governed Stiria; but the Stirians, detesting his tyranny, invited Henry, duke of Bavaria, to be their sovereign. Henry, before he accepted of this invitation, thought proper to consult his father-in-law Bela, king of Hungary; who, being apprised of the affair, found means privately to conciliate the affections of the Stirians to himself, and so duped Henry, who

[7] Plin. lib. iii. cap. 20. et alibi. Strab. lib. iv. Sext. Ruf. in Brev. Rer. Rom. Jornand. de Regn. Succes. lib. i. Aurel. Vict. de Cæs. cap. 40.

[8] Dio, lib. xlix. [9] Sext. Ruf. in Brev. Rer. Rom. [10] Fugger. in Spec. Hon. lib. ii. cap. 3.

had neither money nor forces to support his pretensions. However, the Bavarian excited Ottocar to assert his title to Stiria by force of arms, who obliged Bela to cede to him one part of it. Bela, afterwards endeavouring to recover what had been wrested from him, was overthrown with great slaughter, and lost the whole. At last Ottocar, being defeated by the Emperor Rudolphus I, relinquished Stiria to his son Albert, duke of Austria; since which time it has made up part of the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria.

In the county of Cilley, the principal language is the Sclavonian, which likewise prevails amongst the peasants almost throughout the whole Lower Stiria: but in Gratz, and all the other principal towns, the people, for the most part, speak High-Dutch. In the former place the people of fashion likewise speak Italian with great fluency and elegance. In this language we conversed with our landlord, and other citizens of Gratz, without any difficulty. High-Dutch is the tongue in which all proceedings in courts of judicature are heard openly; and in which are issued out all public edicts and proclamations. The people of the Upper Stiria speak High-Dutch only; and that with much greater purity than either the Saltzburghers or Bavarians. That Stiria was antientlyinhabited by the Taurisci, seems probable from the name itself: for this region was formerly called Styrmarch, or Stiermarch, and Stier in German, and even in some of the Northern dialects of England, answers to the Latin *Taurus*. This seems a plain allusion to the Taurisci, a German nation, who probably had that name given them by the Romans, after their passage of the Danube into this country, from the figure [11] of a bull, which (according to some writers of good authority) they had depicted on their ensigns or banners; in the room of which they afterwards substituted that of a panther vomiting fire. As the German empire was terminated on the side of Sclavonia, in general, by the Muer; so the limit, or land-mark, of Stiria itself, on that side, seems to have been Gratz. Hence (according to some) that town first received the denomination of Granitz, or Grantz, a word importing boundary or land-mark, in the Sclavonian tongue: but perhaps the etymon already given, as approaching nearer the sound of Gratz, may prove more acceptable to the generality of our readers. As the Muer antiently separated Germany from Sclavonia, the duchies of Carinthia, Carniola, and a great part of Stiria, together with the county of Goritia, formerly appertained to Sclavonia; and the bulk of the inhabitants of those provinces do even still, in most points, much more resemble the Sclavians than the Germans. These territories have been considered as part of Germany, only since the time that they were first annexed to the dominions of the House of Austria.

Though the citizens of Gratz are not a little tinctured with bigotry and superstition, as being entirely under the influence and direction of the Jesuits; yet our landlord supplied us, during the short stay we made here, with whatever provisions we desired. These provisions were very good, as was likewise our lodging; so that we had no manner of reason to complain of our entertainment at Gratz, especially as the bill our landlord favoured us with, was moderate enough. This being the Lent-season, no kind of diversions were stirring here; and consequently there was nothing that could induce us to stay any longer than barely to see the town, and learn most of the remarkable particulars relating to it. The inhabitants seemed to be in a great ferment, on account of the war lately broke out between the Emperor and France. They expressed the utmost antipathy and aversion to France and her allies; nay, they could scarce keep themselves within the bounds of decency, whenever any of those powers, who, they thought, had projected the destruction of the House of Austria, was so much as mentioned.

[11] See a geographical piece, wrote in Latin by Count Purgstall of Prague, intituled '*Germania Austriaca, ab illustrissimo domino Wenceslao Carolo S. R. I. Comit. de Purgstall, Pragensi, &c. Leopoldo Magno augustiss. Romanorum imperatori dedicat. &c. Viennæ Austriæ, typis Joannis-Georgii Schlagel, Universitatis typographi;*' 1701.

[*Continued in the present Volume.*]

Reasons humbly offered for a Law to enact the Castration of Popish Ecclesiasticks, as the best Way to prevent the Growth of Popery in England.

London, printed in 1700.

[Quarto; containing Twenty-six Pages.]

THE honourable House of Commons having been pleased to take into their consideration the unaccountable growth of Popery among us of late, and to appoint a committee to consider of ways and means for preventing the same: it is thought fit, among the crowd of proposals for that end, to publish what follows:

We may, without intrenching upon the province of divines, make bold to assert, that when the church of Rome is called in the sacred Scriptures, 'The mother of harlots, and of the abominations of the earth;' there is something else meant by it than a mere religious impurity, or going a-whoring after false gods; as their saints and angels, and multitudes of mediators between God and men, undoubtedly are. We need but cast our eye upon Platina's Lives of the Popes, and turn over a few leaves of the histories of most nations of Europe, to be convinced that the Romish clergy have (ever since the Pope's usurpation) been branded with uncleanness. The wanton observation made by Henry the Fourth of France, as he passed one day betwixt a friary and a nunnery, "That the latter was the barn, and the former were the threshers;" was found to have too much of truth in it, in all those countries where monasteries were overturned or searched upon the Reformation. The vast heaps of children's bones that were found in draw-wells, and other places about them, were speaking, though not living, monuments of the horrid impurity, as well as barbarous cruelty of those pretended religious communities. To insist any more upon this, were to accuse the age of inexcusable ignorance in history; and, therefore, we shall conclude this introduction with an observation from Fox's Acts and Monuments, 'That before the Re-'formation, the priests alone were computed to have one-hundred thousand whores in this 'kingdom;' which must be understood of what the dialect of those times called 'Lemmans,' from the French *l'amante;* that is (in the modern phrase) kept misses; besides their promiscous whoredoms with the women they confessed, &c.

This horrid uncleanness of the Romish clergy cannot appear incredible to those who consider, that besides their being judicially given up of God to 'work all manner of uncleanness with greediness;' their vow of chastity, and being forbidden to marry, lays them under a temptation peculiar to their order.

It will yet appear less strange, if we consider their way of living and opportunity. They eat and drink of the best, are caressed in all families of their way; have an advantage of knowing the inclinations, and of private converse with women by their auricular confession, and by their pretended power to give pardon; have a door open to persuade the committing of one sin for expiating another, and accordingly improve it.

This is so far from being a calumny, that the popish laity themselves in all ages and countries have been sensible of it; and therefore most of the popish kingdoms solicited the council of Trent to allow priests' marriage. But the Pope (for reasons we shall touch anon) did not think fit to grant it; though Æneas Sylvius himself, afterwards pope, was so fully convinced of the necessity of it, that he said, "Though priests were forbidden to marry for very good reasons, yet there were better reasons to allow it."

They that have travelled in popish countries, and observed their priests and monks,

know, that, generally speaking, they carry about them no marks of that austerity and mortification, which they pretend to. They look as fat, and generally fatter than other men; which is an infallible token that they fare as well, if not better, than others do. You shall see as white and plump a hand under a monk's hood, as in any family of quality; and a foot as clean and neat many times in a sandal, as is to be found under a Spanish-leather shoe and silk stocking. Nor is it any secret, that in the neighbourhood of convents there is as good diet prepared for the use of monks and nuns, as comes to gentlemen's tables. Nay, those very places of retirement, with their large gardens, adorned with walks and shades, and many times watered by pleasant fountains or murmuring streams, together with their idle way of living, seem to be accommodated to inspire them with amorous sentiments; against which their vows of chastity, and the rules of their order, are so far from being preservatives, that they only add fuel to their flames, and make them commit sin with the higher relish. So that, when they go abroad from their monasteries, they are like so many fed horses neighing (as the Scripture expresses it of the lustful Jews) after every woman they see: and if they have not opportunity of giving vent to their lusts that way, they many times do it by other methods, which nature as well as religion, forbids to name. This we may justly suppose to have been the motive that induced Emanuel de Saa in his Aphorisms to maintain, that fornication, adultery, and sodomy, did not make a priest irregular; whereas, marriage did.

If besides their being forbidden to marry, we consider that they are provided for by the sweat of other men's faces, have no families to take care of, have no hard labour to mortify and keep them low, and are under no obligation to study hard; we shall find that there is no reason to wonder if they be more inclinable to venery than any other men whatsoever: and since by experience it is found to be so, forbidding them marriage may well be called 'a doctrine of devils,' both as to its original and effects. That it comes from the devil, the father of lies, and by consequence the author of every false doctrine, is not to be controverted, since the law of God and nature commands us to 'increase and multiply,' and fits us for it; and that it might be in a regular way, God himself instituted marriage in Paradise; and the Apostle tells us, that 'marriage is honourable in all:' and that this doctrine is devilish in its effects, is evident from the horrid impurity of the Romish clergy abovementioned, and the mischiefs they do by it to particular persons, families, kingdoms, and commonwealths.

We come next to take a view of the cause, why the court of Rome does so stiffly insist on the celibacy of their clergy; which will further demonstrate the reasonableness of gelding them, to prevent their infesting this nation.

Though Rome pretends to have changed her religion, and hath actually changed her form of government, by taking an ecclesiastical instead of a temporal head; yet it is visible she hath abated nothing of her ambition, to be mistress of the universe, and did in a great measure effect it by her papacy, to which so great a part of those, called Christian nations, submitted before the Reformation. So as Catiline, when Rome was heathen, thought it necessary to debauch the women, and then to carry on his conspiracy against the government by their interest, because of the influence lewd women had upon the loose rabble, and that they could either murder their husbands, or bring them over to his party: Rome, since it became antichristian, hath enjoined celibacy upon their clergy, that they might be rendered the more apt to debauch women, and to make use of their interest, in order to deprive the civil magistrates of their right, and to usurp the temporal, as well as the spiritual sword.

1. Because they know, that nature having inclined all men to propagate their species, their priests so, and so circumstantiated, as before mentioned, could not possiby refrain from the act, though they were not allowed to do it in a regular way; and therefore so many women as they debauch, which they knew by their circumstances and opportunity must needs be innumerable, so many proselytes they were sure of.

2. Because they knew that their clergy, being pampered and restrained from the use of

the marriage-bed, must needs be more inclinable to venery than other men, and consequently more pleasing companions to insatiable women; and therefore the better fitted for the practice of creeping into houses, and 'leading captive silly women, laden with divers lusts,' as the Apostle expresses it.

3. Because they knew that their clergy by this means having an opportunity of bringing to their lure a buxom wife, who perhaps has a sickly, weak, or absent husband; a green-sickness daughter, or a wanton maid; they would by the same means become masters in a manner of all that belonged to the family, have the command of their purses, know all their secrets, and improve all to the advantage of the see of Rome, which indulged them thus with a Mahomet's paradise.

4. By restraining their clergy from marriage, they knew it would make them the more impetuous to satisfy their desires; and that they might have the better opportunity of doing it, they are enjoined by their directory in confessing women to examine them most as to the sins of the flesh, which they tell them they must discover on pain of damnation. This being a ready method to inflame them mutually, attended with secrecy, and the priests' pretended power of giving a pardon, they knew it could not miss of the designed effect; they knew also, that so many of those silly women as they captivated, so many champions and advocates for their religion they should have in families, courts, or elsewhere; for they might assure themselves, that such women would not easily part with a religion that did so much gratify their depraved appetites, by allowing them as many men (though not husbands) as they have priests or confessors: and therefore many of the wise popish laicks have been of opinion themselves, that no man ought to confess a wife but her husband, and that a daughter ought to be confessed by none but her father.

5. Another, and that none of the least reasons why they forbid marriage to their ecclesiasticks, is, that if they had wives or families, they could not so easily be sent on missions, and encompass sea and land to make proselytes. They would not be so ready, nor so fit, to engage in assassinations, conspiracies, and rebellions, against princes and states, at the commands of their superior: nor could they, by their whoredoms, so much propagate the interest of the great harlot, for then their wives would be so many checks and spies upon them.

From all which it seems reasonable to infer, that the best way to rid this kingdom of popish priests, and to prevent the growth of popery, is to make a law, that all of them who shall be discovered in England (except such as are thought fit to be allowed to foreign ambassadors) shall be gelded, as they are in Sweden; where, since the same was enacted into a law, and practised upon a few of them, that kingdom hath never been infested with popish clergy or plots, nor their women reproached with want of chastity.

This will appear the more reasonable, if we consider, that the havock they are allowed to make of women's chastity, is one of the principal things that induces lustful fellows to take Romish orders upon them; and to engage in desperate designs, to promote the interest of that church. This any man may easily be convinced of, that will give himself leave to consider, what dangers other men of better principles (and who may have opportunities of satisfying nature by lawful marriage) do many times expose themselves to, for the satisfaction of their brutish passions; and how they frequently sacrifice honour, interest, and estate, with the peace of their families and consciences, to their irregular appetites of that sort.

The case then being thus; let us consider what a deluge of uncleanness may be poured out upon this nation by one thousand, or two thousand, (supposing there were no more) of those popish ecclesiasticks in England at a time; especially since they look upon it to be their interest to debauch the nation, as one of the best expedients to advance popery, as was evident from the practice of the late reigns; and, therefore, it seems to be the natural way of obviating the growth of popery, to make the Romish ecclesiasticks uncapable of promoting it by that method which they like best, and find most successful.

It will still appear to be more reasonable, because they have vowed chastity, and, by their own confession, have no occasion for those seminary vessels; therefore, if they re-

solved to live as they have sworn to do, they would willingly unman themselves, as Origen did; so far would they be from having any reason to complain, if others should do it for them.

It can no-ways be reckoned cruel, since it may be done without hazard of life, (as common experience shews,) both in man and beast; and, by consequence, less to be complained of, than those laws which condemn them to the gallows. There have been more priests put to death in England, than ever were gelded in Sweden; yet experience teaches us, it hath not had near so good an effect. This is demonstrable from the many conspiracies against our princes and nation, that the priests have formed since the enacting of those laws, and from the great progress their idolatry makes among us at this very day; whereas Sweden, since the enacting of that law, hath been liable to none of these misfortunes. This law of castration occasioned a pleasant raillery upon the Jesuits at Brussels, by Queen Christina of Sweden. When those fathers came to congratulate her there upon her conversion, they entertained her, among other things, with the wonderful effects of their missions in the Indies, and other remote parts. That princess applauded their zeal, but, at the same time, rebuked their indifference for her country of Sweden, where their endeavours were so much needed: she pleasantly told them, "That though the law of castration was a bar in their way, they ought not to prefer the keeping of those things, of which they stood in no need, and of which she hoped they made no use, to the advancement of the Catholic faith." But this, though the severest proof in the world, has never been able to bring the Romish clergy to so much sense of their duty, as to renew their attempts of converting Sweden. This may serve to confirm the story told us of an old capuchin in the 'Menagiana,' the works of the abbot Menage, that he rejected the advice of his physicians to be cut for the stone, for fear it should make him impotent, though he was then eighty years of age:

Namque ad vivendum castrari valdè recusat,
Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causam.

The Romish clergy have so much accustomed themselves to those impure pleasures, that they will be sure to avoid those countries where they must be rendered incapable of enjoying them.

If it be thought that the laws, already made, will be more effectual against them; there is no need of repealing them, though a new one of castration be added. Since that hath so good an effect in Sweden, we have no reason to despair of the like here. It is generally concluded, that our English women are as tempting as any in Europe, and are, therefore, as likely to prevail on a Romish priest to venture hanging, to enjoy their favours, as any others: but, if they be rendered incapable of it, the temptation will have no force; and so the priests will save their lives, our women will preserve their chastity, and our religion and liberty will be freed from their attacks.

The only objection of weight, that can be made against it, is, "That it may provoke our popish allies, and other popish princes, to treat Protestant ministers in the like manner." To which we answer, "That admitting it should be so, it is not half so bad, as to have them broke on the wheel, hanged, or sent to the galleys." In the next place, there is not the like reason for treating Protestant ministers in that manner, for they generally marry; or, if they be guilty of uncleanness, are thrust from the ministry. And, in the last place, there is no reason why we should have any more regard to our allies, or other popish princes, than they have to us. We hear, every day, of the cruel persecution in France and Germany, notwithstanding our mildness to the Papists here; so that our enacting a law of castration cannot possibly make them persecute the Protestants more severely than they do, but may rather put a stop to it.

And, indeed, it is to be wondered at, that the Protestants should be so much wanting in their zeal, and so little sensible of their own interest, (when we have so warlike and zealous a Protestant prince upon the throne of Great Britain,) as not to agree on methods for obliging the Papists to forbear that barbarous persecution of their brethren. Endeavours,

of that nature, were used in some of those reigns, when popery had so much interest at court, that it seemed to have a share of the throne; therefore, it is strange, if nothing should be attempted towards it in this reign. To effect this, would (humanly speaking) seem to be no difficult work; since the naval strength of Europe is in the hands of the Protestants; and that the strength of Great Britain, and Holland, is now under the command of one prince, who is the hero of his age.

This our own safety seems to require, and charity and compassion to our brethren beyond sea does loudly call for: but if for reasons of state, or otherwise, it be found impracticable for us to interpose in behalf of persecuted Protestants abroad; there is nothing can hinder us (if we be willing) to secure ourselves against popery at home, by putting the old laws in execution, or enacting new ones.

This seems to be absolutely necessary, if we consider, either the state of the Protestants beyond sea, or our own condition at home.

If we look abroad, we shall find the Protestant interest, which was once so considerable in France, quite ruined; and one of the chief causes of its being so, was the neglect of our English governments since Queen Elizabeth's time. We have done nothing effectual for them since then; which was a mighty oversight, both in respect of duty and interest. That it was our duty, will scarcely be denied by any man, that has any true impressions of the Protestant religion: that it was our interest, is demonstrable, because, had the Protestants of France been supported by our mediation and assistance, they would never have concurred in any ambitious design of their monarchs against the Protestant interest, or this nation; and, perhaps, the fears of that court, that they might prove a curb upon their designs of that nature, was none of the least causes of their having ruined them by the most ungrateful as well as the most barbarous persecution, that ever was known. From all which it will naturally result, that it is the interest of England to save, if possible, the remnant of the Protestants in France, by some effectual interposition.

If we look a little farther into the state of the Protestants of the Valleys of Piedmont, we shall find that antient church almost totally ruined and dispersed. If we turn our eye towards Hungary, Transilvania, and Poland, the Reformed interest is almost quite exterminated in those countries, as it is totally ruined in Bohemia. What danger it is liable to in the neighbouring country of Saxony, is known to every one; since that country, whose prince was the first that embraced the Reformation, is now under a popish government: and, if we come nearer home, to the Palatinate, there we shall also find a Protestant church, once the most flourishing, and best reformed in all Germany, under an unreasonable and cruel persecution. If we consider the treaty of Ryswick, by that we shall find the German Protestants despoiled of eight or nine hundred churches: the once-famous Protestant city of Strasburgh delivered in prey to the church of Rome; and the Protestants in Alsace, and the neighbouring principalities on each side, as the duchy of Montbelliard, county of Veldents, &c. subject to popish encroachments. In a word, if we look throughout the whole empire, and take a view of the diet at Ratisbon, we shall find the popish interest every where rampant, and encroaching upon the Reformation, contrary to the fundamental laws, and most solemn treaties of the Empire. If we cast an eye upon Swisserland, the little republick of Geneva, and the principality of Neufchatel; there, also, we shall find the Protestant interest threatened and languishing.

If we look northward, there we find the Protestant kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark ready to engage in a war with one another, and that the quarrels betwixt them are fomented by those who carry on an interest, which is destructive both to the Protestant religion, and the civil liberties of Europe. This is sufficient to discover the bad state of the Protestant interest abroad.

If we consider the posture of affairs at home, it is evident from a late printed letter, said to be wrote by a worthy bishop, and dedicated to a member of parliament, that popery comes in upon us like a flood. It is not to be denied that there is a party in the three nations, who favour the title of an abdicated popish prince, and his pretended succession, against the present government, and the succession established by law. It is not be forgot,

that their interest was so strong as to advance a popish king to our throne; and though they could not keep him there (because he dismounted himself by a furious career), yet they have endangered us since, by repeated plots against his present Majesty's life, and endeavouring to bring in a French invasion upon us. It is also known, that there are mighty discontents fomented and nourished in all the three nations, in relation to trade, parties, and different pretensions; and that this gives the Popish clergy an opportunity of adding fuel to our flames, which makes it likewise evident that the Protestant interest is in danger at home.

This is further demonstrable from the trouble the Papists have from time to time given, and continue to give our government and parliaments: what is the meaning else of those proclamations formerly and lately emitted, commanding Papists to retire from London? &c. What else is the meaning of those bills brought in, to prevent their disinheriting their Protestant heirs, and to hinder their sending children abroad to foreign seminaries, to be bred up in idolatry, or made priests, monks, and nuns? This, besides the danger that accrues thereby to our religion and liberties, takes vast sums of money out of the kingdom yearly. They likewise give trouble to our parliaments, by bringing in bills for discovering estates and money given to superstitious uses; which is every way mighty prejudicial to the kingdom, and enables the Papists to breed vipers in our bowels, in order to rend us in pieces.

Then, since it is undeniable that we are in danger from the Papists, whether we consider the state of affairs at home or abroad, and that the laws hitherto enacted have not been able to prevent the recourse of popish priests, &c. nor the growth of popery in this kingdom; what should hinder us from trying new methods, and particularly this law of castration?

It would certainly be a punishment very proper for them, and might make them read their sin in their judgments; since it is evident, that by their own personal villainy, and their loose doctrine of pardons, &c. which encourages people in licentiousness; they make more proselytes than by any other method.

Those, who perhaps would scruple to be any ways instrumental in taking these priests, when the penalty inflicted upon them by law is death; would not have reason to be so scrupulous to take and discover them, when the punishment is only castration; and therefore would be more diligent to put the laws in execution upon them.

It must also be reckoned a deserved punishment, since (under the seal of confession) they commit uncleanness with those they have the trust of as ghostly fathers, so that it is a sort of spiritual incest, and a destroying people with arms that make no report; both which crimes are capital in all well-governed states, and therefore the punishment of castration, in such a case, must needs be accounted mild.

If it be objected, that though some of the Romish clergy be guilty of incontinence, yet all of them are not so, and therefore such only are to be punished in that manner as are convicted of the crime: it is easy to answer, that it is equally true, that all of them are not guilty of conspiring against the government, nor is it possible to convict all of them of perverting the subjects; yet the 27th of Elizabeth makes it treason for any popish priest, bred up beyond sea, to be here; or to return into England, without submitting to the government, and taking the oath of supremacy. And indeed it is but reasonable it should be so; for their being here supposes their design: and therefore there is as much reason to punish them, though we cannot prove the overt acts upon them, as there is to punish thieves for coming into our houses in an illegal manner, though we cannot prove that they have robbed us, or stole any thing. If we find a wolf, or other beast of prey, among our flocks, we take their design of destroying them for granted, and treat them accordingly, though we do not see the limbs of our cattle in their mouths. And therefore, since the practices and principles of the Romish clergy are so well known, their being found in the nation ought to be sufficient conviction.

It still remains a question, How they shall be discovered? But the answer is at hand. Let a competent and certain reward be proposed for such as shall do it, and the like re-

ward, and a pardon to any of their own number that shall discover the rest; or let provision be made for some of every English seminary beyond sea that turn Protestants, and plant some of them in the several ports of the kingdom; and let some of each of those seminaries be likewise constantly in London to assist in searches, and view those that are taken up on suspicion: and, at the same time, let provision be made for such as will inform of all the popish clergy that haunt the great families of that opinion in England, and we need not doubt of an effectual discovery in a little time. For, besides the influence that the hopes of a reward will have; those goatish fellows, the Romish clergy, do many times disoblige families of their own way, by attempting to debauch their wives, children, or servants, some of whom have so much virtue as to reject the temptation, and to hate the tempters; and many times their blind zeal occasions them likewise to take indiscreet methods to pervert Protestant servants, who would not be wanting, in case of such provision, as above-mentioned, to discover those dangerous fellows.

To inflict this punishment of castration upon them, is so much the less to be thought cruel or unreasonable, since it is so ordinary in Italy, and other popish countries, for the meaner sort of people to geld their own sons, that they may make the better market of them for singing-boys, and musicians; or to be catamites to cardinals, and other dignitaries of the Romish church. In those hot countries the Roman clergy are much addicted to that damnable and unnatural crime; and such of them as are not, keep lewd women almost avowedly: they are indeed more upon the reserve, and live according to the maxim of *cautè*, though not *castè*, in such countries where the government is Reformed, or where the Protestants are numerous; but then they are under the greater temptation to perpetrate their villainies, on the pretext of confessing women; therefore, there is the more reason to enact a law of castration against them in this kingdom.

We have the more ground to think, that such a law duly executed would have a good effect, because the lust of the flesh is so bewitching and natural to the greatest part of mankind, and continues to have a predominancy in them for so great a part of their lives, that it hath occasioned, and does occasion more disorders, and is apter to engage men over whom it obtains the ascendant in more desperate undertakings, than any other passion whatever. Histories are full of examples of princes and great men, that have ruined themselves and their countries, in the pursuit of their irregular amours. We have no need to turn over foreign stories, or to go out of our own nation for proofs of this. It is not so long ago to be forgot, since we had the chief affairs of state managed, and parliaments dissolved, &c. at the beck of courtesans. The interest of popery and tyranny, in the late reigns, was chiefly advanced by such.

Do we not find, even in private persons of all ranks, that where that passion is not kept in due bounds, or cured by the proper remedies of a suitable match; honour, health, and estate, nay, life itself, is many times sacrificed to the pleasure of the flesh; and therefore the Apostle had reason, as well as revelation on his side, when he ranked all that is in the world under the three heads of 'the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of 'life;' and gave that of the flesh the preference. It is plain, from experience, that the other two are made generally subservient to it; as is visible every day, from that excess in jewels, apparel, and household furniture, and the vast expence, which the gallants of both sexes put themselves to, in one or all of these, in order to obtain the favour of their paramours.

From all which we may make this inference, That if the Romish clergy were made incapable, by a law, of enjoying that which they account the greatest pleasure of life; they would avoid those countries, where such laws are put in execution, as they would avoid the plague. It would be happy, if, by this means, we could deliver our posterity from those conspiracies, civil wars, dreadful fires, massacres, assassinations of princes, and other mischiefs, which these kingdoms have been liable to from the Papists, and against which all our other laws have hitherto signified but little to preserve us.

We have also found, by sad experience, that they have had so much influence, as to

get the ascendant over some of our princes, by tempting them (as they have done French king) with the hopes of an absolute sway, and we know not what visionary empires. By this means they prevailed with them to overthrow our laws, the recovery of which hath cost the nation so much blood and treasure, that after-ages are like to feel the smart of it; though they have run one of our princes off the stage, and have well-nigh ruined their great champion beyond sea, (as they did formerly the Spanish monarchy,) by spurring on those princes to persecute Protestants, and establish despotical government. They will never give over that game, but inspire all princes, to whom they can have access, either by themselves or others, with one or both of those designs; and therefore it is the interest of England to use all possible means to secure the nation against those Romish clergymen, for which castration is humbly conceived to be the properest method; and is so far from being cruelty, that it may well be reckoned as great a piece of clemency to Romish priests, as transportation is, instead of the gallows, to other condemned criminals.

In short, it will be so far from being a real diskindness to the popish laicks of this nation, that it will be the greatest piece of friendship to them imaginable. This, we hope, they will be the more readily convinced of, if their wives, daughters, and maid-servants cry out against this law; for then, to be sure, they have some particular concern in the matter.

We hope, that our popish laicks in England are men of as good observation as those in other countries, and particularly in France and Italy, where their very proverbs are sufficient to demonstrate, that they have no great opinion of their clergymen's chastity. It is not possible to expose those goatish fellows with more severity and contempt than the Italians do by saying *Fate lui coronna*, by way of sarcasm, of a stallion, that they do not think performs his part; alluding to the priests' shaven crowns, as if that sacerdotal character were sufficient even to invigorate a horse. Their other proverb of *Fate lo prete*, 'Let us make him a priest,' when they have any ungovernable wanton in a family, that over-runs all their females, is a-kin to the other; and their covering their stone-horses with a monk's frock, when they find them indifferent for a mare in season, is a scandalous reproof of those brutish clergymen. Answerable to these is the French proverb:

Qui veut tenir nette maison,
Qu'il n'y souffre ni prêtre ni moin ni pigeon.

Comparing the popish clergy to the pigeons, for their venereous inclinations; and may be Englished thus:

'They, that would keep their houses chaste and neat,
'From thence must priests, monks, nuns, and pigeons beat.'

As all proverbs of that sort are founded upon something universally known, or conceived to be true; it is not at all for the honour of the popish clergy, that their chastity should be thus reflected upon, in countries where they are the sole directors of conscience, and have their religion established by law.

But that, which fixes it yet more upon them, is, that, in the Pope's chancery, the tax for eating eggs in Lent is greater than that for sodomy; and the penalty upon a priest, that marries, is greater, than upon those that commit that monstrous and unnatural villainy just now mentioned. From all which it is manifest, that they did not speak at random, who informed us, that the celibacy of such an innumerable multitude of popish ecclesiasticks is the *maximum arcanum dominationis papalis*, and that 'the priests' testicles 'are the greatest promoters of the Pope's empire.' This will appear yet more plain, that it is of the highest importance to them; since the church of Rome maintains, 'That mar-'riage is a sacrament, and that all sacraments confer grace;' and yet denies it to her clergy. A manifest indication, that they have their graceless designs to promote by it; especially since, at the same time, the want of those parts, which they will not allow them to make

use of in a regular way, renders them incapable of being priests, according to their canons; but yet they are so kind to their gelded martyrs, as to allow it to be sufficient, if they have them about them in powder, or any other way.

These things confirm, in a literal sense, the odious characters given the church of Rome, in the Revelations, chap. xvii. xviii. &c. as, 'The great whore, with whom the kings and 'inhabitants of the earth have committed fornication; the mother of harlots and abomi-'nations of the earth, having a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations, and of the 'filthiness of her fornications;' &c. Then, since (by the testimony of God and man) the Romish clergy is such an impure and lascivious crew, it makes a law of castration a just and adequate punishment for them.

To conclude: since our King and Parliament have both testified their zeal and forwardness to suppress immorality and profaneness, it follows naturally, that such a law as this deserves their serious thoughts; for it is impossible to suppress reigning vice, so long as those goatish fellows are suffered to swarm among us. They not only corrupt the morals of people themselves, by such practices and principles as abovementioned, but bring over and encourage others to do it, particularly those Italians, &c. who sell and print Aretin's Postures; and, in order to debauch the minds of women, and to make them guilty of unnatural crimes, invent and sell them such things, as modesty forbids to name. It is evident, that as popery advanced upon us in the late reigns, debauchery gained ground at the same time, for they naturally make way for one another; and therefore we can never suppress immorality, without securing ourselves effectually against popery. If this should be attempted by a law of castration against Romish priests; it must be owned, that it would be more charitable and humane to save ourselves from popish superstition, and all its mischievous consequences, by that method alone, than to practise it, together with other punishments, upon such of those wretches as come to the gibbet for treason. The cutting off their privities in such cases, and throwing them into the fire, just before they be totally bereft of life, can be of no manner of use; whereas castration alone, beforehand, might have saved us from the danger of their plots, and prevented themselves from coming to the gallows.

The true History[1] of the late and lamentable Adventures of Don Sebastian King of Portugal, after his Imprisonment in Naples, until this present Day; being now in Spain, at St. Lucar de Barrameda.

'There is no Power but from God.' Rom. xiii.

London, printed by Simon Stafford and James Shaw, 1602.

[Quarto, containing Twenty-eight Pages.]

THIS unfortunate King, Don Sebastian, having been brought from Florence to Naples, was put into the castle of Oeuf, into a chamber, without any other furniture in it than a halter, and a long knife of the length of half the arm; where, for the space of three

[1] [This 'true History' is considered by Oldys as little better than a legendary tale. See his Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 80. A French novel of the Adventures of Don Sebastian, Roy de Portugal, is mentioned by Langbaine as translated into English, and as having afforded a plot for Dryden's admired tragedy of the same name.]

days, they neither gave him aught to drink, or to eat, nor whereon to lie: which space he spent in continual prayers, enduring his crosses with incredible patience. On the fourth day after, the Auditor-general, accompanied with two notaries, came to visit him; and found him, for his life, of good disposition, and marvelled exceedingly at him, (for all of them did verily believe, that, seeing himself so ill treated, he would, in despair, have hanged himself, or, with one of those two instruments, have ended his days; which for that purpose were prepared, and placed in that room; or, at least, incur thereby some grievous malady,) and said unto him, "That if he would not deny, and cease to maintain, what he had avouched and maintained, in reporting himself to be Don Sebastian, King of Portugal; he should never have either drink, meat, or lodging." To whom the King made answer:

"Do what you will, for I shall never sing any other song; and beseech God Omnipotent, of his infinite goodness and divine mercy, that he will stretch out his powerful hand, and assist me in these my troubles; and that he will not suffer me to commit so foul a fault, or to fall into so great a mischief, and so contrary to my own soul, that for fear and terror of men, I should come to deny the truth, and to confess a falsehood. God defend me from it! I am that self-same Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, who, in the year 1578, passed into Africa against the Infidels; and the very same, who (to augment the name and power of the Christians) put my life in hazard; and am that unfortunate prince, who (for the punishment of his sins) lost a battle; which loss begat so many misadventures, and occasioned so many changes in Christendom. This is the very truth, neither can I say any other."

With this answer, the Auditor and his notaries went their way. After this, they began to give him, for his nourishment, some bread and water; and, some few days after, he was allowed five crowns a month, and a man to wait upon him. The Viceroy of Naples, last deceased, came to visit him, and there passed between them that, which hath been published by so many hands, and set forth in so many languages. Now, as soon as it was bruited abroad, and that fame had run and told it through the world, that he remained prisoner, and that all men had leave to see him; many persons, of divers, both qualities and nations, made a voyage unto Naples, only to see him, and to speak unto him. And, amongst the rest, many Portuguese (some out of Portugal, and some from other places of their being) passed into Italy, that they might, with their own proper eyes, behold so admirable, and so rare a wonder. Many of the Portuguese, especially the elder sort, who had seen him, and knew him; and some also of Castile, and other strangers besides, having seen him, and discoursed with him, confessed and maintained, that he was Don Sebastian, the true king of Portugal.

During the life of the said Viceroy, his imprisonment was not so austere, nor so strict, as it was afterwards, when his son succeeded in the said government; who kept him exceeding close, and double-guarded; suffering him, notwithstanding, to go abroad on the Sundays, and other festival days, for to hear mass in a chapel within the said castle. He lived in perpetual prayers and fastings. Every Friday and Saturday, he fasted with bread and water. He did the like, sometimes, also on other days; as on Mondays and Wednesdays. He often frequented the sacraments, and used much confession; and all the Lent long, fed nor eat of any thing, save only herbs and pulse.

The seventeenth of April last past, (within a year after that he was delivered to the Castilians,) the said Viceroy, who also is Count of Lemos, son to him that was deceased, married with the daughter of the Duke of Lerma, who now, at this day, is a governor in Spain. At that time it was demanded of him, that he should suddenly make answer, without any other proceedings or diligence in his cause, unto that which, on the fourth day, was proposed by the Auditor-general, accompanied, as before we mentioned. To whom he replied:

"That it was no lawful, nor direct course, to take upon them to examine, and judge him, without process; but rather, that they should present him to the Portuguese, who had

both nourished him, knew him, and served him. For, on their relation, and their testimony, ought to depend the true proof and approbation of his business: affirming, that, if it were possible for him to live a thousand years longer, he would never answer otherwise: and that if they should determine to do justice on him, without any other order or proof, he must take God for his only judge, who knows the truth of this matter, and that he is the proper and true King of Portugal, Don Sebastian. Wherefore, if you are so disposed, take your course in effecting that, upon which, heretofore, you purposed."

The officers, appointed for this affair, being gone from him with this answer, he went immediately, and threw himself down on his knees before the crucifix; and began to dispose and prepare himself for death. He fasted the space of three days with bread and water. He made his general confession, and received the holy sacraments. As he thus attended his latest hour, before the said month of April was ended; they sent again unto him for his final answer. To which message he made the like answer, as before. And, upon these his last words, he was judged and condemned by the Castilians, to be led in ignominy through the streets of Naples, and from thence to labour in the galleys all the rest of his life.

The last day of the said month, they brought him out of the castle, and mounted him on an ass, and led him openly through the streets of the city, three trumpets marching before him, with a crier, who cried with a loud voice, "This is the justice which his Catholic Majesty hath commanded to be executed. He hath commanded this man should be thus shamefully led up and down, and that he should perpetually be doomed to the galleys, for naming himself to be Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, being no other than a Calabrian." And still, before the crier began, the trumpets sounded, and so continued to the end. And, when they named 'King,' he would cry aloud, "Why, so I am." And when they said, 'Being no other than a Calabrian,' he would answer, "That is false." Yet, notwithstanding, in the repetition of these words, all the while that they were pronounced by the crier; he nowise hindered the course of justice, nor once moved himself against it.

Now must you note, that the Castilians not knowing how to verify, that he was the said Marcus Tullius Cartizzone, as they endowed him with at the first, when he was delivered unto them; they proclaimed him at that hour, by the indefinite name of 'a Calabrian.'

This act bringeth an extreme amazement to all the whole city, and engenders a great sorrow, and causeth much compunction in the hearts of all men; insomuch that they went away struck with wonder, and full of astonishment. They looked one upon another with a silent strangeness, and were unable to utter so much as one word to another; the greatness of their grief stopping the passage of their speech. And if any amongst them were heretofore persuaded, that he was a Calabrian; after they had now beheld his own proper person, and this so strange a spectacle, they were confirmed in this belief; and did certainly assure themselves, that he whom they thus reproachfully led up and down upon an ass, was the very right and true Don Sebastian, King of Portugal; and they were touched with such great compassion, and remorseful fellow-feeling, in beholding this his miserable state, and the injustice wherewith they did treat him, that they were not able to refrain from tears: the sighs and lamentations of one inciting the rest to the same, who mourned and bewailed his misery; whilst the King himself cried out in this pitiful manner:

"I am in the hands of my enemies, who work what themselves will upon this my body; but my soul I recommend unto God, who hath created it, and knows the truth, and can witness for me, that I am the same whom I profess and say I am."

After they had carried him thus throughout the city, they brought him to the king's royal galleys; whereunto he was no sooner entered, but they presently pulled off his own apparel, and put upon him a slavish attire, and placed him at the prow of the galley, where he remained a whole day: and, the next day following, they put him, with a guard, in a

little barque, that was linked to the galley, whither there repaired a great concourse of people, of divers nations. Amongst the which, were present a great number of noble personages, and of very honourable houses, who steadily viewing his visage, and marking him with an especial attention, and a most searching eye, " Without doubt (said they) this is that true Don Sebastian, King of Portugal."

The fifth day they ranked him in the galleys, and shaved off the hairs both of his head and beard; the which were gathered up, and kept by those that stood by, as a most precious thing, and of great esteem.

This being done, they fettered him with chains; signifying unto him, that he should not be bound to row. Some French lords were present at most of these proceedings; and, among the rest, a son of Monsieur de Berault, who is (now at this day) nominated for to be ambassador of Castile; and a gentleman, who is a follower of his, with some others of the same suit.

In these days of so great affliction, the King ceased not to continue in his daily prayers and fastings, with such admiration of those that beheld it, that they held him for a saint; and, by the means of his patience, modesty, and other apparent demonstrations of his virtues, he gained so much reputation amongst those with whom he lived, that they were forced to confess, that the truth of this matter was covered and hidden, by the inventions and subtleties of his enemies; and maintained, " that he was the rightful Don Sebastian, King of Portugal."

Many of very good qualities have writ out of Naples into divers parts of Europe, touching the success of this affair, according to the truth thereof, and in such forcible manner, that as many as are either in the court of Rome, or in Italy, are persuaded to believe, and do hold most constantly for true, that this miserable Prince is the same person he professeth himself to be.

But some will haply say, that he doth deserve far more grievous chastisement, because he escaped alive from the battle of Africk, rendered so famous in the world, and coming afterwards unknown into his own kingdom of Portugal, he did not demand it again, leaving it as a prey to his enemies; which hath occasioned so many men's deaths, so many and so divers misadventures, so many mischiefs, afflictions, and miseries, as have happened thereby, and have crossed those Christian people these twenty-two years; as one, who should have preferred the public good before his own particular imaginations, and private fancies. But whosoever shall take knowledge of his pure virtue, piety, fear of God, wisdom, and understanding, will sing another song, and only say this, *Sic erat in fatis;* and that God would have it so; to the intent, that, in the law of grace, there should be found another Job, like unto him in the law of nature.

These galleys passed from Naples into Spain, where some do report, that they saw him at Barcelona, in one of the king's royal galleys; and that he sat on the third seat, and that they used him very well, and served him with very much honour, and with great respects.

We believe well the former, but not the latter, as it shall appear by what we shall manifest hereafter; for they are but tales and fables, divulged by his enemies, who have published it so abroad, for to cloak their malicious wickedness, and their treasonable intents, and to conserve the good love and favour of such as love him with all their hearts; and who, with all the art they can, with all their soul, and with all their power, seek to regain him, and to acknowledge him for their lord and master: whereas the others, preferring their own particular interest, and forgetting wholly the common good, have quite lost both the remembrance of their loyalty, and the obligation wherein they stand bound to their country.

From Barcelona, the galleys entered into the ocean-sea, where they remained till the beginning of the month of August, at the port of St. Lucar de Barrameda.

A courier from his Catholic Majesty, recounted to the thrice-Christian King, the cause why the aforesaid vessels passed forth of the Mediterranean-sea into the ocean, which was a rebellion in Angra, a city in the isle of Tercere, which is the chiefest of the isles,

which they call by the name of Azores, which is the key of all the ocean-sea; for those that come out of Africk, out of Asia and America, are constrained to pass that way, as to the principal butt of their navigation. The isle is situated in thirty-nine degrees, and some minutes, between the Septentrion and the Meridian.

The certainty of this insurrection is not yet, to this day, made fully known. Some say, that the Portuguese did rise against the Catholic King, a nobleman of Spain being a party with them. Others, that the governor of the isle, being by nation a Castilian, did mightily bastinado a captain of his regiment; who weighing with himself, that he could not challenge his superior in the field, and that he remained in an isle environed round with the sea, and 300 leagues from Lisbon, he resolved to take some other course to satisfy his vengeance upon him. For effecting of which revenge, he discovered his intentions to his soldiers, and especially to the Portuguese of the said isle; whom he finding propitious, and fully bent to yield him their best assistance; for to make himself satisfaction for the wrong he was offered, he determined to kill the governor, and to rise with the whole isle, in favour of the Portuguese; which was effected after the same manner it was resolved on.

This revolt was the cause that his Catholic Majesty caused his galleys to come from Naples into the ocean.

Yet, for all this, will I not deliver neither the one nor the other cause for current: for they are but fables, framed out of the forge of the enemy, whose custom it is to sow such false tales, to see how the world will stand affected with it; and to discover the hearts, as well of the nobler as the vulgar sort. It is rather to be thought, that his Majesty commanded the said galleys to come out of Naples into the ocean, upon the rumour of those forces that were raised in England, being designed (as some say) to enter Portugal.

But whatsoever they say, so it was, that his galleys came down thither; and it shall suffice us for our purpse, to know for certain, that the royal galley of Naples, in which Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, was put, rides at St. Lucar de Barrameda; and that the said Don Sebastian is within her, in the manner aforesaid.

On the twelfth or thirteenth day of the said month, there arrived in France, in a ship of the Rochellers, two French merchants (well known to be men of credit and truth), who did assure, as well by word of mouth as by letters written to persons of honour in Paris, that they have seen the aforesaid prisoner at St. Lucar de Barrameda, within the royal galley of Naples; and that they spoke unto him; and that they saw him in chains poor and miserable; and that they offered him linen, and silver, and other commodities, which he would by no means take, but refused their kindness, and returned them thanks; and that he brooked his affliction with wonderful patience; and that all they of the galleys did acknowledge him to be the same that himself had said he was, and did generally call him King; and that he is served by two galley-slaves that are Turks; that he labours not at the oar, but in all things else is used like the rest of the slaves; and that the Duke of Medina Sidonia and his wife, had a desire to see him, who having talked a long time with him, the King demanded of him, "If he had that sword still which he gave him, when he embarked himself for Barbary?"

The Duke made answer, "That indeed Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, presented him with a sword, which he bestowed upon him before his embarking, which he had caused to be kept in his armoury amongst the rest."

"Since that you have it then, (replied the King,) I pray you, let me entreat that it may be brought hither; for, although it be now twenty-four years since I gave it you, I doubt not but I shall know it full well." The Duke had commanded some dozen to be brought, the which the King having severally viewed, told him, "Mine is not amongst any of these." Then the Duke willed they should bring all the rest. And the King espying it in the hands of him that brought them, "Lo, Duke, (said he,) behold the sword which I gave you, when I passed into Africa."

There was in the company of the Duchess a negro, whom the King knew, and said, "that he had served him for the washing of his linen; being one of his launderers, when

he reigned in Portugal." The Duke, seeing these things to be so apparent, and so probably true, that they seemed miraculous unto him, blessed himself with many a cross; and was seen to go from him with a heavy and a sorrowful countenance, and weeping, as it were, through compassion and mere pity, to see so miserable a prince, in so wretched and unhappy an estate. And the most part of the Castilians themselves, subjects to King Philip, amazed with these so many signs and testimonies of truth, howbeit they dare not speak it openly; yet, notwithstanding, in their private discourses, they will not stick to say, "That it is impossible that this man should be any other than the true Don Sebastian; and that it is to be feared, that God will swallow them all in hell, if the Catholic King restore not all that unto him, which of right appertaineth unto him." But those, who do not look on these great miracles, with the eyes of pity, say that he is possessed with a devil.

This Duke, if I am not deceived, was called Duke Alphonso de Guzman le Bon, the tenth count of Niebla, and the seventh duke of Medina Sidonia; who, in the year 1578, the King Don Sebastian arriving at Cales, for to go into Africa, received him with great royalty, magnificent feastings, with tilting and tourning, with bull-baiting, and other sports and pastimes, such as the isle could afford.

The said King continued eight days with the Duke, who, they say, took much pains with him to dissuade him from passing into Barbary in his own person.

This considered, men need not to think it strange, if the Duke had a desire to see him, and also to speak with him; nor that likewise, which the Rochellers report, touching the sword and the negro; since that the wife and lady of the said Duke is Dame Anne de Silva, daughter to King Gomez de Silva, a Portuguese, and prince of Eboli, who governed the kingdom of Castile for many years; who might very well retain the said negro in her service, by reason he had been brought up in the prince's house of Portugal.

We have divers letters, written from Cales into many places round about, which we find to be as followeth:

There arrived out of Spain six or seven merchants, inhabitants of this town, (men of the most credit and wealth amongst them,) who reported, they had seen Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, in the king's galley of Naples, at St. Lucar de Barrameda; and that they saw him chained as a prisoner, and treated as the rest of the slaves, but served with more respect, and free from the oar; which favour, it is thought, was obtained for him by the Pope's favour.

They added, moreover, that many old men, Portuguese of divers sorts, in great abundance, came thither to see him, and that all of them did confess, that this was the true Don Sebastian, king of Portugal; and that the Castilians cried with a loud voice, in these terms which we have here above mentioned, touching the wrath of God hanging over Spain.

And if we shall but weigh all the successes of this King, his peregrinations through the world, his imprisonment, his deliverance out of Venice, the manner of his coming from Florence unto Naples, his sentence, and execution upon it, it makes the case appear, in our sight, miraculous and full of wonder; but, above all, his embarking and arrival at St. Lucar de Barrameda. And yet, besides all these, this is a rare and extraordinary thing, that the galleys, coming down from Naples into the great sea, did suit in such conformity and correspondency with the ancient prophecies, which touch these adventures.

The reverend father, Dr. Sampayo, (a religious and holy man, of the order of Preachers,) being at Paris the last year, hath assured many men, that he had seen in the library of St. Victor, in a certain book, a prophecy, which we will openly deliver unto you; to wit, 'That the King, Don Sebastian, should come out of Naples upon a horse of wood, which, 'out of the Mediterranean-sea, should enter into the ocean; and that his horse should rest 'at St. Lucar de Barrameda.'

See what father Sampayo hath truly recounted to these persons, touching this prophecy, the same is confessed and confirmed a-new by the religious men of that monastery; for it hath been communicated and declared to divers of them; also they have writ the very same to some of his friends; and within the self-same library, they have shewed the

prophecy to some such secular gentlemen, as stand well-affected to the liberty of this unfortunate King. And, forasmuch as the said father Sampayo is far from hence, we cannot cite the very words of the prophecy, nor the author of it; yet, notwithstanding, it shall make very well for that we have in hand, if we shall but know that which is found written, touching the adverse and prosperous haps of this unhappy Prince, by men of great learning and holiness of life; which if we do, we may the more easily be excused. St. Isidore, a very wise and learned man, and of the blood-royal, as being the son of Theodora, and of Severian, son to Thierry, king of the Ostrogoths and of Italy, who flourished about the year 580, hath left unto us in writing: *Occultus rex, bis piè datus, in Hispaniam veniet in equo ligneo; quem multi videntes illum esse non credent*, &c. which is as much as to say, 'A 'secret and unknown king, exceeding devoutly given, shall come into Spain upon a 'wooden horse; which many men seeing shall not believe it is he, &c.'

This here is found to be published in a strange adventure, lately printed:

A shoemaker of Portugal, named Bandarra, born in the town of Trancoso, who lived here about some three-hundred years since, hath left unto us in writing, in Portuguese verse, very many prophecies upon divers and sundry subjects; amongst the which there are found some, which treat *del Incubierto*, viz. 'of the concealed and hidden Prince;' in one part whereof, we have observed the accomplishment, in the person of King Don Sebastian: and if those, which remain behind, shall prove but as true, as those that are past; doubtless, we shall see this King seated in his royal throne.

The poor labouring people of Portugal retain this as an old tradition:

'That a time shall come, wherein a king, whose name shall be, as it were, *De Bestia*, 'shall disappear for a time; and that, after that he and his realm shall have suffered many 'afflictions and calamities, the very self-same king, whom all the world holdeth for dead, 'shall rise again, and gain his throne with incredible happiness.' In which tradition, we are to note one thing concerning the name of Bestia; for the peasants of Portugal, instead of saying Sebastian, pronounce Bestiam; so that, taking away the last letter of the word, there remains Bestia. Moreover, we may also persuade ourselves, that this tradition of those base, rustic, and barbarous men, shall have its full accomplishment in the person of this Prince, hitherto so unfortunate. It is no such strange and unusual thing to see God permit, that we behold his secrets in the mouth of ignorant persons, since that his Son hath taught us, *Abscondisti ea à sapientibus, & revelâsti ea parvulis*. And we may as well, by the permission of God, see this rustic prophecy fulfilled, as they did that, which runneth through the mouths of the labourers of Beaulse, in these latter years of the King that was; which was by tradition delivered still from the father to the son:

'The year One-thousand five-hundred eighty-nine,
'A new king unto the throne of Portugal shall climb;
'The year One-thousand five-hundred and ninety,
'Far more hares, than sheep, shall you see.

We have also, elsewhere, another old fellow, who hath composed a book in Castilian verse, which serves as an explication of those prophecies of St. Isidore, and of some others, who have writ of the Incubierto. In which book I have read, some forty-five years since, many curious things, which, if I could remember them, would at this time stand me in good stead. But, because I read them in my youth, without any notice of things to come, or imagining of any charges or revolutions to happen in the world these twenty-four years past; and, besides, being then incapable of understanding them, it made me the more negligent in the apprehension of them; only my memory hath, in a confused manner, furnished me with a poem of seven lines very fit for our present purpose; and, not long since, a gentleman of Portugal, a faithful servant to his king, and very desirous of his country's liberty, gave it me in writing:

Vendra & Incubierto,
Vendra cierto.

Entrera en el huerto,
Por el puerto.
Qu'esta mas á ca del muro,
Y lo que paresce escuro,
Se vra claro, y abierto.

Which is as much as to say:

'The unknown shall come,
'He shall come for certain,
'And shall enter at the garden,
'By the gate,
'Which is nearest to the wall;
'And that, which seemeth dark and obscure,
'Shall appear full clear, and be discovered.'

For the better understanding of these verses, we are to understand what this Garden, and what this Wall is: for the exposition and understanding of these two words shall give us light to the rest, and shall lay open to our view those admirable things, which a simple poem prophesieth unto us.

We are, then, to understand, that this Garden may be taken for the country which extends itself beyond the mount Calpe, which is in Spain, at the mouth of the streight of Gibraltar, fronting mount Abyla, which is situated on the other side of the said streight, in Africa; which are the two mountains, that are named by the ancients Hercules's Pillars; as far as the river which the Latins call Bætis, and is named now at this day, by the inhabitants, Guadal-quiver (a name imposed by the Moors, after they had made themselves lords of Spain), which signifieth, in our language, 'Great Water;' for *guad*, in the Arabian tongue, is as much as water, and *quiver* signifieth great.

The isle of Cales is in that country, and was once far greater, than now it is. All this country is very fertile, plentiful, and delightful.

Ancient authors do report of it, that if their sheep should go but thirty days without letting of blood, they would die with fatness.

In this country did Homer dwell, before he grew blind, which was in the year 1307 after the Flood, and two-hundred fifty-five, before the foundation of Rome, and a thousand before the incarnation of Christ. In those days they called it *Melesegines*. They that have seen the fruitfulness and good temperature thereof, affirm, that these were the Elysian fields, whither the gods sent the souls of the blessed. Whence we see clearly, that this country is the garden of Spain, and so we likewise call it.

Yet there are some authors, notwithstanding, who maintain and approve with very strong and evident reasons, that Lisbon is the garden of Spain, with the appurtenances thereunto belonging: forasmuch as it is a very pleasant territory, large, fertile, plentiful, fair, and delectable; wherein grow great abundance of all fruits, the most excellent, and the most perfect that Europe affordeth.

Your elder writers affirm, that the mares, that live thereabout, will be impregnated by the wind; and that the colts, which come of them, seem rather to fly than run, so swift they are of foot.

Ulysses (whom writers allot unto us, as founder of the said city), and his companions, arrived after his shipwreck, in these quarters, and entering into the ocean-sea by Tagus; moved by the fertileness of the territory, with the waters, and the abundance of fish, that were bred in the said river, being so deep and so marvellous fit for all kind of commodities, besides the great store of gold, which seemed to be in those sands, he named it Theodora, which in the Greek tongue, signifieth 'God's Gift.' So that the garden of Spain is that country, which we affirm to be between the mount Calpe and the river of Gaudiana: or else the town of Lisbon, with her territories.

The King Don Sebastian having entered some of these parts with prosperity; it import-

eth us a little for the verification of this prophecy, whether the one, or the other, be the garden of Spain.

Touching the Wall, all they that are well seen and practised in the ancient histories of Spain, confess, that it is the isle of Cales, which they call Gades; and by reason of the affinity of the G with the C, is converted into the name of Cades.

And for the better declaring from whence this name came, it is necessary that we here allege some ancient histories, which teach us, that there are six men that bear the name of Hercules; whereof two of them have stifled each other's reputation. One was son unto Jupiter and Alcmena; the other, son of the same father, and of Asteria sister to Latona: and this Hercules is adored with great reverence at Tyre.

The histories do report, that he commanded the Gaditanes by a dream, (who were the inhabitants of that city,) that they should pass into Spain, and build a temple unto him in Cales, where his name should be held in veneration.

For to accomplish this commandment, the Gaditanes embarked themselves in the year two-hundred thirty-five, after the foundation of Rome; and, sailing by the Mediterranean-sea, they entered the ocean; and not far from the mouth of the Streights, they landed at Cales.

There began they to build a town, observing the customs and ceremonies of the Hetruscians; who did (as Marcus Varro mentioneth) couple a bull and a cow under one yoke, and so made a deep furrow with their ploughshare, in a circular or round figure, whose circuit they drew as large as the city should be, which they intended to build. The ploughshare made the furrow; and the earth, they threw up, formed their walls. So did Romulus, when he undertook the foundation of Rome; as it is storied by Dionysius Halicarnasseus. So did Æneas also, according to the testimony of Virgil:

Interea Æneas orbem designat aratro.

And thus, in this manner, was the said place held afterwards for a thing holy and religious.

As soon as the building of this town and temple was bruited in the world, great multitudes out of Europe, Africa, and Asia, came to see it. And in after-years, the Carthaginians, considering that the inhabitants thereof, as being all of one country, (for they and the Gaditanes came both out of Tyre,) would continue still friends unto them, determined to undertake the conquest of Spain.

And for the better effecting their design, they cloaked their ambition with piety and religion, as I shall shew you; giving the Spaniards to understand, that it was not fit; since so many out of all parts of the world came to visit this city, and the temple belonging unto it, and to do sacrifice unto the god thereof, of whom they had received such exceeding benefits, that the said god should be worshiped in so poor a temple, and of so base a structure, the walls thereof being no better than dirt and earth: and therefore would entreat them, that they might have leave to build a greater, a richer, and more sumptuous temple.

The Spaniards, not suspecting any ill that might succeed, nor any way being jealous of the Carthaginians at that time, did easily condescend to their request, suffering them to obtain whatsoever they desired.

Presently hereupon, the Carthaginians began, with incredible haste, to build a mighty huge temple of squared stone, and so strong, that it might serve them instead of a castle, for the effecting of this their intention.

There were also all along the temple some strong buildings; saying they were to serve for the priests, the officers, and the servants of the said temple.

Not content with this, acquainting the Spaniards with the bad entertainment, which those received, which came with such great devotion, and undertook such long journeys for to visit the house of this their god, that they might have where to retire themselves, and to shelter themselves for all seasons; that they would permit them to build a greater number of houses, for to lodge and receive poor pilgrims.

In a word, the Carthaginians obtained all that they would; and joining one house to another, they made a very strong place, by means whereof, they grew great lords in Spain: and the same report is now at this day very common also in the mouths of many. When the Earl of Essex took the said town by force, the inhabitants trembled, and cried out, "Is it possible that the walls of Spain should be taken by the enemy? O God! what shall we do?"

Out of this, which hath been said, you may clearly see, that this is that wall and that garden, which the author of these prophecies hath spoken of in his verses. So that in knowing this, we may easily have knowledge of the gate, that is on the other side of the wall, which must be that of St. Lucar de Barrameda, which is on the other side in the ocean-sea, some five leagues distant from Cales.

God grant that this virtuous and holy prince, Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, fulfilling all that which is prophesied of him, may enter into the possession of this kingdom, for the peace and tranquillity of his countries, and the common good of all Christendom. *Amen.* Farewell; the last of August.

After I had ended this present discourse, news came out of divers places, and letters sent by many persons worthy of credit, who confirm all this that hath been spoken of Don Sebastian: adding withal, that the Duke of Medina Sidonia sent afterward aboard the galleys four men, which had both seen, known, spoken, and served the said King, all the time he lay at Cales, before he passed into Africa, which was eight days, for to see and examine, whether he were the very same or not. These men saw him, spoke to him, and demanded of him many things; himself not knowing to what end they thus examined him: who, returning to the Duke, did avouch with many oaths, that this man was that very self-same right and true Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, whom he had received at Cales, with such great joy and feasting, in the year 1578. Some say that the Duke writ letters of all this that had passed unto the Catholic King: and besides, that with these his letters, and ratification of what he had seen and heard, he sent the said men for to testify the truth of it.

God grant, for his mercy's sake, and for our delivery out of so many troubles and miseries, that those prophecies set down in the two last lines of those verses in the Castilian tongue, before recited, may quickly be fulfilled, to wit:

Y lo, que paresce escuro,
Se vra claro, y abierto.

[*Continued in Vol. V.*]

Sir Thomas Roe's[1] Speech in Parliament. Wherein he sheweth the Cause of the Decay of Coin and Trade in this Land, especially of Merchants Trade: And also propoundeth a Way to the House, how they may be increased.[2]

Printed in the Year 1641.

[Quarto, containing Twelve Pages.]

IT is a general opinion, that the trade of England was never greater, and it may be true, that it be so; yet it will not absolutely conclude, that the kingdom doth increase in riches; for the trade may be very abundant, and yet, by consumption and importance of more than is expected, the stock may waste.

The balance would be a true solution of the question, if it could be rightly had; but, by reason it must be made up by a medium of the books of rates, it will be very uncertain.

Therefore we must seek another rule, that is more sensible, upon which we may all judge, and that may be by the plenty or scarcity of money; for it is a true rule, If money increase, the kingdom doth gain by trade; if it be scarce, it loseth.

Let us therefore consider; first, whether our gold and silver be not decreased, and then by what means it is drained; and lastly, how it may be prevented, and what remedies are applicable to effect it.

It is out of doubt our gold is gone to travel without licence; that is visible beyond seas, and every receiver of sums of money must find it privately: and I fear the same of silver, for observing the species of late coining many half-crowns were stamped, which are no more to be seen; and by this measure, I conclude the kingdom grows poor.

The causes of this decay of money may be many; it may be stolen out for profit, going much higher beyond seas, especially in France and Holland.

Much hath been drawn away by the stranger upon fears of our troubles, of which I have experience by exchanges; and exchanges are the great mystery, especially such as are used as a trade, and governed by bankers who make many returns in a year, and gain by every one, more than the interest of a year; and the greatest danger to a state is, when money is made merchandize, which should be but the measure thereof.

And here I will propose a problem, whether it were profitable to a kingdom or not, that the stranger for many years had a great stock, here at interest, and still hath some; I confess it hath supplied the necessities of merchants, and helped to drive trade. But my query is this, Suppose the first principal were truly brought in by the stranger, yet doubling every ten years; what becomes of the increase? Have they not lived by our trade, and the merchant-adventurers, and soaked the kingdom of as many times principal, as they have practised this usury many times ten years, and in the end drawn or carried all away? This is a point to a state very considerable.

Much coin hath been drawn away, without doubt, by the French; who have brought in wares of little bulk, perhaps without custom, but of dear price, and, having turned it

[1] [Grandson to Sir Thomas Roe, knt. lord-mayor of London, in 1568. He was made an esquire of the body to Queen Elizabeth, in the latter part of her reign; and became a highly distinguished diplomatic character during the reigns of James and Charles I. Wood records him not only as a great statesman, but as good a commonwealth's man and as sound a Christian as our nation hath had in many ages. Athen. Oxon. ii. 53.]

[2] See Oldys' Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 156.

into gold, have returned without investing any part thereof; and such petty merchants cannot be reached by the statute of Employments.

Another cause of scarcity of coin, may be the over-strict rule of the uncurrentness of any good coin, and that it must be sold here, as bullion; in that case, what stranger will bring in money? Whereas, if every good species be current, according to this allay, and weight in proportion to our coin, or rather a little higher, it will draw, namely, money by degrees into England; as lower grounds do water from higher, though they see not the channels: and we see France, Holland, and Germany admit all good coins, though foreign, for and above their intrinsic value.

But I will end this search, by proposing some general remedies: for I do now but make essays, and give occasions to more subtle and particular disquisitions.

1. To the first leak of stealing away coin, I would make it felony by an act; for, if a man may justly suffer death for robbing of a private man, I see no injustice nor cruelty to inflict the same punishment upon him that robs a kingdom.

2. That the neighbour princes and states do cry up our money, and so entice it from us. This, in my judgment, ought to be provided for by our treaties, which was the old way, especially of commerce, by agreeing and publishing of placarts, according to a true par. For that prince, that will make a treaty of commerce, doth it for the use of the commodity; which, certainly, I would deny any prince, that would not consent to keep moneys even, by their true values; at least, that would set a higher price upon our money, than the king hath done: and if our coin did either keep beyond the seas, the English value, or were bullion and uncurrent, the stranger should have as little of our money, as we have of theirs.

How to recover the stranger's money drawn away, since our troubles, is a hard endeavour, and can no ways be brought to pass, but by peace and trade; and the resolution of this will fall into the general remedy, which I shall propose.

The pedling French trade must be met with by diligent search, at the landing of these creamers, what they bring in, and by suffering none of them to pass any goods by private warrants; but that, according as they shall be valued, they give bond to invest it in English commodities, natural or naturalized, and that with surety. Nay, in this case, not to allow them exchange by bills; for it will not hurt the commonwealth, if, by any rigour, they were beaten out of their private toyish traffick.

I shall not doubt to offend any but the mint, which may be recompensed to his Majesty, in his customs, if money be plentiful; for all goods will follow money. If I did propose the currentness of all goods, and great species of foreign coins, for their true intrinsic value, according to the pay with ours; and if I say a little higher, according to occasions, (keeping our own coin pure and constant to be cried down, as much under, according to occasions,) I think it will be a policy both reasonable and profitable, by experience tried in other states.

But, leaving these empirical practices, I come now to the great and infallible rule and remedy, which is, in plain English, to settle and assure the ground of trade upon staple-commodities; which, like the lady of Whitsuntide to her pipe-money, will dance after that; for, as merchandize doth follow money, so doth money commodity.

I said at first, it was a general opinion, that trade never flourished more than now, and it may be so; but we must consider this be not accidental and changeable, and depending more upon the iniquity or misery of the times, than upon our own foundation and industry; and, if that be so, then it is no sure ground for a state to rely upon: for if the causes change, the effects will follow.

Now it is true, that our great trade depends upon the troubles of our neighbours, and we enjoy almost the trade of Christendom; but, if a peace happen betwixt France, Spain, and the United Provinces, all these will share what we now possess alone; and therefore we must provide for that day: for nothing stands secure but upon its own foundation.

To make, then, our own trade secure, we must consider our own staple-commodities, whereof wool is the chiefest, and seek the way to both, to keep up the price at home, and the estimation of all commodities made of that, and to be vended abroad.

Some other helps we have, as tin, lead, and such-like; but I dare confidently affirm, that nothing exported, of our own growth, hath balanced our riotous consumption at home, but those foreign commodities, which I call naturalized; that is, that surplus of our East-India trade, which being brought home in greater quantities than are spent within the kingdom, are exported again, and become in value and use as natural commodities; and therefore, by the way, I hold it absolutely necessary to maintain that trade, by a regulation with the Dutch; of which more reason shall be given, when that particular shall be taken into consideration.

We have yet another great help which is our own, and wants only our industry, to gather the harvest; which is our fishing and erecting of busses, both for the enriching of our kingdom, and the breeding of mariners; and this by private industry, though to private loss, is beaten out ready, and shall be offered to the commonwealth, if they please to accept of it; and to give you one only encouragement, I do avow, that before the Dutch were lately interrupted by the Dunkirkers, by their industry, and our fish, they made as great returns between Dantzick and Naples, as the value of all our cloth, which is one million yearly; and this, in a due place, I desire should have its due weight and consideration.

We have one help more, if we knew how to use it, that is, by the new-drained lands in the fens, most fit for flax and hemp, to make all sorts of linen for the body, for the house, and sails for ships: that is a Dutch and French trade. But, in Holland, one acre of ground is rented at three pounds; which, if the Hollanders may have in the fens for ten or twelve shillings, it will be easy to draw the manufacture into England, which will set infinite people at work, and we may be able to serve other nations with that, which we buy dear from them; and then the state and kingdom will be happy and rich, when the king's customs shall depend upon commodities exported, and those able to return all things which we want; and then our money must stay within our kingdom, and all the trade return in money: to encourage you to this, I give you one example:

That if the several sorts of callicoes made of cotton-wools, in the Mogul's and Dan's dominions, doth clothe, from head to foot, all Asia, a part of Europe, Egypt, much of Africa and the Eastern islands, as far as Sumatra; which makes that prince, without mines, the richest prince in the world; and by his Majesty's grace and privileges granted to the Dutch, I am confident we may make an undersell linen-cloth, in all the nations in Europe.

But I have now wandered far from my theme; which was the decay of trade, and of the woollen commodity.

I must first, therefore, present to your consideration the causes thereof, in my observations; whereof some are internal, and some external.

The internal have proceeded from our own false-making and stretching, and such-like practices, whereby, indeed, our cloth is discredited. I speak by experience, from Dantzick and Holland, northward to Constantinople, as I will instance in due time.

This false lucre of our own, and the interruption in the dyeing and dressing projected and not overcome, gave the first wound; though, could it have been compassed, it had doubled the value of our commodity.

This hath caused the Dutch, Silesians, and Venetians, to attempt the making of cloth; and now, by experience, as I am informed, the half is not vended, that was in the latter age.

Another internal cause hath risen from such impositions, as have made our cloth too dear abroad, and, consequently, taught others to provide for themselves.

Another internal cause hath sprung from pressures upon tender consciences; in that many of our clothiers and others have forsaken the kingdom, and carried their arts with them; to the inexpressible detriment of the commonwealth.

The external causes have been the want of perfection, and countenance to our merchants,

established abroad in factories, by the state, and by the treaties; whereby, the capitulations have not been kept, nor assured to them, neither in Prussia, nor in the Sound, nor Hamburgh, nor Holland, nor in the East: and this I dare say, that Laban never changed Jacob's wages so often, as the Hollanders have forced our merchants to change their residences, and the very course of this trade, by laws and tricks, for their own advantage; of which the merchant-adventurers will more fully inform you.

Another external cause is lamentable; a report of the increase of pirates, and the insecurity of the Mediterranean seas; whereby Bristol and the Western ports, that cannot have so great shipping as London, are beaten out of trade and fishing; and if once those thieves shall find the way to Bank and Newfoundland, they will undo the West parts of England.

I will trouble you with a consideration, very considerable in our government; Whether, indeed, London doth not monopolize all trade? In my opinion, it is no good state of a body, to have a fat head, thin guts, and lean members.

But, to bring something before you of remedy, I say thus, for my first ground; That, if our cloth be not vended, as in former years, let us embrace some other way, to spend and vend our wools. Cloth is a heavy and hot wearing, and serves but one cold corner of the world: but if we embrace the new draperies, and encourage the Walloons and others, by privileges and naturalizations, we shall employ all the wool we have, set more people to work, than by cloth; and a pound of wool, in those stuffs, true made, will outsell two pounds in cloth: and thus we may supply France, Italy, Spain, Barbary, and some parts of Asia, by such light and fine stuffs, as will fit those warmer regions; and yet have sufficient for the cold climates, to be spent and adventured in true-made cloth, by the reputation both of our nation and commodity.

But, in this course, I must observe, that these strangers, so fit to be nourished, and being Protestants, may have privileges to use their own rights[3] in religion, so as they be not scandalous, as the Dutch and French had granted to them by Queen Elizabeth; and certainly, the settling of religion secure in England, (the fear whereof made many weak minds to waver, and abandon this country,) is, and will be, a great means to resettle both the great and lesser manufactures of woollen commodities.

For the external causes, we must fly to the sanctuary of his Majesty's gracious goodness and protection; who, I am confident, when the whole business shall be prepared for him, and that we have shewed him our duty and love, and settled his customs, in such a bountiful way, as he may reap his part of the fruit of trade; I am confident, I say, that he will vouchsafe you all favour, fit to be conferred upon good subjects; and not only to protect you abroad, by his forces and authority, and by treaties with his neighbours, but by increasing the privileges of merchants at home, and confirming all their charters; the breach whereof hath been a great discouragement unto them; and, without which duly observed, they cannot regulate their trade.

There are some particulars in the Spanish trade, perhaps, worthy of animadversion; as underselling a good commodity to make money, or barter for tobacco, to the imbasement of our own staple for smoke; which, in a due place, ought to be taken into regulation.

Another consideration, for a ground of trade, ought to be the nature of it; with whom, and for what we trade, and which trade is most principally to be nourished; which, out of doubt, are the Northern trades, which are the root of all others: because the materials, brought from those parts, as from Sweden[4], Muscovy, Norway, Prussia, and Livonia, are fundamental, and of absolute necessity; for, from these trades, we get the materials of shipping, as pitch, tar, cordage, masts, and such-like, which enables us to make all the Southern trades, themselves, of less use, being only wine, fruit, oranges, and curiosities for sauces or effeminacy: but, by these, we sail to the East-Indies, and may erect a company of the West-Indies, for the golden fleece which shall be prepared for you, whensoever you are ready for so great a consultation.

[3] [*aliàs* rites.]

[4] [*Wx*, in the earlier edition.]

The right way to nourish these Northern trades, is (by his Majesty's favour) to press the King of Denmark to justice, not to insist on his intolerable taxes, newly imposed upon trade, in the passage of the Sound; in example whereof, the Elector of Brandenburgh, joined with the King of Poland, hath likewise more than trebled the ancient and capitulated duties; which, if that they shall continue, I pronounce all the commerce of the Baltick sea so overburthened, that the Eastland company cannot subsist, nor (without them, and the Muscovy company) the navigation; but that the materials for shipping will be doubled, which will eat out all trades. I have given you but essays, and struck little sparks of fire before you: my intention is but to provoke the wit and ability of others. I have drawn you a map, wherein you cannot see things clearly and distinctly; only I introduce matter before you, and now I have done, when I have shewed you the way how to enlarge and bring every particular thing into debate.

To which end, my motion and desire is this, That we may send to every several company of merchants, trading in companies, and under government and privileges, and ask of them, What are their grievances in their general trade; not to rake into private complaints? What are the causes of decay or abuses in their trades, and of the want of money, which is visible; and of the great losses, both to the kingdom and to every particular, by the late high exchanges? And to desire every one of these companies, to set down their judgment, in writing, to the committee, by a day appointed. And having, from them all, the general state of the complaints, severally; we shall make some judgments of these relations one to another. This done, I desire to require all the same several companies, upon their own papers, to propose to us, in writing, the remedies applicable in their judgment. Which materials having altogether, and comparing one with another, we shall discover that truth which we seek: that is, Whether trade and money decay or not? And how to remedy it.

But I have one request more; and so I will ease you of my loss of your time: that when, from all these merchants, we shall have before us so much matter, and without such variety, and, perhaps, not without private and partial ends, that then you will give me leave to represent to you the names of some general, and others disinterested and well experienced in many particulars, who may assist our judgments in all the premises, particularly in money and exchanges; and give us great light to prepare our result and resolution, to be (by the whole House of Commons) represented to his Majesty; and, for expedition, that a sub-committee may be named, to direct this information from the merchants[5].

[5] [In the collection of Thomas Brotherton, esq. of Hey, in Lancashire, a MS copy of this tract had the following title:—"A Speech delivered at the Council-Table by a great Travayler and an experienced Statesman, touching base Mony, or the Alteration of the Standard: spoken (*as some say*) by Sir Thomas Rowe, knight, in July 1640."]

A New Bill, drawn up by a Committee of Grievances, in Reply to the Ladies and Batchelors Petition and Remonstrances, &c.

[Quarto, containing Four Pages.]

VIRGINS and Batchelors, (or rather Ladies and Gentlemen, for that is your safer name, and so we would advise you to title yourselves,) we have received both your addresses, and both your suits lie before us. We confess, that to do you equal right, you both plead strongly, and pray heartily: however, the fervour of the suppliant does not

always argue the honesty of the petition. The most unreasonable, most unjust things in the world, may be as vigorously prayed for as the best. A man, in his angry moments, may as zealously wish to see his honest neighbour hanged, as he ever wished in a fit of sickness to be saved. The same tradesman's wife, that at morning-service could think of nothing but Abraham's bosom; before night, perhaps, has altered her note, and prayed with greater vehemence to meet her gallant. The merit therefore, and not the oratory of the plea, is the business of our examination.

But, before we descend to particulars, we must so far join with you, to own your cause (that we may use your own phrase) a matter of the greatest consequence that ever came within our walls. For hymen and love, generation and progeny, the fulfilling of the great first commandment, 'Increase and multiply,' is indeed an importance so high, that not only the present race of mankind, the now occupants of the world, but even the yet unborn, are concerned in it.

Having therefore duly weighed the whole controversy between the petitioners and remonstrancers, we must declare our ready tenderness, and (without partiality) favourable inclinations both to the complaints, and complainants, the aggrieved petitioners. For having considered, that long customs, out of the memory of man, are (by the British constitution) equivalent to the most binding laws; we find upon search, that England has been always the heaven of women, and also by another customary female claim, that a woman never loses her honour; and, consequently, that the practised deference and complaisance to the sex is an unalienable right. Upon the said premises duly considered, (as we sit here not to destroy fundamentals, but to support them,) we must allow a great many unquestioned prerogatives, as their just and natural right; a fair *magna charta* on the soft-sex's side.

Nevertheless, not to come to any conclusive determination, *causâ inauditâ*, we think it highly concurrent with our own honour and justice, to discuss the main points in dispute between the Ladies and Batchelors, before we come to any final decision on either side.

First then, we cannot but take notice that the Batchelors very unjustly charge the petitioners with difficult courtship; the pretended servitude of tedious Jacob-prenticeships, &c. being, in the whole, a most notoriously false and malicious suggestion. For how can any man in his right wits believe that ten-thousand green-sickness maidens, subscribers to the petition, can be those hard-hearted Rachel-mistresses; as if life, health, and love were so little dear to them, that they would rather die martyrs to oatmeal, loam, and chalk, than accept such able doctors and such pleasant physick for their recoveries, in that only *elixir vitæ*, man and matrimony?

Nay, do not the whole body of petitioners most frankly and generously avow, both for their Majesties' and the nation's service, their ready inclinations and desires of recruiting the yearly Flandrian mortality, by an immediate consummation and propagation. Is not the fair festival-sheet hung out, with all the heartiest bridal compliment, of 'Wake, sleepers, rise and eat?' And can the ungrateful Batchelors talk of 'seven-years courtship,' after such endearing invitations! But, however, if by chance, once in an age, they meet with a thick-shelled bitter almond, must the generality of the sex, the tender pistachoes, requiring not half the cracking labour, and with ten times the sweeter kernel, be falsely reproached and reviled?

And whereas the Batchelors ridiculously object their fear and dread of entering into the matrimonial state, from the suggested frailty and brittleness of the weaker vessels: to obviate the folly of that fear, and the shallowness of that argument, we declare, *nemine contradicente*, the fair-sex, not to diminish their value, to be true precious porcelain, and it lies only in the gentle usage and tenderness of the handling, to preserve them.

And we farther declare this petition of the longing ladies, (notwithstanding the scurrilous Batchelors' ridiculing and censorious reflections,) to be as honest a supplication, as a prayer for daily bread: for every thing would live.

And whereas one great bar to matrimony are the common pretensions of good husban-

dry, in choosing rather to buy at Hackney, than keep a milcher of their own; as thereby endeavouring to avoid the expensive concomitants of wedlock. Now, as these unthinking remonstrancers never consider the dangerous risks of their own Latitudinarian principles and practices, in incurring the hazard of coming to sarsaparilla and guiacum, and the rest of the dry drugs, infinitely more expensive than the objected matrimonial sweetmeats and caudles, gossipings and christenings, &c. the confectioner's a much easier than the apothecary's bill, and one Dr. Wall a heavier incident charge than two Chamberlains.

We therefore think fit to lay before their eyes the too common and too threatening malevolence of those malignant ascendants, *viz.* Venus in the lower house, and Mercury in the upper one; and withal advise them to reflect, that the nursery of a whole fire-side is not half the expence of rearing of galloping runners into standing gouts. We could likewise further convince them, that the universal havock of all the maims and cripples, from French chain-shot and splinters got betwixt wind and water, is much the vaster hospital rent-charge, than the pensions of Chelsea and Chatham.

However, if no counsel nor precept can reduce them from their infamous reprobation to the honourable state, we hereby enact this punishment of their apostasy, That they live in their sins, and die in their shame; and, as the last public brand, be utterly debarred even that common civility of bribing the searchers, and softening the bill of mortality, by slurring a shame-faced consumption upon a scandalous rot.

But to begin our examination into the petitioners' greatest and loudest-tongued grievance, the multitude of misses; and all the fatal influences from those reigning ascendants; that not only (as the petitioners modestly complain) divert, but (as we may safely add) poison those wholesome streams which would otherwise run in the regular channel of matrimony: we shall here subjoin our power and authortiy for accomplishing a thorough reformation in this particular; with the following inflictions and punishment for the discouragement and suppression of the said notorious vice and enormity.

Whereas, therefore, to the scandal of the age, it has been often experienced, that a witty and beautiful spouse has been abandoned for a hard-favoured dowdy miss; under no other shadow of excuse, than the pretended discovery of having found a fiddle abroad, and therefore slighting the unmusical instrument at home. Now, in utter detestation of such abominable pretences, and such unnatural conjugal abdication, (together with the manifest justice of *lex talionis,)* we do hereby license and authorize the aforesaid fair abandoned, as well for the alleviation of doleful widowed nights and virgin sheets, as for the support of the family, (possibly in no small danger from such neglect and desertion,) to borrow the assistance of some dignified younger brother, to raise heirs, &c. without incurring the præmunire of elopement; or upon non-readiness and failure of such honourable supply, to have free leave to take up with some coarser domestic menial, though but to the homely tune of 'Drive on, Coachman.'

And, in like manner, it is resolved and ordered, that all those ramblers and strays under that misleading *ignis fatuus*, the sweet sin of variety, that shall therefore grasp at out-lying pluralities, (though, possibly, naturally so weak-gifted, as to be scarce sufficiently qualified for due incumbence at home,) shall, for the said wilful offence of non-residence, incur the penalty of sequestration, to be supplied by a curate, from the choice of the parish.

And whereas the fair complainants too loudly inveigh against their powerful rival, wine, and the present too spreading idolatry of the bottle, and the dangerous concomitants thereof: which the Batchelors endeavour to soften and sweeten, by insinuating the juice of the grape no ill-meaning enemy to the god of Love's subjects. For adjustment of the dispute, be it resolved, that wine be no farther encouraged than as *amorum famulus*, a good servant but a bad master; to be indulged and cherished as a moderate grace-cup, to make love chirp, but not sleep; and be used for sauce and relish, not for souse and pickle. Be it therefore enacted, That for due punishment of those violent claret-hunters, that, by abuse of this lawful and limited indulgence, do outrun all bounds, to the making a toil of a

pleasure, and a tedious tiresome fox-chace of it; it may and shall be lawful for the sweet neglected Venus, like the old modest Diana, to punish all such capital offenders with the front of an Acteon; it being the opinion of this Committee, that the wilful neglect of family duty, and all false measures of due benevolence, fall as justly under parliamentary censure and lash, as the false packing of butter.

And whereas the crying shame of the daily scandalous rhymes, the licentious scurrilous pamphlets, doggrel and playhouse farces upon the holy state of matrimony, is no small grievance of the petitioners: this honourable Committee, as fully empowered to search papers and records, have found the said libels to be wholly matter of malice and calumny; the generality of the authors being either some scribbling, aspiring, slighted pretenders to some fair disdainful Celia; and therefore, in pure spite and revenge, pelted and persecuted with satire and lampoon, for no other sin but her being deaf and invincible to ditty and sonnet; and thereupon the whole honourable state of wedlock maliciously vilified, with the outcry of 'Dry meat,' for no other reason, but that themselves are thrown out of the chace, and excluded the game: or otherwise, if such wedlock-railing be the venom and gall of any married author, we conclude it the product of some very hard bargain, as possibly some old tapped leaky broach at home; and thereupon his palate wholly depraved and soured with this nauseous draught of lees. Nevertheless, all the said villainous ribaldry and libels, as hatched and contrived for sowing sedition, and fomenting schism within the peaceable and united ecclesiastical provinces of hymen and love, we do hereby adjudge and sentence to the old doom of *hæretico comburendo.*

And whereas our fair petitioners enforce their suit, from our condescension to the humble debates of cutting the rivers Lug and Wye, &c. Be it therefore resolved, and ordered accordingly, That the present virgin shallows, hitherto of no farther use than the driving a poor water-mill, &c. be dug into deeps and channels, and made navigable for traders and voyagers, and so rendered useful to the publick for the serviceable bearing of bulk and burthen.

Provided still, that all the fair bridal pretenders shall bring their whole loaf to the spousal board, and not have any of the kissing-crust pared off by any hungry sharper for breakfast, before the good man in black has said grace for the nuptial-night supper, with the rest of the usual ceremonies of 'Fall to, in God's name.'

But if, by any frail mischance, an unhappy falling fair, under pretence of a pure untouched domestic utensil, shall bring a crazed pipkin into play; she shall be obliged, by a true and thorough reformation, and engagement of her future more steady uprightness, to give security that a cracked maidenhead, like a broken bone, shall be the strongest where it is set again; or otherwise to forfeit all right and benefit of our favour and protection.

Lastly, Be it ordered, in favour to the petitioners' proposed supply towards recruiting the human dearth and scarcity made by the hungry devourer War, That a clause be inserted to root out of all the female physick-gardens, and indeed from out the whole commonwealth, those dangerous plants called cover-shame, *aliàs* savin, and other anti-conceptive weeds and poisons; those notorious restorative of slender shapes and tender reputations, to the loud and crying shame of 'Love lost, and a good thing thrown away.'

As for what relates to the chaplains, we are willing to allow them plenty of meat, drink, and tobacco, the most zealous part of their supplication; nay, to sit down at table with their patrons; provided they do not take upon them to censure the management of the family. But, whereas they petition to be freed from any obligation to marry the chambermaid, we can by no means assent to it; the Abigail, by immemorial custom, being a deodand, and belonging to holy church.

We thank the poets for their good-will to the government, as appears by their proposal to raise a fund of six-hundred thousand pounds for the support of it; but do not think it convenient to raise any money either out of them, or the ribbon-weavers. The only tax we lay upon them, is to canonize all our heroes that die in Flanders, and to record their victories in verse: and this will be no burthensome employment for them.

And, lastly, as for the widows, provided they will engage never to talk bawdy, and quote the sayings, or praise the valour of their dead husbands, we will grant all and every clause in their petition, *viz.* The old widows shall have their gums rubbed with coral. The rich shall be indulged a twelve-months rest. The poor shall have the forfeitures they beg for; and the young receive full satisfaction in their three articles.

A true Narrative and Relation[1] of his most sacred Majesty's miraculous Escape from Worcester, on the Third of September, 1651, till his Arrival at Paris[2].

Printed at London, for G. Colborn, 1660.

[Quarto, containing Eight Pages.]

FORTUNE had now twice counterfeited and double-gilt the trophies of rebellion, and its brazen trumpet repeated victory, betrayed, or prostituted, before at Dunbar, and now ravished at Worcester, by numerous overpowering force, on that black and white day, September the third, 1651; in the dusk of which fatal evening, when the ashamed sun had blushed in his setting, and plunged his affrighted head into the depth of luckless Severn, and the night, ready to stain and spot her guilty sables with loyal blood, was attiring herself for the tragedy: the King (whose first and conspicuous valorous essay so exceeded all comparison, that it cannot but oblige fate to preserve that matchless courage, and never again to venture, or expose it to any hazard) compelled to abandon the city of Worcester, whose fidelity and affection deserved perpetual memory: after he had quitted his court and lodgings, to which he retired from the field, and having rallied his most faithful and considerable friends, divers English lords and gentlemen, who were resolved to accompany him in his flight, was presented by the late renowned Earl of Darby, with one Charles Gifford, Esq. (a person of note, then of that country, and of much manifested honour since to the world) to be his Majesty's conductor in this miraculous blessed escape; who forthwith called for one Francis Yates, whom he had brought with him, under the command of Colonel Careless, in a party that met the King, in his advance to Worcester, to be guide-assistant, for the surer finding the by-ways for his Majesty's speed and safety.

In the mean time, Colonel Careless, a gentleman of very gallant and noble endowments, was commanded to sustain the brunt of the pursuing enemy, and to keep them off, while the King might be somewhat in his way; which, with excellent prudence and valour, he did to effect, and afterwards fled to his old retreat and coverture, passing by Hartlebury-castle, then garrisoned by the enemy, whom he courageously fought with, and broke through, and came safe to his designed shelter.

Towards three o'clock, Thursday morning, the fourth of September, the King, in company with the said Earl of Darby, Earl of Shrewsbury, Earl of Cleveland, Duke of Buckingham, my Lord Wilmot, and others, to the number of fourscore, came to a place called

[1] See Oldys' Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 126.

[2] [An account of the preservation of King Charles II. after the battle of Worcester, as dictated to Mr. Secretary Pepys by the King himself, was published by the late Sir David Dalrymple at Edinburgh, and has since been vended in London. The original MS. remains in the Pepysian library at Magdalen-college, Cambridge; and the narrative, as its learned editor remarks, is at once minute and interesting, and its lively and careless style concur in proving it the composition of our second Charles.]

White-Ladies, in the parish of Tong, in the confines of Stafford and Shropshire, being twenty-five miles distant, or thereabouts, from Worcester, which space of ground he had rid that night.

The White-Ladies was a house belonging to one Fitz-Herbert, where one George Pendrill, hearing somebody knocking at the gate so early, and opening the window, espied the aforesaid Francis Yates, who was his brother-in-law, with Mr. Gifford; to whom he presently opened the door, and enquired of his brother Yates, what news from Worcester; who told him, that the King was defeated, and in pursuit, and, therefore, bid him to make haste, and put on his clothes. But, before he could make himself ready, the King, with most of his lords, had entered the house, and come into the hall; where, after a short consultation held amongst them, the Earl of Darby called for William Pendrill, the eldest brother; (you must know, that my Lord of Darby had taken this place for a subterfuge, after the defeat given him by Colonel Lilburn, near Wigan, in Lancashire, and was acquainted there, and by them conveyed to Worcester to the King; as also, several other gentlemen before had used this for their sanctuary;) who being come, George was sent to Tong, to one Robert Beard, an honest subject, to enquire of him, whether there were any scattered parties of the King's thereabouts, or any of the enemies appearing; who brought word, that the coast was yet clear, and no parties at all to be seen. In his return, he met with his brother Richard: for now those few inhabitants, that lived there, were awaked with the noise, and their own ill-boding thoughts and fears of the success at Worcester.

Richard was no sooner come in, but Esquire Gifford called for him, and bid him make haste, and bring with him his best clothes, which were a jump and breeches, of green coarse cloth, and a doeskin leather doublet; the hat was borrowed of Humphry Pendrill, the miller, being an old grey one, that turned up its brims; the shirt (which, in that country-language, they called an hurden, or noggen-shirt, of cloth that is made of the coarsest of the hemp) was had of one Edward Martin, George Pendrill's band, and William Creswel's shoes; which the King, having presently unstripped himself of his own clothes, did nimbly put on. His buff-coat, and linen-doublet, and a grey pair of breeches, which he wore before, he gave into these brothers' hands, who forthwith buried them under ground, where they lay five weeks, before they durst take them up again. The jewels, off his arm, he gave to one of the lords then departing.

Then Richard came with a pair of shears, and rounded the King's hair, which my Lord Wilmot having cut before with a knife, had untowardly notched; and the King was pleased to take notice of Richard's good barbering, so as to prefer his work before my Lord Wilmot's, and gave him the praise of it; and now his Majesty was *à-la-mode* the woodman.

Hereupon, William Pendrill was brought to the King by the Earl of Darby, and the care and preservation of his most sacred Majesty, committed to his charge, and the rest of the brothers, (my Lord would have staid too, but there was no undertaking security for them both,) and presently the lords took their heavy leave, and departed; every one shifting for himself. Only my Lord Wilmot was conveyed, by John Pendrill, to Mr. Thomas Whitgrave's; but he would have left him at several other places, which my Lord did in no wise approve of; first, at one John Shore's of Hungerhill, thence to John Climpson, thence to one Reynolds of the Hide, so to John Hunspatch's; where passing by Coven, they had notice of a troop of horse in the town, and seeing some men coming behind them (which proved to be friends, though my Lord suspected the country rising upon them,) they betook themselves into a dry pit, where they staid all evening, and then arrived safely at Mr. Whitgrave's.

The company being all departed, a wood-bill was brought, and put into the King's hand, and he went out with Richard into the adjoining woods. William departed home, and Humphry and George went out to scout, and lay hovering in the woods, to hear or see if any one approached that way. But the King had not been an hour in the wood, before a troop of horse, of the enemy's, came to White-Ladies, and enquired, if some of the King's horse, and himself, passed not that way; and if they could give any information of

him? To which the town's-folks answered, that about three hours ago, there was a party of horse came thither, and they supposed the King with them, but they made no stay in the village, but presently departed; they were, hereupon, so eager in the pursuit, that, after enquiring which way they took, they followed the rout, and made no further search there; the King straight heard this, by the two aforesaid scouts, who straggled for intelligence into the town.

All this day, being Thursday, the King continued in the wood, upon the ground, Richard Pendrill being constantly with him, and sometimes the other two brothers. It proved to be a very rainy day, and the King was wet with showers; thereupon, Francis Yate's wife came into the wood, and brought the King a blanket, which she threw over his shoulders, to keep him dry; she also brought him his first meat he eat there, *viz.* a mess of milk, eggs, and sugar, in a black earthen-cup, which the King guessed to be milk and apples, and said he loved it very well. After he had drunk some of it, and eaten part in a pewter spoon, he gave the rest to George, and bid him eat, for it was very good. There was nothing of moment passed this day in court, but only the King exchanged his wood-bill for Francis Yates's broom-hook, which was something lighter.

They had much ado, all that day, to teach and fashion his Majesty to their country-guise, and to order his steps, and straight body, to a lobbing Jobson's gait, and were forced, every foot, to mind him of it; for the language, his Majesty's most gracious converse with his people, in his journey to and at Worcester, had rendered it very easy, and very tuneable to him.

About five o'clock that evening, the King, with the retinue of Richard, Humphry, George, and Francis Yates, left the wood, and betook himself to Richard's house, where he went under the name of William Jones, a wood-cutter, newly come thither for work: against his coming, the good wife, for his entertainment at supper, was preparing a fricasy of bacon and eggs; and whilst that was doing, the King held on his knee their daughter Nan. After he had eat a little, he asked Richard to eat, who replied, "Yea, Sir, I will;" whereto his Majesty answered, "You have a better stomach than I, for you have eaten five times to-day already." After supper ended, the King, according to his resolution to pass into Wales, prepared, when it should be dusky, to depart: before he went, Jane Pendrill, the mother of the five brethren, came to see the King, before whom she blessed God, that had so honoured her children, in making them the instruments, as she hoped, of his Majesty's safeguard and deliverance. Here Francis Yates offered the King thirty shillings in silver; the King accepted ten, and bid him put the other up. Humphry would have gone before, to see and view about, but the King would not let him: it being now near night, they took their leave of the King upon their knees, beseeching God to guide and bless him.

So the King and Richard only departed, to go to one Mr. Francis Wolfe of Madely, there to take passage into Wales. On the way, they were to pass by a mill, at a place called Evelin, and going over (it was about nine a clock at night[3]) the bridge of the said mill, the miller steps forth, and demanded, "Who goes there?" having a quarter-staff, or a good cudgel, in his hand; to which Richard, being foremost, thought it not safe to reply; but, the water being shallow, leaped off the bridge into it, and the King did the like, following Richard by the noise and rattling of his leather breeches; the miller being glad he was so rid of them: for (as it afterwards appeared) here were some of the King's scattered soldiers in his mill, and he supposed the other to be Parliamentarians, that were upon the scent for his distressed guests.

Being come to Madely, to the said Mr. Francis Wolfe's, late that night, they understood there was no passage over the water into Wales, and that it was very dangerous to abide there, the country being, every where about, laid with soldiers; nor durst he entertain them in his house, but shewed them a hay-mow, where they might lodge; and there

[3] [The King's own account differs from this in some particulars, and is more circumstantially narrated.]

the King and Richard continued all that night, and the next day, being Friday; and that night, with the conveyance of a maid of this Mr. Wolfe's, who brought the King two miles on his way, they retreated back again to Richard's house: master Wolfe lent the King some small sum of money.

This design being crossed, Saturday morning (without any stay at Richard's) the King and he went to a house of Mrs. Giffard's, called Boscabel, where William Pendrill and his wife dwelt as housekeepers for the said Giffard, who received him joyfully: but the King's feet were so blistered, with travelling in such coarse and stiff accoutrements, as he wore on his feet, and lying in them, that he was scarce able to stand or go; which William's wife perceiving, she stripped off his stockings, and cut the blisters, and washed his feet, and gave the King some ease.

The same time, or near thereupon, that noble Colonel Careless, who (as is said before) made good the King's rear at Worcester, and had fought his way through; after he had been two days at one David Jones's, living in the Heath in Tong parish, and there by him secured, (for this Colonel had lain three quarters of a year before obscured in this country, when he had been narrowly, every where, searched after,) was brought, by one Elizabeth Burgess, to this same house of Boscabel; and there his Majesty and he met: but the Colonel was so overjoyed with the sight of the King, his master, in such sure and safe hands, that he could not refrain weeping; and the King was himself moved with the same passion.

After a short conference, and but inchoated counsel of the King's probablest means of escape, it was resolved by them, to betake themselves to the wood again; and accordingly, about nine of the clock, that Saturday morning the sixth of September, they went into the wood, and Colonel Careless brought and led the King to that so much celebrated oak, where before he had himself been lodged. This tree is not hollow, but of a sound firm trunk, only about the middle of the body of it, there is a hole in it, about the bigness of a man's head, from whence it absurdly and abusively (in respect of its deserved perpetual growth to out-last time itself) is called hollow; and, by the help of William Pendrill's wood-ladder, they got up into the boughs and branches of the tree, which were very thick and well spread, full of leaves; so that it was impossible for any one to discern through them.

When they were both up, William gave them up two pillows to lie upon between the thickest of the branches; and the King being over-wearied with travel and his sore journey, began to be very sleepy: the Colonel, to accommodate him the best he could, desired his Majesty to lay his head in his lap, and rest the other parts of his body upon the pillow, which the King did; and after he had taken a good nap, (William and his wife Joan still peaking up and down, and she commonly near the place, with a nut-hook in her hand gathering of sticks,) awaked very hungry, and wished he had something to eat; whereupon, the Colonel plucked out of his pocket a good luncheon of bread and cheese, (which Joan Pendrill had given him for provant for that day, and had wrapped it up in a clean linen cloth,) of which the King fed very heartily, and was well pleased with the service, and commended highly his good cheer; and some other small relief he had, which was put up in the tree, with a long hook-stick.

In the mean while, Richard Pendrill, the first esquire, was sent to Wolverhampton some three miles thence, being a market-town, to buy wine and biscuit, and some other necessary refreshments for the King; and withal to speak with one Mr. George Manwaring (a person of known integrity and loyalty) from Colonel Careless, with some instructions about the King's removal, though not expressly the King, but one of that ruined party: in effect it was to know of him, whether he knew of any sure privacy for two such persons; to which he answered, he had not himself, but would enquire of a friend of his, one Mr. Whitgrave of Mosely, formerly and again to be spoken of here, could do it. So that we may see what a loyal honest combination and secrecy there was between all of these persons; and then Richard returned with his wine, &c. to the King, who, towards the evening, came down by the same ladder from the tree, and was brought into the

garden of Boscabel house, where he sat in the bower of it, and drank part of the wine till towards night.

Neither was Humphry Pendrill, the miller, unemployed all this while; but was sent to get intelligence, how things went. And the easier to come by it, he was sent to a captain of the Rump, one Broadway, formerly a heel-maker, under pretence of carrying him twenty shillings, for the pay of a man in the new-raised militia of their county for their mistress. While he was there, in came a colonel of the Rebels, and asked for Captain Broadway, on purpose to know what further enquiry had been made at White-Ladies for the King; relating to Broadway the story of it; to which he replied he knew nothing of it further than rumour, but that there was one of that place in the house, that could give him an account of it. So Humphry was called, and several questions put to him, which he evaded, but confessed that the King had been there, as was supposed; but there was no likelihood for him to stay there, for there were three families in the house, and all at difference with one another. The Colonel told him there was a thousand pounds offered to any, that would take or discover him; and that they doubted not, but within a day or two to have him delivered into their hands.

These tidings Humphry brought with him, and omitted not to tell his Majesty of the price his rebels had set on him; at the telling of which, the King looked something dismayed, as having trusted his life into the hands of so poor men, whom such a sum as that (though both detestable and of inconsiderable value to the purchase) might pervert from their allegiance and fidelity; which made Humphry to be exceedingly troubled for his rashness, while Colonel Careless assured the King, "If it were one-hundred thousand pounds, it were to no more purpose, and that he would engage his soul for their truth;" which Humphry also, with many urgent asseverations, did second.

It was late, and the King was very hungry, and had a mind to a loin of mutton, and, being come into the house, asked William, if he could not get him such a joint; to which he replied, that he had it not of his own, but he would make bold at that time, and for that occasion, with one of his master's sheep in the cote; which instantly he did, and brought it into the ground cellar, where the Colonel, not having the patience to stay while he fetched a knife, stabbed it with his dagger; and when William came down, they hung it upon a door, and flayed it, and brought up a hind quarter to the King, who presently fell a chopping of the loin to pieces, or, as they called it then, into Scotch collops, which the Colonel clapped into the pan, while the King held it and fried it.

This passage yielded the King a pleasant, jocular discourse, after his arrival in France, when it amounted to a question, a very difficult case, who was cook, and who was scullion? And the solution of the doubt, when it could not be decided by the lords then present, was referred to the judgment of his Majesty's master-cook, who affirmed "that the King was (*hic et nunc*) both of them.

When this nimble collation was ended, it was time for the King to betake himself to his rest, and his chamberlain William brought him to his apartment. It was a place made between two walls on purpose for secrecy, contrived at the building of the house; thither they let the King down, where he slept very incommodiously with little or no rest, for that the place was not long enough for him; and therefore, the next night, they laid him a sorry bed upon the staircase, that the meanness of his lodging might secure him from suspicion.

My Lord Wilmot, as is said before, was all this while safe at Mr. Whitgrave's; only his care of the King made him full of trouble. His hiding-place was so sure a one, that at his first coming to it, he wished, so he gave twenty-thousand pounds, that the King was either as secure, or there with him; he therefore dispatched away John Pendrill (who attended him all along) to the White-Ladies, to enquire for the King, and to give him notice of the conveniency that was at Mr. Whitgrave's; but, when he came thither, which was on Friday, the King was then gone to Madely, to Mr. Wolfe's. The next day he was sent again, and Richard's wife directed him to Boscabel, where he delivered the King his message, which the King assented unto, and resolved to remove thither.

Monday night, September the eighth, at eleven at night, was the time appointed for the King's progress to Mosely, but a horse was hard to be found. John was ordered to borrow one of one Stanton of Hatton, but he had lent his out before; when the Colonel remembered that Humphry the miller had one, and he thereupon was called and desired to lend him for the King's service: it was a kind of war-horse, that had carried many a load of provision, and such like, but now he put upon him a bridle and saddle, that had outworn his tree and irons, and at the time prefixed, brought him to the gate.

As soon as the King had notice of it, out he came, and would have had none but Colonel Careless and John to have gone along with him; but they told him, it was dangerous to venture himself with so few: they therefore entreated his Majesty, that he would give them leave to go with them, which, at their importunity, he granted.

Having mounted the King, Colonel Careless and the six brethren guarding him, two before and two behind, and one of each side, armed with clubs and bills, Humphry, leading his horse by the bridle, they began their journey. It was five miles from Boscabel to Mosely, Mr. Whitgrave's, and the way in some places miry, where the horse blundering, caused the King to suspect falling, and bid Humphry have a care; to which he answered, "That that now fortunate horse had carried many a heavier weight in his time, six strike of corn, (which measure the King understood not,) but now had a better price on his back, the price of three kingdoms, and therefore would not now shame his master."

Their travel was soon and safe ended, and the King brought the back-way to a stile that led to the house; Humphry led the horse into a ditch, and the King alighted off upon the stile; but (forgetting that most of his guard were to return home) was gone five or six steps onward, without taking leave of them, but, recalling himself, returned back and said, "I am troubled that I forgot to take my leave of my friends; but if ever I come into England, by fair or foul means, I will remember you, and let me see you, whenever it shall so please God:" so they all departed, but the Colonel, John, and Francis Yates, who guided the King to the house.

Their master, Thomas Whitgrave, received the King dutifully and affectionately, and brought him in to my Lord Wilmot, who with infinite gladness, kneeled down and embraced his knees. After a little conference, his Majesty was had to his lodging, and the intrigues of it shewn him; where, after the King had rested himself that night, they entered into consultation about the escape, which had been projected by my Lord Wilmot before.

Francis Yates departed, but John staid two or three days longer with the King, while he went away. On Wednesday noon a troop of the rebels' horse passed through the town, and made no stay; which John told not the King, till afternoon, because (as he then said) he would not spoil his Majesty's dinner.

Now the King prepared and fitted himself for his journey, and one Mr. Huddlestone and Mr. Whitgrave accommodated him with boots, cloke, money, &c. and John Pendrill was sent to Mrs. Lane about it, who sent him back again with a parcel of leaves of walnuts, boiled in spring-water, to colour his Majesty's hands, and alter the hue and whiteness of his skin in those parts, that were most obvious to the eye; and by him gave notice to the King what time he should be ready.

On Thursday night, the eleventh of September, Colonel Lane came with his sister to a field adjoining, and there they put the King before her, John having the honour to hold the King's stirrup, while he mounted; and presently they two set forward, having taken directions to know the country, and my Lady Lane having several recommendations to the allies, friends, and acquaintance of her family, that lay in their intended road, if any untoward occasion should put them to the trial.

The several adventures, which that heroical lady passed and overcame, in the management of that grand affair of his Majesty's life, will become and befit a worthier paper, and a nobler pen; and therefore, let the blessed and thrice-happy event of that her fortunate loyalty restrain a curious enquiry of the means, which probably may be some *arcana imperii*, 'secrecy of state,' (now, as well as then,) of the King, not yet fit to be divulged,

Miracles indeed of this benign and propitious influence are very rare; God hath not dealt so with the nations round about us, especially, where human coadjutement (and that so signally) in the tacitness of so many persons concerned, hath been instrumental: and therefore, why may we not, as we fearfully behold comets, with delight look upon the serene smiles of Heaven, in his Majesty's preservation; and the rays of its goodness diffused into the breasts of those loyal persons, his guardians, for whose honour more especially this paper officiously obtrudes itself, with such weak eyes as we now see with, before we can have the benefit of a prospective (the full relation).

Let it therefore suffice and content us, that it pleased the Divine wisdom and goodness to protect and defend our most gracious Sovereign in all dangers, places, and conditions, whatsoever, in that his incumbered passage, through his own rightful dominions, and without the least umbrage of suspicion, to convey him out of the hands of his blood-thirsty traitorous enemies, who thought themselves sure of him, 'That so killing the heir, the inheritance might be theirs.'

He remained, or rather pilgrimaged from one sanctuary to another, in England, near the space of five weeks; and like other princes (though not on the same account) was present *incognito*, while such time as a convenience of passage could be found for him in Sussex[4]: where after he had embarked himself in a barque out of a creek, he was put back again by contrary weather into the same place, being disguised in a sailor's clothes; but, the wind veering about more favourable, about the end of October, 1651, landed at Dieppe in Normandy, from whence an express was sent to her Majesty of England, to acquaint her of his safe arrival; which was presently communicated to the French court, who, appearingly with great manifestation of joy, welcomed the news. But his Majesty's most affectionate uncle, the late Duke of Orleans, did with entire joy, as also sundry of the most eminent French nobility, congratulate his deliverance; which they testified by a most splendid and honourable cavalcade, at his reception and entry into Paris.

[4] [After numerous hazards, and hair-breadth escapes, the King got on-board a collier, at Shoreham, and was landed at a harbour in France called Fescamp; whence he proceeded to Rouen and Paris. See his own account.]

The Tears of the Press; with Reflections on the present State of England.

London, printed and are to be sold by Richard Janeway, in Queen's-Head Alley, in Pater-noster Row. 1681[1].

[Quarto, containing Nine Pages.]

THE Press might be employed against or for itself, according to the good or hurt, its labours have spread abroad in the world. Look on them on the one side, you will confess, the Tears of the Press were but the delivery of its guilt; nor is the paper more stained, than authors or readers. The invention of printing, whether as mischievous as that of guns, is doubtful. The ink hath poison in it, the historian, as well as naturalist, will confess: for, impannel a jury of inquest, whence learning, or religion, hath been poisoned, and *scribendi cacoëthes*, dabbling in ink, will be found guilty.

For, learning hath surfeited us: for, amongst other excesses, that of learning may surfeit us, according to Tacitus: and this was true before printing, when the cure of the disease, most are sick (*nisi te scire hoc sciat alter*) of publishing; which was harder, by reason of laborious transcription, vanity, or contradictions employing the pen even then. Of the former, let Didymus the grammarian lead the van; of whom Seneca saith, *Quatuor millia librorum scripsit; miser, si tam multa supervacua legisset!* 'That he wrote four-thou-'sand books; miserable man, if he had read so many pamphlets!' And in those controversies about Homer's country; whether Anacreon offended more in incontinence or intemperance, &c. most of them being stuffed with such, or grammatical questions: a disease continued, if not increased since printing, two much declining things for the declension of words. Witness such laborious works in criticisms needless: (I asperse not the wise choice of useful queries in that study.) The result, it may be, of many pages, is the alteration of a word or letter, its addition or subtraction. O painful waste-paper! How empty is the press oftentimes, when fullest! Empty we must acknowledge that, which vanity filleth, as we may well think, when it issueth some poetic legend of some love-martyr[2]; or some pious romance of more than saints ever did; or some fool, busied about government, in the neglect of his own affairs and sphere. What pamphlets these late times have swarmed with, the studious shop-keeper knoweth, who spendeth no small time at the bulk[3], in reading and censuring modern controversies, or news; and will be readier to tell you what the times lack, than to ask you, 'what you lack?' We live in an age, wherein was never less quarter given to paper. Should Boccalini's parliament of Parnassus be called among us, I fear our shops would be filled with printed waste-paper, condemned to tobacco, fruit, &c. Hardly any cap-paper would be in use, till that of le-

[1] [John Davies of Hereford, about 1611, wrote a sarcastic poem, intitled 'Paper's Complaint,' much after the tendency of this tract. *Paper* thus commences a lamentation against the paper-spoilers:

What heart so hard, that splits not when it hears
What ruthless martyrdom my body bears
By rude barbarians of these latter times,
Blotting my spotless breast with prose and rhymes
That impudence itself would blush to hear;
It is such shameless stuff and irksome gear!]

[2] [The poetic legend here slurred, is more nearly approached by the following title than any other that I remember: "Love's Martyr, or Rosalin's Complaint; allegorically shadowing the truth of love, &c. a poem interlaced with much variety and rarity," &c. 1601. This poem was in Pearson's collection.

[3] [Or stall. Such probably as we now see resorted to, by peripatetic politicians, under the Royal Exchange.]

gends, pamphlets, &c. were spent. How justly may we take up that complaint in Strada, *lib.* i. *prælect.* 1. wherein he brings in printers complaining against rhyming (*poetic* they would be called) pedlars into the press: *Quique noctu somniant, hæc mane lucem videre illico gestiant.* Already what danger are we in, of eating up Antichrist confuted, in the bottom of a pye? or to light tobacco with the dark holdings-forth of new lights? To see the Antinomian honey-comb holding physick (at the second hand) in a stool-pan, sure, argueth a surfeit in the press, that thus swarmeth with vanity, or controversies; which is its worst fault, as being the mischief of a sadder and engaging consequence. Alas! what now is the press, but an office of contention, issuing rather challenges, than books? When pulpits grow hoarse with railing, then doth this take up the quarrel, that often admitteth of no arbitrator; setting the world on fire of contention, schism, and heresy; introducing strife, wars, and bloodshed. Alas! how miserably is truth torn by antilogies[4] and little better than scolding; and suffereth more by this pen and ink war, than by pike and bloodshed! By how much more captivating of assent sophistry is, than success, among reasonable souls; that coming nearer reason, than success doth justice. And we know, truth is often watered by martyrs' blood; receiving more strength from the red-lettered days in an almanack, than whole tomes of *pro's* and *con's*. And what truths, politicks, or news, suffer by the press, is weekly experienced. It is nothing to kill a man this week, and, with ink, instead of *aqua vitæ*, fetch him alive the next; to drown two admirals in one week, and to buoy them up again next; so that many of those pamphlets may be better termed 'Weekly Bills of Truth's Mortality,' than 'faithful intelligences of affairs.'

Nor fareth it better with peace, than truth; the feathers and plume seconding the quarrel of the quill, from inveighings to invading, declarations to defiance, remonstrances to resistance, and that to blood.

The press rippeth up the faults and disgraces of a nation, and then the sword the bowels of it. What printing beginneth, by way of challenge; its contemporary invention, guns, answers in destruction-accents.

And the enormities of the press are caused partly by writers, and partly by readers.

Among writers, some write to eat; as beggars examine not the virtues of benefactors, but such, as they hope or find able or willing, they ply, be they good or bad, wise men or fools: so do they beg of any theme that will sell; true or false, good or bad, in rhyme or prose, and that, pitiful or passable, all is one; ink must earn ale, and, it may be, three-penny ordinaries: write they must, against things, or men, (if the spirit of contradiction prove saleable,) that they can neither master, nor conquer; sparing neither Bacons, Harveys, Digbys, Browns, &c. though nought else do they obtain, except such a credit as he[5] did, that set Diana's temple on fire to perpetuate his fame.

Another sort, are discoverers of their affections, by taking up the cudgels on one side or other; and it is come to that now, that an author scarce passeth, that writeth not controversies ecclesiastical, political, or philosophical; though far better it were for public good, there were more (deserving the name of *Johannes de Indagine*) progressive pioneers in the mines of knowledge, than controverters of what is sound: it would lessen the number of conciliators, which cannot themselves now write, but as engagedly biassed to one side or other. But these are *desiderata (vereor) semper desideranda;* 'things wanting, and to 'be desired (I fear) for ever.'

A second cause of the enormities of the press, are buyers. The chapman's vanity and weakness of choice, maketh the mart of less worthy books the bigger. Such is the fate of books, as of other ware; the coarser the ware, the more the seller getteth by it. Examine the truth, and it will too evidently appear, that in these times, the bookseller hath frequently got most by those books, that the buyer hath got least by; being not only the luck of Rabelais's bookseller, that was a loser by his book of 'Seneca and Judgment,' but abun-

[4] [Contradictions.]

[5] [Erostratus or Eratostratus, who committed this outrage at Ephesus, on the night Alexander was born, from a desperate ambition to eternize his own name.]

dantly repaired by that ingenious nothing, 'The Life of Garagantua and Pantagruel.' What age ever brought forth more, or bought more printed waste-paper? To read which, is the worst spending of time, (next the making them,) and the greater price given for them, and far above their worth.

But the distemper of the press being so various and hazardous, what cures can we propose?

Why truly, for them *in fieri*, no such correcting the press, as breaking it; but the chiefest help is prophylactical, a care preservatory. Also, an *index expurgatorius* of vanity and whimsies would save paper from being so stained, and would keep it from burning, it may be, by the common hangman; and so a nation less molested, idle persons better employed. But, not to make our eyes sore by looking on the hurt, let us turn them on the benefits of a well-employed press; and then we shall see it a mint of solid worth; the good it hath done, and yet may do, being inestimable. It is truth, armoury, the book of knowledge, and nursery of religion; a battering-ram to destroy and overthrow the mighty walls of heresy and error; and also communicative of all wholesome learning and science, and never suffering a want of 'the sincere milk of the word,' nor 'Piety's Practice' to be out of print, (and that not only in one book,) constantly issuing out helps to doing, as well as knowing our duty[6]. But the worth of the warehouse will be best known by the wares, which are books; which will herein appear, (which also no prudent man will deny,) that they are, for company, good friends; in doubts, counsellors; in damps, comforters; time's prospective; the home-traveller's ship or horse; the busy man's best recreation, the opiate of idle weariness; the mind's best ordinary; nature's garden, and seed-plot of immortality. Time spent needlessly from them is consumed; but, with them, twice gained; time, captivated and snatched from a man by incursions of business, thefts, or visitants, or by one's own carelessness lost, is by these, redeemed in life; they are the soul's *viaticum*, and against death, a cordial.

[6] [The following spirited lines in Davies's consentaneous production may here be adduced.

——— true wisdom's bounds and scope
Do far extend above the heavenly cope,
Are more profound than the infernal deep:—
Heaven, earth, and hell, her greatness cannot keep.
And though such wisdom, properly, with God,
And not with mortal men, doth make abode;
Yet he imparts of his unbounded grace
So much as may heaven, earth, and hell embrace
With contemplation's arms, that all infold,
Whose uncomprised reach no limits hold:
But if, through sloth, those arms be not extended,
In earth's circumference then, their circuit's ended.]

The Travels of three English Gentlemen in the Year 1734. (MS.)

[Continued from p. 414.]

SECT. IV.

A Journey from Gratz, the Metropolis of Stiria, to Vienna in Austria.

THE first place we stopped at, after our departure from Gratz, was called Pichau. In some German maps of Stiria, we find this village denominated Pecka, or Becka; and in Jo. Bapt. Homannus's new map of Hungary, and the part of Stiria contiguous to that kingdom, Pökach; which probably is the name it goes by amongst the Hungarians. It is a pretty long straggling village, and stands upon the Muer, over which river there is a bridge near it, between two and three German miles N. W. of Gratz. According to Homannus[1], there is a monastery on a hill of considerable height, at a small distance from it. Between Gratz and Pichau, we passed by a high mountain, or rather a ridge of high mountains, which our postiglioni called Mount Schöckel. Pichau did not seem to us to consist of above forty or fifty houses; and in it travellers meet with but indifferent accommodations. Nothing therefore could tempt us to stay long here; so that having rested ourselves a little while, and got fresh horses, we entered upon the following post.

This post is terminated by a small town, or village, called by the postiglioni that conducted us, Redelstein, by some of the German geographers Retlstain, and by Homannus Rotelstein. It is seated on the opposite bank of the Muer, above two German miles al. N. of Pichau. It stands at the foot of a large mountain, which is entirely covered with a wood of fir-trees. Between Pichau and Redelstein we met with five or six persons, who had huge *strumæ*, wens or swellings under their throats; which, upon enquiry, we found was an epidemical disease in this country. We were informed, that this was occasioned by the water of the Muer, which the poor people, and such are almost all those troubled with these strumæ, were obliged to drink. But we are of opinion, that it is rather owing to the snow-water, which descends from the neighbouring mountains into this river; and even in this case, the notion of the vulgar here is not altogether without foundation. Ortelius was surprized to find a person in this country with a struma of a most enormous size. They have hospitals in all the large towns for the relief of these poor wretches. Between Pichau and Redelstein we passed through a town called by our postiglioni Frili, which to appearance consists of about a hundred and fifty houses. It has a castle, which commands it, and is always garrisoned by some Imperial troops. We found here part of Prince Frederick of Wirtemberg's regiment, which is said to be one of the best in the Emperor's service. It is observable that the noblesse, and all the people of good fashion, in Stiria, who drink good wine and beer, and eat well, escape the strumæ, which so afflict the lower sort of people: this greatly countenances what has been just advanced in relation to the cause of that troublesome distemper. Having staid about an hour in Redelstein, and refreshed ourselves, we set out for Prugg, the next post-town.

Prugg, or Pruck, is a pretty large town, about two German miles al. N. of Redelstein, near the conflux of the Merz and the Muer. The Merz has its source in a chain of mountains, that seems to separate Stiria from Austria. *Muræpontum*, the Latin name of Prugg,

[1] This Jo. Bapt. Homannus was geographer to the Emperor Charles VI. His map was taken from the archetype of M. Muller, his Imperial Majesty's chief engineer, and is by far the most accurate of any that has yet been published. It seems to have been published about the year 1725.

is deduced from the famous bridge thrown over the Muer near this place. Some take Prugg to be the *Ad Pontem* of Peutinger's table. A good part of the road between Redelstein and Prugg is one continued path between two ridges of hills, upon the western bank of the Muer. This part of Stiria abounds with woods of fir-trees, several of which are very large and extensive. Upon some of the bridges in Stiria is erected a crucifix, opposite to which is placed either the statue or picture of a priest, bishop, or saint, with either a crucifix or book in his right hand. The country-women here wear fur-caps, and have petticoats scarce reaching lower than their knees. Some of them wear a sort of buskins not unlike those of the Venetian gondoliers, or the Hungarians. They are strong and masculine, manure the ground, and do other things which are performed solely by the men in England, France, Spain, Italy, and even other parts of Germany. Their complexions are, however, for the most part fine, and their features agreeable. The windows of many houses, in the villages of this part of Stiria, are scarce bigger than pigeon-holes, and are entirely open.

Prugg seems to consist of about three-hundred houses, has a pretty piazza in the middle of it, and a stately church, whose dome is covered with brass or copper, which, when the solar rays are reflected from it, makes a fine appearance. Besides this parochial church, over which an archdeacon presides, there are two others here belonging to the Minorites, or *Minores Observantes*, and the Capuchins. The inhabitants of Prugg have been long famous for their singular fidelity to their prince, and for the valour with which they defended their town for the Emperor Albert I. against Otto duke of Bavaria, and Conrad of Saltzburg, in 1291. On a neighbouring hill stands a castle, which commands the town. Many persons with strumæ, some of which were very monstrous, met us between Redelstein and Prugg. We staid long enough here to take a full view of the town, and then resumed our march; hoping soon to reach the borders of Austria.

Merzhofen, or Merzhoffen, the next place that supplied us with post-horses, receives its name from the River Merz, on which it is seated, two German miles N. E. of Prugg. Between the last-mentioned town and Merzhofen there is a pretty large town called Kapfenberg. Kapfenberg, or (as Gerard de Roo calls it) Cappenberg, is about seven German miles from Gratz, and has a citadel upon an eminence near it. This town is famous for a sharp engagement that happened near it in 1291, between Frederick of Stubenberg, and Herman of Landenberg, who espoused the interest of Albert archduke of Austria. Herman behaved with great bravery, but being deserted by his men, was taken prisoner. Lazius makes this place to be of a very high antiquity; but the arguments he offers for his notion, deserve no great regard. Merzhofen is but a small village, and makes a very inconsiderable figure. Near it we met three companies of Prince Frederick of Wirtemberg's regiment, on their march for Lombardy, where the officer that commanded them, told us the Imperialists would soon have an army of fifty-thousand men. The lower sort of people here seemed to us extremely poor and miserable; though they are said to be very honest and sincere. We did not meet with any thing in this place that deserved the least attention.

From Merzhofen to Kriegla, or Krieglag, is an easy post. The road is as good as can be desired; and the people we met with, whilst upon it, seemed very obliging. Kriegla is a small village upon the Merz, two easy German miles al. E. of Merzhofen.

The next place we came to, the postiglioni called Merzsclag, which receives likewise its denomination from the Merz, on which it is situated. Homannus writes this name Merzuschlag, and some of the German geographers Merzueschlag. This town, which is but small, stands upon the confines of Austria, about two German miles N. E. of Kriegla. The best inn (and which is used by most of the English gentlemen who travel this way) in Merzsclag, is the Spread-Eagle. We lay here one night, and met with tolerable good entertainment. The church in Merzsclag is pretty large, and handsome, but built *à la Tedesca*; besides which nothing remarkable here presents itself to a traveller's view.

From Merzsclag we advanced to Schottwien, or (according to Homannus) Schotwein, the first town in Austria. By far the greatest part of the road between Prugg and Mount

Semmering, is a path between two ridges of hills. The Germans commonly call this place Schodtwien, Schaidwien, or Schuzwien; the last of which names seems best to have pleased Lambecius. It was denominated by Æneas Silvius, Schadvienna; and by Bonfinius, Scæa-Vienna, and the Fauces of the Norici. It is a very large town, at the foot of Mount Semmering, or Semmeringas, the boundary of Stiria. The craggy mountains here render the road very narrow to travellers passing from Austria to Stiria, and from Stiria to Austria. Schottwien is defended by a strong castle, or citadel, built upon a rock, and called by the Germans, Clam. This citadel was taken by Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, in 1485: but the craggy precipice, on which it is situated, prevented him from advancing any further that way. The first part of this post is a plain; the middle, all up-hill; and the last part, one continued descent. Not far from the spot where Stiria and Austria meet, we saw such an obelisk or column as that above mentioned, and erected on the same occasion. Upon this obelisk there is an inscription, in which mention is made of the Counts de Zinzendorf and Herberstein, besides some other officers of the Imperial court, bearing a relation to Stiria and Austria.

Neunkirchen is about three German miles distant from Schottwien. Here we took fresh horses, staid about an hour, and refreshed ourselves. This village consists but of few houses, and is only remarkable on account of its being situated in the post-road to Vienna. The Spread-Eagle inn, where the postiglioni generally call, is however a house of some note.

From Neunkirchen, our postiglioni brought us to Neustadt, a noble and well fortified town of Austria, on the Leyta, about seven German miles almost south of Vienna, and not two from the frontiers of Hungary. It has a marshy situation, and was built by Leopold the Glorious, duke of Austria; in order to repress the courses of the Hungarians, about the year 1200. We are told by some writers of good authority, that Emeric, king of Hungary, for the security of his frontiers, began to build a fortress not far from the spot occupied by Neustadt; at, or near, the same time that Leopold was employed in raising this city: and that, in order to prevent all disputes between the two princes, it was mutually agreed, that he who first finished his city should possess it, and the other be obliged to demolish the fortress he had begun. Leopold's workmen, therefore, (continue the same authors,) being more expeditious than those of Emeric, the last dropped his design. Cuspinian writes, that the particular area of the Hungarian town begun by Emeric was visible in his time. The Emperor Maximilian I. was born here, and this was almost the only place that afforded an asylum to Frederick II. duke of Austria, in 1237; when he was expelled Vienna, and every other part of the province, by the Emperor Frederick II. It is likewise famous for the gallant defence it made for the Emperor Frederick IV, when it was besieged by Udalricus Eitzingerus, and Udalricus, count of Cilley, with his forces, and five-thousand citizens of Vienna, in 1452. In this siege Andreas Paumkircherus greatly distinguished himself, when (like Horatius Cocles) he almost singly defended a gate against the whole power of the enemy; and prevented them from entering the town, till a detachment of the garrison came to his assistance, and repulsed them: soon after which, the enemy found themselves obliged to abandon the siege. In the year 1485, after seven months siege, Neustadt surrendered to Matthias, king of Hungary, being compelled thereto by famine; but about five years after, it was restored to Maximilian, son to the Emperor Frederick IV. who obtained leave of Pope Paul II. to make it a bishop's see, in 1470. He had, in the year 1444, founded here a monastery for the Cistercian order. Besides the cathedral church here, there is an Asceterium of the Capuchins; a religious house of Carmelite nuns, founded by Maria Euphrosyna Seredezgin in 1665; and a college for the Jesuits, built and endowed by the Archduke Leopold William. The church appertaining to the Jesuits has been graced with the body of St. Venantius, being the present of the Empress Eleonora Magdalena. The Counts of Serini and Frangipana were beheaded at Neustadt; and a sepulchral monument of stone, in memory of them, stands in the cathedral church, with an inscription upon it. But as this has

been already published by [2] Signor Giovanni Battista Pacichelli, we shall content ourselves with just having mentioned it here. The Imperial palace here, built by Leopold archduke of Austria, son to Albert, surnamed the Wise, and enlarged, as well as greatly adorned, by the Emperor Ferdinand I, is very magnificent and superb. Upon the door are written the five vowels A, E, I, O, U; which symbol has not a little perplexed the wits of the German Œdipuses, who have proposed at least forty interpretations of it. But what need is there of an Œdipus to decipher it, when this has been done by the Emperor Frederick IV. (the [3] author of it) himself, who, in the diary of his life (wrote with his own hand, and perused by Lambecius), has given it us both in Latin and High-Dutch, in the following lines:

AUSTRIÆ *Est Imperare Orbi Universo.*
Alles Erdreich Ist OESTERRICH *Unterthan.*

That is,
'Austria ought to govern the whole world.'

The Odæum of the Holy Cross adjoins to the palace, where the remains of the Emperor Maximilian, removed by Ferdinand from the church or chapel of St. George hither, are deposited in an alabaster coffin. Many of the houses here consist almost entirely of wood, as they do in several parts of Stiria, Carinthia, and Austria. We remember not to have seen any other sort of wood in that part of the Austrian dominions we have hitherto traversed than fir-trees, with which the whole country from the borders of Carniola to Vienna abounds. We staid some time here, in order to have a tolerable good idea of the place, and then set out for Drastkirchen, the next post-town.

Drastkirchen, or Traskirchen, is a pretty large town, about four German miles almost north of Neustadt. We saw nothing remarkable here, except a large stable of horses, belonging to the post-master; and at the Vienna-end of the town a sort of monument or pedestal, with the effigies of God the Father, and this inscription, *Deo Patri Creatori*, &c. upon it. The people here were very inquisitive about the situation of affairs in Italy, and particularly about the condition of the Imperial forces in Lombardy.

Having taken a full survey of Traskirchen, we set out for Vienna, and arrived there in good time. This last post consists of three long German miles, and is a plain entirely clear and open, (as is also the whole post-road from Mount Semmering, which may be deemed a part of Mount Cetius,) to the gates of Vienna. The country betwixt that capital and Traskirchen, is adorned with several fine seats belonging to persons of distinction. Upon our arrival at Vienna, we found the Emperor's officers pretty severe, and our baggage underwent a strict examination. The duty imposed upon us for it, amounted to twenty grosse; after the payment of which, we were admitted into the town. From what has been already observed, our readers will easily perceive, that the list of posts betwixt Gratz and Vienna stands thus:

From Gratz to Pichau, full two German miles.
From Pichau or Becka to Redelstein, two long German miles.
From Redelstein or Rotelstein to Prugg, two German miles.
From Prugg or Pruck to Merzhofen, two German miles.
From Merzhofen or Merzhoffen to Krieglag, two German miles.
From Krieglag to Merzueschlag, two German miles.
From Merzueschlag or Merzsclag to Schottwien, two German miles.
From Schottwien to Neunkirchen, three German miles.

[2] This piece is intitled, Memorie de' Viaggi per l'Europa Christiana, &c. and was printed at Naples, in 1685. See tom. iii. epist. 61.

[3] This was the common symbol of Frederick IV. used on various occasions by that prince, as we learn from Lambecius. See his Comment. de August. Biblioth. Cæs. Vind. &c. tom. ii.

From Neunkirchen to Neustadt, two German miles.
From Neustadt to Traskirchen, four German miles.
From Traskirchen or Draskirchen to Vienna, three German miles.

Vienna, or (as it was written in Latin above three-hundred years ago) *Wienna*, is called by the Germans Wien, by the French Vienne, by the English, Spaniards, and Italians Vienna, by the Poles Wieden, and by the Turks Beetz. It is one of the most famous cities in the world, and the capital of the Archduchy of Austria. It stands on the southern arm of the Danube, not far from the confines of Hungary, in forty-eight degrees twenty-two minutes north latitude, and forty degrees longitude, according to the German geographers. This being admitted, a right line drawn from Vienna to Rome will be a hundred and five German miles long, to Madrid two-hundred and sixty, to Lisbon three-hundred and thirty-five, to Paris a hundred and fifty-four, to London a hundred and seventy-five, to Copenhagen a hundred and sixteen, to Stockholm a hundred and sixty-five, to Cracow forty, to Moscow two-hundred and forty-eight, and to Constantinople a hundred and seventy-three. In the calculus, or computation of these distances, the aforesaid geographers (according to custom) suppose every single degree of the Æquator to correspond with fifteen German miles; but in order to determine them with greater precision, it must be observed, that a German mile consists of five-thousand four-hundred paces, every one of which contains five geometrical feet.

Vienna seems to occupy the spot on which the antient Vindobona stood; for which reason it is frequently styled in Latin, by the moderns, *Vindobona*. Its situation very well corresponds with that of the Viliobona and the Juliobona of Ptolemy, since that geographer places this city on the Danube, a little to the east of Mount Cetius; which evidently proves his text, with regard to the name of the place, to be corrupted in the passage here referred to. This is confirmed by Peutinger's table; from whence it appears, that persons travelling from the River Arabo (the Raab of the moderns) into Noricum, found Vindobona to be six-thousand paces, or six Roman miles, nearer to them than Mount Cetius. Vindobona is likewise mentioned by Antoninus in the Itinerary, who removes it to a greater distance from Mount Cetius; but this is not to be wondered at, since the learned know that this piece, especially with regard to its numbers, is full of faults, and consequently stands in need of many emendations. If it was necessary to produce other testimonies in support of what is here advanced, we might cite Jornandes, who lived in the reign of Justinian I. several antient monuments dug up at Vienna, published by Lazius, as well as others, and the Notitia; but this seems to be entirely superfluous. Several of the antient Roman emperors did not only honour Vindobona with ample privileges, but likewise with their presence. Such were Tiberius, M. Aurelius Antoninus Philosophus, who died here, according to Sextus Aurelius Victor; and Antoninus Caracalla, who amused himself here with various kinds of diversions, in his journey to Pannonia, as we find proved from Herodian by Lambecius; which is confirmed by an antient medal discovered by the workmen in digging for the foundations of the new Imperial palace at Vienna, in 1662. The name of this city was deduced from that of the river Vindo, or Wien, as it is now called, on which it stands, and the word Bahn, i. e. 'Way,' according to Lambecius. In support of this notion, that learned man supposes Vindobona to be the head of a military way leading to the river Vindo or Wien, to Italy. Others believe the word Vindobona to be composed of *vindo* and *wohn*, i. e. 'The habitation upon the Vindo.' Which of these etymons is the true one, we shall not take upon us to determine, nor attempt to answer the objections offered against the opinion just advanced, *viz.* that Vienna and Vindobona may be looked upon as the same city. This has been most effectually done by the learned Lambecius; to whom, for farther satisfaction on this head, we beg leave to refer our curious and inquisitive readers.

But admitting that Vindobona stood where Vienna was afterwards erected, yet it must be allowed, that Vindobona was destroyed five-hundred years before the foundation of Vienna, which happened in the time of St. Leopold, marquis of Austria, who died in 1136. That prince having extended his frontiers towards the east, and built him a palace

on the top of Mount Cetius; part of the spot at present occupied by Vienna began first to be distinguished from the adjacent soil by some small huts or cottages raised on it, and inhabited by huntsmen; though, a short time afterwards, these were converted into edifices of considerable note. From the destruction of Vindobona to the erection of the abovementioned huts, or, at least, for the greatest part of that period, this spot was covered with birch-trees; from whence it received the denomination of Perkhoff or Birkhoff, by which name it went in the reign of the aforesaid St. Leopold, marquis of Austria. This was the beginning of the present famous and noble city of Vienna, so called from the Wien, on which it is seated; in like manner as was Vindobona from Vindo, the antient name of the same river. Vienna, at first an inconsiderable village, grew so fast, that it soon put on the form of a city; and Henry, then duke of Austria, pitched upon the place now called Hoff, for his palace to stand upon, in 1156. Leopold VII, surnamed 'The Virtuous,' surrounded Vienna (then looked upon as a ducal city) with a brick-wall, flanked with towers, some footsteps of which are still to beseen at the gate,called 'The Gate of the Red-Tower.' This was done with money paid by Richard I. king of England, for his ransom, after he had been taken prisoner by the said Leopold, in his return to England from the Holy Land, for a pretended affront offered him by that prince, at the taking of Aco or Ptolemais. Leopold VIII. duke of Austria, son to Leopold VII, surnamed 'The Glorious,' after the death of his elder brother Frederick, built a splendid and superb palace in Vienna, which has been the seat of the Roman emperors near three-hundred years. The residence of those emperors here has gradually aggrandized this city, filled it with inhabitants, magnificent palaces, and noblesse of different nations; in which flourishing state we beheld it. Since the year 1540, especially in 1636, the place has been regularly fortified, and is now one of the strongest towns in Europe. The suburbs on every side seem equal to so many cities. Before the year 1683, they were adjacent to the fosses; but since that time, they are removed at a certain distance from thence, and are adorned with so many fine palaces and beautiful gardens, that for above half of the year, nothing can appear more delightful and agreeable.

Vienna has sustained six sieges. 1. It was attacked by Frederick II. duke of Austria, and forced to surrender to him, in 1241. This prince had been expelled Vienna four years before, when the citizens invited the Emperor Frederick II. thither, who gave the town a new coat of arms, *viz.* a golden eagle in a black field; and made it an Imperial city. 2. It was taken and delivered from the tyrannic government of Ottocar, king of Bohemia, by the Emperor Rudolphus I. of Hapsburg, in 1277. 3. It was attacked by Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, who found himself obliged to retire from before it, at the approach of the Emperor Frederick, advancing at the head of a powerful army to its relief, in 1477. 4. The aforesaid King Matthias besieged and took it, in the year 1485; but after the death of that prince, it opened its gates to Maximilian, son to the Emperor Frederick IV. in 1490. 5. It was besieged by Soliman the Magnificent, emperor of the Turks, in 1529. During this siege, Philip Count-Palatine of the Rhine was governor of the city: that part of the wall, near the gate of Carinthia, being the most exposed, was defended by a body of Spaniards; the other contiguous to it (extending as far as the gate of the Red-Tower) by Ernest de Brandenstein, with some of the forces sent by the princes of the Empire, and two-thousand Bohemians; the next part of the wall reaching to the Jews-Tower, by the Austrians, under the command of Reiprecht ab Eberstorf; and the other parts by the citizens, Stirians, Carinthians, &c. under the conduct of Maximilian Leisser, John Greisneck, John Hauser, Leonard à Velss, Abel ab Holeneck, Eckius à Reischach, John Caccianer, &c. who all behaved with such bravery, that the Sultan was obliged to draw off his forces, and retire to Buda. 6. Sultan Mohammed IV. espousing the interest of the Hungarian malecontents, at the instigation of the French king Lewis XIV, sent a most formidable army, under the command of his grand-visier Kara Mustapha, to form the siege of Vienna, and entirely ruin the House of Austria, in 1683. The city was then most gallantly defended by Count Rudiger Ernest à Starenberg, and after near two months siege, delivered by John III. king of Poland, and that

most renowned general Charles V. duke of Lorrain. The particulars of these glorious actions have been so minutely described, and are, even at present, so recent in many people's memories, that it would be superfluous to dwell upon them here; however, it may not be improper to observe, that this deliverance is annually commemorated at Vienna, with great solemnity. As for the slight insults of the Count de Thurn, the Bohemian general, in 1619, and the Swedes some years after, they scarce deserve to be mentioned.

The principal churches, and religious houses, in Vienna, are the following: 1. The cathedral church, begun by Albert II. archduke of Austria, in the year 1340, dedicated to St. Stephen the protomartyr, and finished by the Archduke Rudolphus IV. in 1364. The noble tower or steeple, that distinguishes this church so greatly from all the others, was begun by the aforesaid Rudolph, about the year 1363, so far advanced as to be equal in height to the roof of the church by Albert III. and brought to the perfection we now see it arrived at by Albert IV. in 1400. It is four-hundred and sixty feet high[4], and a work so noble and stupendous, that it ought to remain, not only above three centuries (as it has already done), but even till the fabrick of nature itself is destroyed; insomuch, that according to Æneas Silvius (afterwards Pope Pius II.) when some Bosnian ambassadors first viewed it, they could not help observing, that "in their opinion, it must have cost more than the whole kingdom of Bosnia was worth." This church is likewise famous for the gazophylacium of several of the Lipsani, the tombs or monuments of the Archdukes Rudolph IV. Albert III. Albert IV. Albert VI. William Leopold, surnamed 'the Proud,' &c. and the rich marble mausolæum of the Emperor Frederick IV. The bowels of the Emperors Leopold and Joseph, put into two silver boxes or chests, were interred here. The bell in the little tower is said to be twenty-thousand pound weight. In the church-yard, there is a stone pulpit, from whence S. Joannes Capistranus is believed to have preached in Latin to the populace, who though ignorant of even the first rudiments of that language, it is pretended, miraculously understood him.

St. Stephen's church, though near four-hundred years old, (as already observed,) was substituted in the place of another more antient one, coëval or nearly so, with the city itself. Here one Eberhardus is said to have first officiated, about the year 1140, or rather 1157, at the appointment of Rembertus bishop of Passau; but the names of all his successors are lost, except that of one Peter, dignified with the title of *Magister*, who lived at the time of the Provincial-council, held at Vienna, in 1267; over which presided Guido cardinal of St. Lawrence in Lucina, priest of the Cistercian order, and legate of the Apostolical see. Amongst the great personages, who assisted at this council, may be reckoned John bishop of Prague, Peter bishop of Passau, Bruno bishop of Brixen, Conrad bishop of Freisingen, and Leo bishop of Ratisbon, besides a large number of deans, archdeacons, &c. Nay, according to Lazius, the patriarch of Aquileia, the archbishop of Saltzburg, the bishops of Trent, Olmutz, and Breslaw, assisted hereat; though an anonymous author cited by Lambecius, who lived at the time of this council, excludes the three last bishops, when he asserts that Guido only convened the bishops, who were suffragans to the archbishop of Saltzburg. And, in conformity to this assertion, Stero affirms, that one Uladislaus was, this very year 1267, consecrated archbishop of Saltzburg, on Trinity-Sunday, June 12, after the breaking up of the council, which happened during the vacancy of that see; since, according to the aforesaid anonymous author, it began May the tenth, 1267, and continued only three days. Rudolph IV. archduke of Austria, (as hinted above,) finished the church of St. Stephen, in 1364; when it was likewise made a cathedral church, with stalls for twenty-four canons, over whom one Wernherus first presided. These canons were to be dressed in purple, and to wear a golden cross on their breast; and when prayers were to be put up on any occasion, twelve of them had

[4] When Soliman the Magnificent besieged Vienna, he promised the citizens to spare the tower or steeple of St. Stephen's church, if they would place upon the top of it a half-moon and star, the Turkish arms; which was readily complied with. But the Turks were not so polite in 1683. The garrison therefore observing, that several of the enemy's shot were levelled at that tower, they took down the Turkish arms; and it is to be hoped they never will be admitted into this city again.

orders to precede, and as many to follow the Carmelites, in all processions. But this custom, as well as the purple garment, has since been laid aside, and the number of canons been reduced to fourteen. In 1480, the Emperor Frederick IV. (with the leave and concurrence of Pope Paul II.) founded a bishoprick at Vienna, declared free and exempt from all archiepiscopal jurisdiction. Leo à Spaur, a Tyroleze, was the first bishop of Vienna. Betwixt this Leo and the cardinal Melchior Cleselius, who died in 1630, there were thirteen bishops of Vienna. The cardinal was succeeded by Anthony, abbot of Krembsmünster; who was created a prince, by the Emperor Ferdinand II.

2. The abbey of the Scotch Benedictines, founded by Henry II. duke of Austria, in 1158, as the charter expresses it, '*in honorem Dei et laudem suæ genetricis gloriosissimæ Virginis, denique in commemorationem beati Gregorii,*' &c. It was intended likewise to be a caravansera, or place of refreshment, for the pilgrims going to the Holy-land; and as the Scotch pilgrims calling here were observed to be the most numerous, it seems from thence to have deduced its name; though Cuspinianus says, it was so called from the Scotch religious, who were invited hither. The present church belonging to this monastery was built since the year 1590, when the old one was overthrown by an earthquake, which shook the whole city. The religious here at present live very well.

3. The monastery of the Carmelites was founded (according to Fugger and Cuspinian) by Leopold the Glorious, duke of Austria, a little before the beginning of the thirteenth century; but (if any credit may be given to Lazius) by Rudolphus IV. Gerard de Roo seems to reconcile these jarring accounts, when he relates, that Rudolph IV. was so munificent a benefactor to the Carmelites, that he might be considered as their founder; and was accordingly honoured by them with that title. It is probable, that the church which Lazius affirms to have been erected in honour of the Virgin Mary, was one instance of his munificence; since this church, which stands in the *forum* or market-place, called Hoff, and has a fine entry or portico, has not the appearance of a structure betwixt five and six hundred years old. The Jesuits had this monastery given them by Ferdinand I. king of the Romans, in 1554.

4. The noble church at S. Maria Rotunda, built in the reign of the Emperor Ferdinand II. stands upon the ruins of a more antient one, erected by Leopold the Virtuous, in 1100; and given by another Leopold, archduke of Austria, to the order of the Prædicants, in 1325; eighteen years after the Templars, its former possessors, had been extinct. Annexed to this church is a large public library, denominated from its founder the Windhagian library; where at certain stated hours every body has the liberty of studying. The church, with the library, makes a fine appearance.

5. The church of the Holy-Cross was begun by Ottocar, king of Bohemia, in the room of a smaller one; and a religious house assigned to the Seraphic order, by Frederick II. duke of Austria, who began to reign in 1227; carried on by Blanche, daughter to Philip the Fair, king of France, and wife to the Archduke Rudolph III.; and at last finished by Elizabeth of Aragon, wife to the Emperor Frederick III. It has been finely decorated and adorned by the Minorites; in the wall of whose cloister, is a very remarkable *hiatus* or chasm, through which (it is reported) the devil carried to hell an impious wretch, who presumed to eat the host seven times in one day. Such stories as these are not uncommon at Vienna.

6. The parochial church of St. Michael, built by Rudolph III. and Otto, archdukes of Austria, upon the ruins of a more antient one; was given to the regular clerks of St. Paul, in the year 1626, by the Emperor Ferdinand II. These clerks were substituted in the place of the secular clergy, who before performed all the parochial duty here.

7. The church of St. Anna was founded for the use of strangers. The Jesuits first seated themselves here, when they were invited to Vienna, by the Emperor Ferdinand I. in 1551; but removing soon after from hence, it was given to the Knights of St. Stephen; and lastly, it was again consigned to the Jesuits, as a place proper for the education of their youth, in 1626.

8. The Aulic church of St. Austin, with the convent adjoining to it, owes its foundation

to Otto, archduke of Austria, in 1338, or the year following. After his death, it came first into the possession of the hermits of St. Augustin; but now it is inhabited, and has been finely beautified, by the Discalceated or Bare-footed Augustines. In the middle of this church is a chapel called the Chapel of Loretto, because built after the model of the holy house of Loretto. The hearts of the two Emperors Leopold and Joseph, put into two silver urns or boxes, were deposited behind the high altar here. There is a gallery of communication between this chapel and the imperial palace.

9. The church of St. Dorothea was begun by Albert II. archduke of Austria, and finished by Rudolph IV.; committed (as is said) at first to the care of the secular presbyters; to which Andreas Blanck or Planckner, præceptor to Albert, archduke of Austria, and chancellor, afterwards annexed a college of the regular canons of St. Augustine.

10. The church of St. Jerom was founded by Conradus Holzerus, a citizen of Vienna of great distinction, for female-penitents singing the *horæ canonicæ* every day in the German tongue, about the beginning of the fifteenth century. The Minorites formerly occupied the monastery of St. Theobald in one of the suburbs; but demolishing this, and retiring into the city, for fear of the Turks, about the year 1589, they were invited to the church of St. Jerom.

11. The church belonging to the academical college of the Jesuits was founded by the Emperor Ferdinand II. in 1628; but it was not finished till some time after.

12. The church of St. Francis, with a vault designed to receive the bodies of the princes of the house of Austria; and the Asceterium of the Capuchins, famous for the number of sacred relicks it contains; deserves to be mentioned next. The Emperor Matthias, and Anna his consort, began to erect it; but it was not finished till the year 1631. The bodies of the Emperors Leopold and Joseph were buried here. The former of those princes died May the fifth, N. S. 1705; and the latter, April the seventeenth, N. S. 1711.

Besides these churches and religious houses, there are seven nunneries, with the churches appertaining to them, distributed in different parts of this city.

1. The church of St. James is of great antiquity, being either founded by Leopoldus Largus, marquis of Austria, or Leopold the Virtuous, in 1190. Several Carinthian matrons afterwards settled here, and embraced the rule of St. Augustin.

2. The nunnery of Santa Clara, at the gate called Himmelport, or 'the Gate of Heaven,' (over which Catharine, daughter to Albert II. archduke of Austria, for some time presided,) was founded by one M. Gerard of Vienna, in 1267, for the nuns of St. Norbertus. It was much enlarged by Agnes of Austria, the wife of Andrew king of Hungary, in 1331. Anna, the daughter of the Emperor Frederick III. and the King of Poland's widow, did this nunnery the honour to reside in it. Cardinal Cleselius finding the number of these religious virgins much diminished, placed here the Canonissæ of St. Augustin.

3. The church of St. Lawrence, with the religious house adjoining to it, appropriated to the use of a certain number of nuns, was erected and endowed by Otto, archduke of Austria, in 1337. Afterwards, the religious ladies subject to the laws of St. Augustin, removing from an habitation they had at a small distance from the city, settled themselves here.

4. The Emperor Ferdinand II. (at the desire of his wife, Anna Eleonora,) translated a certain number of nuns of the order of Santa Clara, to St. Nicholas's in Vienna, from Presburg in Hungary. Their house was enlarged in 1651. Before the erection of it, there was upon the spot where it stands, a college for poor students, to which John Fabri, bishop of Vienna, left his fine library, September the first, 1540.

5. The royal nunnery founded by Elizabeth of Austria, widow to Charles IX. king of France, in 1583, is inhabited by religious virgins of the order of Santa Clara, who were translated hither originally from Munich. It occupies the spot where the palace of Charles Anthony, archduke of Austria, formerly stood.

6. The nunnery of St. Joseph was built and endowed by Anna Eleonora, consort to the Emperor Ferdinand II. and appropriated by her to the use of the virgins of Mount Carmel. We must not omit observing that the remains of this religious lady were deposited here.

7. The Ursulines being invited hither by Eleonora, wife to the Emperor Ferdinand III. erected themselves a church and nunnery, in 1675.

These are the churches and religious houses in Vienna of principal note, though there are some others which deserve to be just touched upon.

The churches of St. Peter, and St. Rupertus, are very antient; but the precise time of their foundation (for want of proper light from history) cannot be ascertained; the extravagances of Merianus and Lazius on this head deserving not the least regard. The same may be said of the churches of St. John Baptist and St. Elizabeth; the first of which is appropriated to the knights of the Teutonic order, and the latter to those of Malta. The church of the Blessed Virgin must be allowed to be a place of high antiquity, and is under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Passau. We must not pass over in silence, now we are speaking of the places more immediately set apart for religious purposes, the brazen[5] or copper statue of the Immaculate Virgin upon a high column, erected by the Emperor Leopold, in 1667; and an obelisk raised by the same prince in the herb-market, in honour of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity. This last was begun in 1682, and finished in 1692; being intended as an offering, to express the grateful sense the Emperor had of the city of Vienna's being delivered from a pestilential disease, that made great havock amongst its citizens, in 1679.

In the suburb called Leopoldstat, from whence the Jews were expelled by the Emperor Leopold, in 1670, seated upon an island in the Danube, towards the northern part of the town, the following places deserve to be mentioned. 1. The convent of Bare-footed Carmelites, founded by the Emperor Ferdinand II. 2. The hospital of the religious, styled *Fratres S. Johannis Dei*, with the church of St. John Baptist, first erected by the Emperor Matthias, and, after the fire in 1652, put into a better form by the Emperor Ferdinand III.

In the suburb towards the east, a little without the gate of Stuben, or the Hungarian gate, in the highway, there stands a fine church, with an Augustin monastery, founded in honour of St. Sebastian and St. Roch. This suffered first greatly by fire, in 1656; and afterwards by the Turks, in 1683. But it has since been rebuilt, and beautified.

In the suburb towards the south, there is first a handsome church, with a convent of Minims of St. Francis de Paula. These religious were drawn hither by the munificence of Ferdinand II. in 1624. 2. The church of St. Joseph, with a very antient convent of Carmelites; who, after they had been absent above an age, returned to Vienna, in 1661. 3. The college of the PP. *Piarum Scholarum*, founded in 1698. 4. The church of 'The Blessed Virgin the Helper,' in Latin *Ecclesia Beatissimæ Virginis Auxiliatricis*; served by the regular clerks of St. Paul, and said to be famous for many miracles wrought in it.

To a traveller visiting the suburb inclining towards the west occur the parish of St. Udalricus, and an Asceterium of Capuchins; as likewise two monasteries of Benedictine and Trinitarian friars, who came hither from Spain; the former in 1633, and the latter not many years since, at the invitation of the Emperor Leopold. Lastly, (and which closes the whole circuit of the city,) not far from the Danube there is a convent of the Servites, or fathers styled *Servi Beatæ Virginis*, who seated themselves here, in 1639. But their church and monastery were founded by Don Ottavio Piccolomini, duke of Amalfi, in 1651.

The buildings of Vienna (at least for the most part) we cannot think so grand as some have represented them. The palaces there will by no means answer the expectations of a traveller, who comes from Italy, to see the metropolis of the German empire. The streets, generally speaking, seem narrow, and many of the houses such as make no very extraordinary appearance. Notwithstanding which, here are people from almost all the European, and some of the Asiatic nations. Turks, Tartars, Russians, Hungarians, Sclavonians, Greeks, Ratzians, Croatians, Poles, Italians, French, Spaniards, Armenians, &c. so diversify it, that it seems to be an epitome of at least a good part of Europe and Asia. And perhaps in this consist the chief beauty and grandeur of the place; since nothing can be

[5] We thought it needless to give a particular and minute description of the statues here mentioned, since this has been already done by our learned and ingenious countryman Dr. Brown.

more pleasing and agreeable to a traveller, as well as more noble and grand, than to have a collection of the principal nations of the globe presented to him in one view. This seems as it were to indicate, that the court of the world itself resides here, and consequently to imply, that the head of it is more immediately the vicegerent of the great Governor of the universe.

The Imperial palace in Vienna consists of two parts, *viz.* the old palace built by Leopold the Glorious (as above observed), and enlarged by Ottocar king of Bohemia; and the addition to this, begun in the year 1662, by the Emperor Leopold. This palace is not only rendered illustrious by the residence of the Imperial family, but likewise by the invaluable treasury in it; which, for its vast multitude of most rare and inestimable jewels, is allowed to be the first in Europe; as likewise for the many excellent pieces done by the most celebrated painters; collected chiefly by the Archduke Leopold William, and hung up in several inner rooms, which together form a gallery, and are called Kunst-Kammer. In this palace is to be seen the Imperial or Vienna library, so celebrated all over the learned world. It contains, as we were told, above twelve-thousand manuscripts, and at least an hundred-thousand printed volumes; a great accession having of late years been made to it out of the East. The limits we have prescribed ourselves here will not permit us to give even a general description of this celebrated library, which would of itself fill a considerable volume; and besides, this has been rendered entirely superfluous and unnecessary by those great men M. Lambecius and M. Nessel, librarians to the Emperor Leopold. We have nothing further therefore to do, in order to satisfy the curiosity of our readers in this particular, than to refer them to the two following most learned and elaborate pieces.

Petri Lambecii Hamburgensis
Commentariorum de augustissimâ Bibliothecâ Cæsareâ Vindobonensi, &c.
Lib. 1^mus^, 2^dus^, 3^tius^, 4^tus^, 5^tus^, 6^tus^, 7^mus^, 8^vus^.
Vindobonæ; Typis Matthæi Cosmerovii, Sac. Cæs. Majest. Typogr. &c.
1665, 1669-70, 1671, 1674, 1675-79.

And,
Catalogus,
Sive
Recensio specialis omnium Codicum Manuscriptorum Græcorum,
Necnon Linguarum Orientalium,
Augustissimæ Bibliothecæ Cæsareæ Vindobonensis;
Quem,
Jussu & auspiciis
Sacratissimi gloriosissimique Imperatoris Romanorum,
Leopoldi I.
Magni, pii, felicis, inclyti, Victoris, ac Triumphatoris semper augusti,
(Quem Deus sospitet!)
In publicam lucem edidit
Daniel de Nessel, J. U. D.
Sacræ Cæsareæ Majestatis Consiliarius & Bibliothecarius Aulicus.
Vindobonæ et Norimbergæ;
Typis Leopoldi Voigt, & Joachimi Balthasaris Endteri,
Anno Salutis M.DC.XC.

This last piece consists of seven parts, and an appendix containing five additaments. The seventh part is very curious, containing several fine plates, and explications of curiosities to be met with in the Imperial library. Among the rest here are mentioned a famous basilisk, found in a deep well, A. D. 1212, in the reign of the Emperor Frederick II. two or three Chinese portraits, a Mexican MS. some treatises in the Chinese language, several natural curiosities, &c. delineated and explained, &c. In the appendix we find several antient coins, and other valuable relicks of antiquity, &c. The librarian, Signior Pio Ni-

colo Garelli, is said to be an excellent Græcian, and to be extremely well versed in literary history and all kinds of critical learning. He is likewise a gentleman of great politeness, address, and good-nature, affable, generous, and vastly obliging to foreigners, especially such as are persons of erudition. There is said to be an inviolable friendship between him and Signior Passionei, the pope's nuncio at the Imperial court.

The Emperor's cabinet of medals is extremely noble and grand, consisting of at least twenty-thousand of all sorts. But, to mention a few only of these would give our curious readers no satisfaction, especially as there is a printed catalogue of them. We shall therefore refer them to that catalogue.

The Raccolta likewise of natural and artificial curiosities, as well as valuable remains of antiquity, appertaining to his Imperial Majesty, is equally noble and grand, and perhaps scarce to be paralleled. But a list of these has been more than once offered to the publick. It would therefore be losing of time to transcribe from thence the description of any part of them. It requires at least a month to go through every part of the musæum, in which these curiosities are deposited.

There are several fine palaces here, as those of Prince Eugene of Savoy, just out of town, the Princes de Schwartzenburg and Lichtenstein, the Counts de Dietrichstein and Herberstein; not to mention the Favorita, an Imperial palace in one of the suburbs, that of Laxemburg belonging likewise to his Imperial Majesty, two German miles out of town, and that of the Empress Amelia opposite to Prince Eugene's. But neither these, nor any of the rest, notwithstanding some of them are adorned with exceeding fine paintings, and are noble structures, can come up, by many parasangs, to several we had seen in Italy. The architecture of some of the churches above mentioned is admirable, and most of them within are finely beautified; yet in both these respects we have hitherto found Italy far superior to Germany.

Upon our arrival here, the advices received from Constantinople seemed to threaten an invasion from the Port; which threw every part of the city, and (as was said) the court itself, into an inexpressible consternation. But their fears were soon dissipated, the next advices assuring, that the Turks had their hands so full of the war with Thamas Kouli Kan, that they had no thoughts of coming to a rupture with the Emperor.

The common people of Vienna seemed to have the French in great contempt, and doubted not but they should soon make them repent of declaring war against the House of Austria; but the noblesse and people of sense were of another opinion. In fine, the court was greatly embarrassed and perplexed, and almost in a desponding condition. For they knew England to be linked with France, or at least afraid of disobliging her, and suspected Holland to be bribed by that power: and without the hearty concurrence of England and Holland, they knew they could not make a stand against his most Christian Majesty and his allies.

The courts of justice in Vienna, besides the consistories of the dioceses of Vienna and Passau and the university, are the thirteen following. 1. The Imperial aulic council, in which all the causes of the Romano-Germanic empire are discussed. 2. The tribunal of the marshal of the court, which extends to all the ministers and officers of the court. 3. The council of war, which is confined to military affairs. 4. The government, or administration, at the head of which is more immediately the Emperor. 5. The exchequer, or the chamber in which every thing relating to the finances is managed. 6. The Comitia, or common-council, of the province of Austria, consisting of three orders, *viz.* that of prelates, that of nobles, and that of knights. 7. The aulic chancery. 8. The chancery of Bohemia. 9. The chancery of Hungary. 10. The chancery of Transilvania. 11. The chancery of Spain, Naples, Sicily, and the state of Milan. 12. That of the Austrian Netherlands. 13. The senate of the city, to which the citizens are immediately subject. We must not omit observing here, that there are two armouries in Vienna; the one belonging to the Emperor, and the other to the city; both of which are very well provided with all kinds of military stores.

The university of Vienna, at present one of the most celebrated in the world, is of very

considerable antiquity; being founded by the Emperor Frederick II. in the year 1237. That prince then permitted the citizens of Vienna, in return for their attachment to him, to open a school or college, being willing, as the original charter expresses it, *commodo studio provideri, per quod prudentia docetur in populis, et rudis ætas instruitur parvorum*, &c. But this school, or college, did not extend farther than the *literæ humaniores*, and some branches of philosophy. Another school or college of this kind, was afterwards erected at St. Stephen's church, or at least near the antient church which preceded that cathedral; under whose care and direction other smaller ones at St. Michael's and the hospital were likewise built. These, as well as the first college, were called the 'Antient Seats of Literature,' in order to distinguish them from the Proper, or Modern University, which was founded by Rudolphus IV. who obtained, for that purpose, a bull from Pope Urban V. dated at Avignon, June the nineteenth, 1365. The original instrument itself was discovered in the Imperial library, and published by Lambecius; from whence we shall beg leave to transcribe the following paragraph, which, we believe, will be extremely agreeable to our curious and inquisitive readers: *Cùm itaque, sicut nuper ex parte dilecti filii nobilis viri Rudolphi ducis Austriæ fuit propositum in consistorio coram nobis, ipse dux in villâ suâ Viennensi Pataviensis diœcesis plurimùm desideret fieri, et ordinari per sedem Apostolicam studium generale in quâlibet licitâ facultate; nos, authoritate Apostolicâ, statuimus, et etiam ordinamus, ut in dictâ villâ de cætero sit studium generale, tam in juris canonici, et civilis, quàm in aliâ quâlibet scientiâ, præterquàm theologicâ facultate.* Rudolphus died at Milan the thirty-first day of July following, and, besides the abovementioned schools, assigned his new university a larger space in the city; which some have described as situated near the church of the Augustines, and others as by that side of the palace towards the Scotch gate. The same Rudolph also decreed, that the dean of St. Stephen's should always exercise the office of chancellor of the university; from whence it is plain, that Wernher, abovementioned, obtained both those high dignities. Albert III, brother and successor to Rudolph, got what had been already done confirmed, and the faculty of divinity added thereto, by Pope Urban VI. as clearly appears from his bull, granted for this purpose, and dated at Naples, February the twentieth, 1384; in which year the said Albert ordered a body of statutes to be compiled for his university, from those of that of Paris. He likewise honoured it with privileges of the same nature with those of the last-mentioned university; and transferred his academy to a more quiet and silent spot, adjoining to the convent of the Prædicants, having purchased for this end that vast religious house formerly possessed by the Templars. For which intelligence we are obliged to Georgius Eder, the *rector magnificus* of this university, during the first six months of the year 1559, in the catalogue of the rectors his predecessors by him published. This is likewise confirmed (though it contradicts Fugger and Lazius) by Cuspinian and Gerard de Roo; as also by the *rubrica* of the privileges of the university, to which this title is prefixed, '*Conclusio ducis Alberti fundatoris:*' after which the approbations of these privileges granted by Leopoldus Probus, brother to Albert, Pilgrinus archbishop of Saltzburg, John bishop of Passaw, the noblesse of Austria, and the citizens of Vienna, expressly attributing the erection and foundation of this university to Albert III, are inserted. Besides the dignities and privileges here hinted at, the Emperor Frederick IV. decreed, that the most famous poets of the university should be crowned with laurel.—So much for the foundation, privileges, and first benefactors of this university.

With regard to the students, many of whom came from very remote parts, they were antiently divided into seven classes. 1. The Bursa, or hotel, appertaining to the youth of the city of Vienna. 2. That of the Austrians. 3. That of the Swabians and Wertemberghers. 4. That of the Stirians and Saltzburghers. 5. That of the Silesians. 6. That of the Carinthians. 7. That of the Hungarians. But at present all the members of this university are reducible to the four following principal nations. 1. The Austrians. 2. The people of the Upper and Lower Rhine. 3. The Hungarians. 4. The Saxons. According to the abovementioned Georgius Eder, the first *rector magnificus* of this most celebrated university was Joannes de Randegg of Constance, and canon of Augsburg, who arrived at

this high dignity in 1377. The same author has also given us a list or series of Joannes de Randegg's successors to his own time. The *rectores magnifici* continued in their office only six months, till 1628; but afterwards a whole year. In the year 1622, when William Rechperger was *rector magnificus*, the Archducal College, the Provincial School, the *Domus Facultatis Philosophicæ*, and several other buildings were given up to the Jesuits, at the command of the Emperor Ferdinand II. that upon the spot occupied by them the society might erect a college, with proper schools and a church appertaining to it. The four following colleges or seminaries, may likewise be considered as places of literature, and belonging to the university: *viz.* That at Santa Barbara, translated, together with the clergy of Pope Gregory XIII. from the Apostolic nuncio's house to the neighbourhood of the Lycæum here; the *collegium Pazmanianum*, or college founded by Peter Pazmany, cardinal priest of the society of Jesus, and archbishop of Strigonium or Gran, together with the bishops of Raab and Neitra, for the clergy of their dioceses; the seminary of St. Ignatius and St. Pancrathius, built upon the foundations of several of the antient Bursæ; and the *collegium Croaticum* or Croatian college, founded by the chapter of Zagrab, for their clergy. The three first of these seminaries belong to the Jesuits, who are, and always have been ever since the first institution of their order, in great repute here.

We must not omit observing, that the *rector magnificus* has sixteen assistants, to facilitate the execution of his office; and that he can punish the students over whom he presides with death, for capital crimes. There are four deans likewise of this university. The present Emperor Charles VI. is said to be a great encourager and patron of learned men; which brings considerable numbers of them to this place. Amongst others we several times heard mentioned father Vite George Tonnemann, D. D. and confessor to his Imperial Majesty, father Charles Granelli, confessor to the Empress Amelia, and father Lewis Debiel, doctor and ordinary professor of philosophy in the university of Vienna; all three of the society of Jesus. The last is a gentleman extremely well versed in antiquity, and particularly that branch of it relating to the antient Greek and Roman coins. He last year published a small piece, which in the learned world has met with a general approbation. This treatise he dedicated to the new bachelors of arts in the university of Vienna, and particularly to the illustrious Cajetanus Christophorus de Glanz and Josephus Andreas de Ruck, both of the city of Vienna, and prefixed to it the following title-page:

Utilitas Rei Numariæ Veteris,
Compendio proposita.
Accedit
Appendicula ad Numos Coloniarum
per Cl. Vaillantium editos,
E Cimeliarchio Vindobonensi cujusdam è Societate Jesû.
Auctore
R. P. Ludovico Debiel,
è Soc. Jesû, AA. LL. et Philosophiæ Doctore,
ejusdemque in antiquissimâ Academiâ Viennensi Professore ordinario.
Cum Privilegio et Facultate Superiorum.

Viennæ Austriæ,
Sumptibus Joannis Adami Schmidii, Bibliopolæ Norimbergensis.
M.D.CC.XXXIII.

During our stay here, we dined several times with Mr. Robinson, the English minister, who is greatly beloved by, and in high favour at, the court, where he resides. He is a gentleman of great politeness and address; perfectly understands the politicks, genius, and disposition of the Imperial court; and is a hearty friend to the liberties of Europe, as well as closely attached to the interest of his native country. He has moreover an inex-

haustible fund of generosity, greatness of soul, and good-nature. The elegance and magnificence, with which he entertains his friends as well as countrymen, here, do an honour to his nation; and in whatever light we view him, he seems to be as able and engaging a minister, as the British court has sent abroad these many years. Before our departure for Bohemia, he was so good as to suggest to us several useful hints, for the better regulation of our conduct on the road; and likewise to recommend us to Dr. Smith, an Irish gentleman, and physician to almost all the noble families in Prague. He also made us a present of four bottles of Tokay wine, which came out of the Emperor's own cellar. Two of these, being the common sort, appeared like a high-coloured white-wine; but the others were of a reddish, or rather a brownish colour, and an exceeding great rarity even at Vienna itself. All the genuine Tokay wine is said to be preserved for the use of the Emperor only; so that all the wine going by that name in foreign countries, except such as his Imperial Majesty sends as presents to the princes he is in alliance with, cannot be the produce of the mountain and district of Tokay. The reddish or brownish Tokay wine is never sent from the Imperial cellar to any persons, but those of the first distinction, who are great favourites of the Emperor; an exceeding small quantity of it being produced by the mountain and district above-mentioned. This wine is very generous and good, and taken with moderation, proves frequently a noble cordial. The Germans, particularly the Austrians, Bohemians, Silesians, and Moravians, have a peculiar fondness for the wine of Tokay; and some of them, in order to obtain it, will not stick at the most unjustifiable means.

The Austrian wine, which is white, has a fine flavour, and is generous enough; though, in our opinion, it comes far short of the Hungarian. Some houses in Vienna have likewise very good beer; though, for the most part, the malt-liquor here is very indifferent. The bread also is excellent, as is the butcher's meat of all kinds, fowl both wild and tame, venison, hares, rabbits, fish, &c. Of fish there is a vast variety, as well as plenty, the Danube running close by the town. It must not be forgot, now we are speaking of fish, that a dish consisting of fresh sturgeon, or at least a fish of the same or a similar [6] family, taken out of the Danube, prepared in some manner or other, several times made up part of our dinner. In fine, provisions of all kinds here are not only excellent, but very reasonable; Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and above all Hungary; being exceeding fertile countries, and abounding not only with all the necessaries, but even many of the elegancies of life. For a more particular account of the fish here, especially those produced by the Danube, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to Gesner and our ingenious countryman Dr. Brown. It is likewise probable, that one of us, who took a short trip into the Upper Hungary, may expatiate upon this head, as well as that of provisions in general, more largely hereafter, when he comes to give a short description of that part of Hungary bordering upon Austria.

The Imperial court, though reckoned in Germany very grand and august, is not so brilliant as some others in Europe. It still retains much of the old Spanish gravity and pride; and the étiquette that prevailed at Madrid, during the reigns of the Austrian Kings of Spain, is now observed with great formality at this court. Many of the Spanish customs are likewise at present held here in high esteem; and the Imperial family itself, as well as the prime nobility of both sexes, sometimes publicly appears in the old Spanish dress, which is reckoned very decent and becoming. The Spaniards, who continued firm in their alle-

[6] As we never saw this fish whole, nor a sturgeon in any other country, we cannot pretend to determine, whether the fish here taken notice of was a real sturgeon, or the Huso of Gesner, which in several particulars pretty much resembles a sturgeon. If the latter; we take it to have been the Antacæus of Ælian, which, according to that author, was produced in the Ister. The Hungarians call the Huso Tock, or Tock-hal, i. e. the Tock-fish. It is taken sometimes in considerable quantities out of the Danube, within ten German miles of Vienna, notwithstanding Dr. Brown seems to insinuate the contrary. For a farther account of this famous and elegant fish, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to Dr. Brown and Gesner, who have given us a minute and circumstantial description of it. See Dr. Brown's description of the city of Vienna. *Ælian. de Animal.* lib. xiv. c. 26. & *Gesn. de Aquatil.* p. 5—8. 52—55. ed. Francofurt. 1620.

giance to the House of Austria through the whole course of the last war, and after the conclusion of it, were expelled their native country for their attachment to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, are now highly caressed at Vienna, and the greatest favourites of the Emperor; at which disgust is taken by some of his natural subjects. But, in this, we cannot think his Imperial Majesty's conduct is greatly to be blamed; since they have suffered so much on his account, and since he probably may think, that by shewing a grateful sense of their past services, as well as their influence and his own power, he may some time or other be enabled to make a push for the crown of Spain; his pretensions and claim to which he could never hitherto, either by fair means or force, be induced to renounce. The Emperor Charles VI. as to his person, is said to have all the air of the Austrian family, to be a little corpulent, and something above the middle size. It is universally allowed here, that a good fund of common sense is fallen to his share, that he has an excellent judgment; and that he is very regular and devout in performing the duties of religion. The Empress-regent, according to all accounts, was in her younger years a most lovely creature, and is still a very fine woman. The eldest archduchess, Maria Teresia, her daughter, who is soon to be married to the Duke of Lorrain, they say, resembles her much; though some that we met with would have it, that the youngest archduchess, Maria Anna, surpassed her sister in beauty. The Empress Amelia, widow of the Emperor Joseph, who died in 1711, is affirmed to be constantly at her devotions, and to be in a manner secluded from the world. The Archduchess Maria Elizabetha, sister to the present Emperor, is governess of the Austrian Netherlands, and resides altogether at Brussels. His Imperial Majesty's youngest sister, the Archduchess Maria Magdalena, is seldom talked of, living in a very retired manner. Maria Anna of Austria (another of the Leopoldine archduchesses), now queen of Portugal, took her leave of her native country in 1708, when she was married to John V. king of Portugal, with whom she lives at Lisbon. It is feared here, that his present Imperial Majesty will never have any male issue; which, should it happen, notwithstanding the Pragmatic Sanction, might prove of fatal consequence to the general repose of Europe, as well as the particular tranquillity of the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria.

We looked upon it as a misfortune, that we had no opportunity of seeing the Imperial family, or even the head of it, the Emperor. His Imperial and Catholic Majesty was confined by a cold and a violent pain in his foot, to the Empress's apartments, most part of the time that we were in Vienna. Frequent conferences, however, were held upon the critical situation of affairs, which greatly embarrassed the Imperial court, and not a little affected all ranks and degrees of people. The results of these conferences seldom transpired here, whatever they might do to potentates in alliance with the Emperor. Some rumours were, however, continually propagated, in order to please and amuse the people. There appeared a great dejection of mind in the populace, upon the arrival of a courier from Dresden, with the news of the King of Poland's unexpected arrival there from Warsaw, in the utmost haste, having had a hundred post-horses at every stage. Various were the conjectures formed on this occasion. Some believed, (as it was industriously given out by the court,) that his Polish Majesty thought fit to come to Dresden to hasten the departure of the heavy artillery for Poland, and to give sundry orders relating to the present juncture of affairs; others imagined, that such a formidable confederacy was formed against him in Poland, occasioned by the defection of some of the principal grandees who had espoused his interest, that he found himself obliged to seek for shelter in Saxony; and lastly, others averred, that King Augustus had undertaken this journey with no other view than to put his hereditary dominions into a posture of defence; the French at this time threatening them with an invasion. Most people at Vienna feared, however, that his Majesty's retreat from Poland was not voluntary; especially as the court was said to have received advice from Breslau, that most of the Polish lords, who assisted at the coronation of King Augustus, were gone to their country-seats; that one of the Princes Lubomirski was retired into Hungary, and the other into Silesia; and, lastly, that the marshal of the crown had refused the present which his Polish Majesty had sent him.

But notwithstanding the people seemed greatly dejected, yet they did not despond. The court flattered them, as well as themselves, with the hopes of prevailing upon England and Holland to declare war against France, or at least to enable the House of Austria to cope with that formidable power. It was also hotly reported, that Prince Eugene would set out in a few days for the army upon the Rhine; and every body at Vienna took for granted, that victory would certainly attend that renowned general. The situation of the Imperial affairs in Italy at this juncture likewise was such, as seemed to give some satisfaction to the court: and to divert the minds of the people from foreign affairs, which at this time had indeed (in the main) no very promising aspect, it was given out, that the eldest Caroline Archduchess was soon to be married to the Duke of Lorrain. Besides which, in general, people seemed to be highly pleased, that so able a minister had been lately nominated to the court of Dresden, as was Count Wratislau.

When we came first to Vienna, all conversation turned upon the affairs of Italy. The people of all ranks and denominations seemed to be more concerned for the success of their arms there, than for what might befall them in any other quarter. Neither was this altogether without reason; for they had much to lose there, and but little in any other part. The Empire itself in a good measure secured the Austrian dominions in Germany, as did the Dutch those of the Netherlands, by the treaty of neutrality they concluded with France: whereas in Italy the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, as likewise the duchy of Mantua, were in imminent danger of being wrested out of the hands of the Emperor, as the duchy of Milan had already been. Don Carlos was marching with a powerful army, under the command of the Conde de Montemar, to conquer the former; and the French, Spaniards, and Sardinians, threatened to reduce the latter; and even to penetrate into the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria on that side, this campaign. However, the Imperial court put as good a face as possible upon the matter, and gave out, that they were in no pain for Naples and Sicily; since the troops under Count Visconti, viceroy of Naples, (after having received the reinforcements from Sicily, and the recruits sent them from Germany, by the way of Trieste,) would be more than sufficient to make the Spaniards sick of their Neapolitan expedition; and that the Emperor's army upon the Rhine, in conjunction with that of the Empire, would be in a condition even to act offensively, by the latter end of May. According to the list handed about here, the Imperial army in Lombardy was to consist of the following troops.

Battalions.

Guido Staremberg, 3.
Harrach, 3.
Livingstein, 3.
Firstenbusch, 3.
Wallis, 1.
Hilburghausen, 3.
Palfi, 2.
Wachtendonck, 2.
Ogilvie, 1.
Daun, 3.
Maximilian Staremberg, 3.
Welzeck, 1.
Seckendorff, 3.
Culmbach, 2.
Ligneville, 2.
Great Master, 3.
Neylan, 2.
Francis Wallis, 1.
Konigsegg, 3.

Tot. 44 Battal.

Squadrons.

Saxe-Gotha, 7.
John Palfi, 7.
Merci, 7.
Jorger, 7.
Lichtenstein, 7.
Veterani, 7.
Hamilton, 7.
Frederick Wirtemberg, 7.
Hohenzollern, 7.
Hussars, 5.

Tot. 68 Squad.

Grenadiers.

36 Companies, of 100 men each.

As each battalion consists of 700 men, and each squadron of 250, the forces of which this fine army is to be composed amount to 48,700 men.

Whilst we were at Vienna, Prince Lewis of Wirtemberg commanded the Imperial forces in Lombardy; but all people agreed, that the Emperor, at the request of Prince Eugene, had appointed the field-marshal Count de Merci commander-in-chief of those forces. That general was looked upon by the Prince as the most proper person for this employment, since nothing but the gaining of a battle could retrieve the Emperor's

affairs in Lombardy, and Count Merci was one of the most bold and daring of all the Imperial generals.

The following general officers are to serve under him, according to the accounts published here.

Lieutenant-Generals.

Lanthieri.	St. Amour.	Hilburghausen.	Wachtendonck.
Livingstein.	Culmbach, and	Palfi.	Colmenero.
Diesbach.	Valparaiso.	La Tour.	Devens.
		Firstenbusch.	Succow.
	Tot. 6 Lieut.-gen.	Saxe-Gotha.	Berlinger.
		Hohenems.	Kavaneck, and
		Henning.	Zungenbeck.
			Tot. 18 Maj.-gen.

Major Generals.

Waldeck.	Welseck.
Anhalt.	Ligneville.

Some time before our arrival here, the following list of the Imperial troops to serve upon the Rhine was published, but many people did not esteem it over-exact.

Horse.	Men.
Caraffa,	1094
Lobkowitz,	1094
Lanthieri,	1094
Savoy,	1094
Philippi,	1094
Alexander Wirtemberg,	1094
Savoy Dragoons,	1094
Weywar,	1000
Gotha,	1000
Desofy,	1000
Olpari,	1000
Tot. Horse,	11658

Foot.	Men.
Kettler,	3000
Baden,	3000
Muffling,	3000
Alt Wirtemberg,	3000
Walsegg,	3000
Maximilian-Hesse,	3000
Rhinegrave Salm,	3000
Wirtemberg, two regiments,	4600
Saxe-Gotha,	4000
Weymar,	2000
Eysenach,	2000
Wolfembuttel,	1500
Alexander Wirtemberg, two regiments,	4600
Swissers, two regiments,	4000
Marulli, one battalion,	800
Prussians,	7000
Danes,	6000
Hanoverians,	7000
Hessians,	5000
Troops of the Circles,	12000
Tot.	81,500
Tot. Horse and Foot	93,158

Before our departure from Vienna, advice was received, that the Count de Cetner (great-master of the kitchen to the king of Poland) had been pursued by a Polish detachment into Silesia, which had committed great depredations there. Several other incursions were likewise made into Silesia by detachments from the Palatine of Kiow's troops; according to the intelligence that arrived here towards the end of March. This determined us to take the rout of Prague; though one of our company was very desirous of seeing Breslau. Neither did we afterwards repent of this resolution.

It will not be improper here to mention the following great personages, who make up the principal part of the Imperial court.

His Royal Highness Francis Duke of Lorrain and Bar, viceroy or vicar-general of the kingdom of Hungary. He resides, for the most part, at Presburg in Hungary; and is soon (according to common fame here) to marry Maria Teresia, the eldest Caroline Archduchess.

1. His Serene Highness Prince Eugene of Savoy and Piedmont, Marquis of Saluces, &c.

knight of the Golden Fleece, actual privy-councellor, president of the council of war, lieutenant-general-velt-marshal of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty and of the Empire, vicar-general of the states which his Imperial Majesty possesses in Italy, colonel of a regiment of dragoons, &c. &c.

2. His Excellency Philip Lewis Count de Sinzendorff, hereditary treasurer of the Holy Roman Empire, Baron de Ernstbrunn, &c. grand hereditary judge to the combats, gentleman-sewer, or carver of the Upper and Lower Austria, hereditary cup-bearer of the Lower Austria, intimate councellor of state and of conference of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, grand-chancellor of the court, &c.

3. His Excellency Gundacer Thomas de Staremberg, Count of the Holy Roman Empire and of Staremberg, grand hereditary marshal of the archduchy of Austria on this side and beyond the Ens, knight of the Golden Fleece, actual privy-councellor and councellor of conference of the ministerial council of the finances, president and director of the ministerial deputation of the bank, &c.

4. His Excellency Aloysius Thomas Raymond Count de Harrach, hereditary master of the horse of the Upper and Lower Austria, knight of the Golden Fleece, actual privy-councellor and councellor of conference to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, marshal of the states of Austria, &c.

5. His Excellency Lothaire Joseph Count de Conigseck, intimate actual privy-councellor, velt-marshal-general, vice-president of the Aulic council of war. In his absence his post is, or at least lately was, filled by General Jorger, who *per interim* discharges all the duties of it for him.

6. His Excellency John Herman Francis Count de Nesselroth, councellor of state and of war, lieutenant-velt-marshal, commissary-general of war, and colonel of a regiment of infantry.

7. His Excellency Francis Lewis Count de Sinzendorff and Pottendorff, general-velt-marshal, lieutenant-commandant of Spielberg, and Brinn, in the marquisate of Moravia.

8. His Excellency Henry William Count de Welezeck, actual privy-councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, velt-marshal, and commandant of the fortress of Great Glogau in Silesia.

9. His Excellency Sigismond Rudolph Count de Sinzendorff, hereditary treasurer of the Holy Roman Empire, great cup-bearer in Austria on the other side the Ens, knight of the Golden Fleece, grandee of Spain, actual privy-councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, his lieutenant-velt-marshal, and great-master of the household.

10. His Excellency John Gasper Count de Cobentzel, hereditary great cup-bearer in Carniola, &c. actual privy-councellor to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, great chamberlain, &c.

11. His Excellency Adolph Count de Martinitz, knight of the Golden Fleece, actual privy-councellor and chamberlain of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, great-marshal of the court.

12. His Excellency the young Prince de Schwartzenberg, Landgrave de Kleggau, Duke de Crumau, &c. knight of the Golden Fleece, chamberlain and great-master of the horse to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty. Whilst the Imperial court was at Prague, or at Carlsbad, the Emperor shot accidentally this prince's father, in 1732; which gave that Monarch great affliction.

13. His Excellency John Julius Count de Hardegg, &c. hereditary great cup-bearer in Austria on this side the Ens, actual lord of the bed-chamber to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, great-huntsman, &c.

14. His Excellency John Adam Count de Paar, member of the Aulic council, lord of the bed-chamber to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, and postmaster-general.

15. His Excellency Gundaker Count de Althan, member of the most honourable privy-council of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, lord of the bed-chamber, general of horse, colonel of a regiment of dragoons, &c.

16. His Excellency Wirich Philip Lawrence Count de Daun, Prince de Thiano, knight

of the Golden Fleece, actual privy-councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, velt-marshal, great-master of the ordnance, &c.

17. His Excellency Henry Joseph Count de Daun, lord of the bed-chamber to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, general of the artillery, colonel of a regiment of infantry, &c.

18. His Excellency John Francis Count de Dietrichstein, intimate actual councellor of the Emperor, great-huntsman in Stiria, president of the tribunal of the chamber, &c.

19. His Excellency Ferdinand Krackowsky Count de Kollowrath, actual privy-councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, &c.

20. His Excellency George Hannibal Marquis Visconti, velt-marshal, viceroy of the kingdom of Naples, &c.

21. His Excellency John Francis Count de Sonnenberg, member of the Aulic council of war, general of the artillery, military director of the Upper and Lower Austria, &c.

22. His Excellency George Oliver Count de Wallis, general of the artillery, member of the Aulic council of war, colonel of a regiment of infantry, &c.

23. His Excellency Francis Count Jorger, lieutenant-velt-marshal, member of the Aulic council of war, colonel of a regiment of dragoons, &c.

24. His Excellency Gaspar de Cordova, member of the Aulic council of war, general of the cavalry, colonel of a regiment of horse, &c.

25. His Excellency John Count Draskowitz de Trakostyan, member of the Aulic council of war, lieutenant-velt-marshal, lieutenant-governor of the kingdom of Croatia, &c.

26. His Excellency Matthew Marquis Lucini, member of the Aulic council of war, lieutenant-velt-marshal, &c.

27. His Excellency Raimond Baron de Pozzo, member of the Aulic council of war, &c.

28. His Excellency Francis Ferdinand Kinski Count de Chinitz and Littau, &c. actual councellor of state, chamberlain of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, great-master of the court of Bohemia, great-chancellor of that kingdom, &c.

29. His Excellency William Albrecht Krackowsky Count de Kollowrath, actual councellor of state, chamberlain, and vice-chancellor of the kingdom of Bohemia, &c.

30. His Excellency Rudolph Joseph Korkenski Count de Tereschau, actual chamberlain of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, great hereditary-master of the pantry of Bohemia, deputy to the states of that kingdom, &c.

31. His Excellency Francis Henry Schlick Count de Passaun, knight of the Order of St. Wenceslaus, actual chamberlain to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, as King of Bohemia, &c.

32. His Excellency Joseph Marquis de Villasor Count de Monte Santo, actual privy-councellor, chamberlain, and president of the council of Spain.

33. His Excellency the Count de Cordova di Sastago, viceroy of Sicily, &c.

34. His Excellency John Basil de Castelvi Count de Cervellon, privy-councellor for the kingdom of Sicily, &c.

35. His Excellency Dominic Count de Almansa, privy-councellor for the kingdom of Sicily, &c.

36. His Excellency Ignatius Count de Perlongo, privy-councellor for the kingdom of Sicily, &c.

37. His Excellency Joseph Duke de Positano, privy-councellor for the kingdom of Naples, &c.

38. His Excellency Charles Count Pertusati, privy-councellor for the duchy of Milan, &c.

39. His Excellency John Anthony de Boxador Count de Cavalla, intimate councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, president of the council of the Austrian Netherlands, &c.

40. His Excellency the Count d'Erdodi, president of the Chamber of Hungary, and councellor of state to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty.

41. The Right Reverend Adam Acsady, van Acsad, Bishop of Vesprin, Abbé de St. Martin de Vaska, councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, actual chancellor of the kingdom of Hungary.

42. His Excellency Lewis Count de Bathiani, councellor of the court of Hungary, vice-chancellor of Hungary, and great cup-bearer of the same kingdom.

43. His Excellency John Joseph Bornemisza, Baron de Kaszon, councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, chancellor and superior judge of the principality of Transilvania.

44. His Excellency the Count d'Erdodi, Bishop of Agria in Hungary, and councellor of state to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty.

45. His Excellency Prince Wenceslaus de Lichtenstein, privy-councellor to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, colonel of a regiment of dragoons, &c.

46. His Excellency Count Khevenhuller, hereditary shield-bearer of Carinthia, Count de Franckenberg, Baron de Landscon and Wehrnberg, Lord of Osterwicz, and Carlsberg, lieutenant-velt-marshal, colonel of a regiment of dragoons, governor of Raab, and member of the Imperial Aulic council.

47. His Excellency the Count de Seidleritz, lately nominated member of the Imperial Aulic council.

48. His Excellency Frederick Charles Count de Schonborn, Bishop of Bamberg and Wurtzberg, cabinet-councellor to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, vice-chancellor of the Empire, &c.

49. His Excellency John William Count de Wurmbrand, hereditary great-master of the kitchen of the duchy of Stiria, actual privy-councellor, chamberlain, and president of the Aulic council.

50. His Excellency John Adolph Count de Metsch, actual privy-councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, vice-president of the Aulic council of the Empire, &c.

51. His Excellency the Prince de Lobkowitz, lieutenant-velt-marshal, actual privy-councellor of the Emperor, great-master of the household to the Empress-regent.

52. His Excellency Jacob Hannibal Frederick Count de Hohenems and Gallarata, actual privy-councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, chamberlain and great-master of the household to the Leopoldine Archduchess Maria Magdalena.

53. His Excellency Joseph Ignatius Count de Paar, actual privy-councellor of the Emperor, and great-master of the Empress-dowager Amelia Wilhelmina's court.

54. His Excellency Otto Ferdinand Count de Hochenfeld, actual chamberlain of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, great-master of the kitchen to the Empress-dowager Amelia Wilhelmina, &c.

55. Francis Theodore Baron de Hudlern, councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, chamberlain of the Silver Key to the Empress-dowager Amelia, &c.

56. His Excellency Ferdinand ab Herberstein Count de Herberstein, Baron de Neuperg and Gutenhaag, lord of Lancowitz, &c. hereditary great-chamberlain and sewer of Carinthia, &c. He is soon, according to the general report here, to be sent on an embassy to the court of Sweden.

57. His Excellency Maximilian Count de Staremberg, actual privy-councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, velt-marshal, colonel of a regiment of infantry, lieutenant of the Gards du Corps, member of the Aulic council of war, and commandant at Vienna.

58. His Excellency Francis Paul Count de Wallis, lieutenant velt-marshal, member of the Aulic council of war, colonel of a regiment of infantry, and commandant of Temeswaer.

59. His Excellency John Anthony Count Locatelli, lieutenant velt-marshal, member of the aulic council of war, and colonel of Cuirassiers.

60. His Excellency Andrew Count de Hamilton, general of cavalry, member of the Aulic council of war, and colonel of a regiment of Cuirassiers.

61. His Excellency Ferdinand Emanuel Marquis d'Alvarez, councellor of the state of Milan.

62. His Excellency the Count de Seilern, vice-chancellor of Austria, &c.

Though the preceding catalogue is taken partly from a printed list reckoned very exact, and partly from verbal accounts of exceeding good authority, yet we doubt not several inaccuracies, and even errors, may be found in it; but as we are well assured, it is not very remote from truth, we hope our candid readers will give it a favourable reception.

We have been persuaded (though at first we did not design it) to insert here the names of the following illustrious persons, who either now are, or very lately were, in the service of the Empresses and Archduchesses; and therefore may be considered as bearing a very near relation to the Imperial court.

Maria Teresia Duchess of Monsterberg and Franckenstein in Silesia, Princess d'Aversperg, great-mistress of the court to the Empress-regent.
Maria Elizabetha, Countess de Colonna, great-mistress of the ladies to the Empress-regent.
Antonietta, Baroness de Gilleis.
Rosalia, Countess de Thurn.
Maria Elizabetha, Countess de Braunern.
Antonietta, Countess de Mollarth.
Teresia, Countess d'Esterhasi.
Isabella, Countess de Styrum Limburg.
Maids of honour to the Empress-regent.

Anna Euphemia, Countess de Petazzi.
Frances, Countess de Spauer.
Maria Josepha, Countess de Fuchs.
Maria Elizabetha, Countess de Dietrichstein.
Maria Ant. Countess de Zobor.
Maria Anna, Countess de Proskau.
Maria Rosa, Countess de Sastago.
Josephina, Countess de Trautmansdorff.
Ladies of honour to the Empress-regent.

Charlotte, Countess de Fuchs, governante of the Caroline Archduchesses.
Frances Eleonora, Countess de Scherffenberg, great-mistress of the household to the Leopoldine Archduchess Maria Magdalena.
Maria Isabella, Countess de Brennern.
Antonietta, Countess de Mollarth.
Maids of honour to the Leopoldine Archduchess Maria Magdalena.

Maria Isabella, Countess de Thurn.
Maria Anna Euphemia, Countess de Petazzi.
Frances, Countess de Spauer.
Ladies of honour to the Leopoldine Archduchess Maria Magdalena.

Sigismond, Count de Rinchmaul.
Francis, Count de Potzazki.
J. And. Count de Lengheim.
Ferd. Ant. Baron de Roveré.
J. Peter, Count d'Arrivabene.
Leopold, Count de Salm.
Fr. Wil. Count de Thierheim.
John Wentzel, Count d'Oppersdorff.
J. Alb. Charl. Count de Geyesberg.
Chamberlains and knights of the court of the Empress-dowager Amelia.

His Excellency John Charles, Count de Nostitz, actual privy-councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, captain of the Arches, &c. to the Empress-dowager Amelia.

His Excellency Francis William, Count de Salm-Reifferscheid, hereditary marshal of the

chapter of Cologne, actual privy-councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, great-master of the horse to the Empress-dowager Amelia, &c.

Anna Margarita, Princess d'Esterhasi, born Marquise de Scina, great-mistress of the household to the Empress-dowager Amelia.

The Marquise Lucilia de gli Obbizi, born Countess de Sassi, mistress of the ladies, &c. to the Empress-dowager Amelia.

Maria Dorothea, Baroness de Klenk.
Isabella, Countess de Kuen.
Teresa, Countess de Thierheim.
Mar. Ant. Countess de Sinzendorff.
Frances, Countess de Thierheim.
Josephina, Countess d'Erdodi.
Maids of honour to the Empress-dowager Amelia.

Ren. Countess de Sallaburg.
Elizabeth, Countess d'Althan.
Ladies of honour to the Empress-dowager Amelia.

Our readers will probably expect to find here all the titles of the present Emperor Charles VI. as likewise a short account of the power and authority that Prince has in the empire, and the fiefs appertaining to that body, by virtue of his being the supreme head of it.

Titles of the Emperor Charles VI.

The most high, most puissant, and most invincible Prince Charles VI. elected Emperor of the Romans, always August, King of Germany, of Castille, of Leon, of Arragon, of the Two Sicilies, of Jerusalem, of Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Sclavonia; Archduke of Austria; Duke of Burgundy, Brabant, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, Luxembourg, Wirtemberg, Upper and Lower Silesia; Prince of Suabia; Marquis of the Holy Roman Empire, Burgau, Moravia, Upper and Lower Lusatia; Prince and Count of Hapsbourg, of Tyrol, of Ferette, of Kybourg, and of Goritia; Landgrave of Alsatia, Lord of Windismarck, of Port Naon and of Salins, &c. &c. &c. Born Oct. 1. N. S. 1685; declared King of Spain in 1703; Emperor and King of the Romans, of Hungary, Bohemia, &c. Oct. 12, 1711. He married Elizabetha Christina of Brunswick Blanckenberg, Empress, Queen of Hungary, Bohemia, &c. born Aug. 28, N. S. 1691; married April 23, N. S. 1708. His eldest daughter Maria Teresia Valburga Amelia Christina, Archduchess of Austria, was born May 13, N. S. 1717; and Maria Anna Eleonora Wilhelmina Josepha, the youngest, Sept. 14, N. S. 1718. The Empress-dowager Amelia was born April 21, N. S. 1673; and married to his Majesty Joseph King of the Romans, Hungary, &c. in 1699. Maria Elizabetha, Leopoldine Archduchess, (at present Gouvernante of the Austrian Netherlands,) was born Dec. 13, N. S. 1680; Maria Anna, daughter of the Emperor Leopold, and Queen of Portugal, Sept. 7, N. S. 1683; and Maria Magdalena, the youngest Leopoldine Archduchess, Mar. 26, N. S. 1689. The abovementioned Maria Anna of Austria, was married to John V. King of Portugal, Oct. 27, N. S. 1708.

With regard to the Imperial authority, the Emperor is chief, and in that quality sovereign monarch, under God, of the Holy Roman Empire. His dignity gives him the precedency in the Christian world; so that he is considered as the first prince of it. At Rome he has the title of 'Advocate, Grand Prevôt, and Protector of the Church.' Every thing done in the empire, when the Empire acts as a body, is transacted in his name. He convenes and dissolves the diets of the empire. He has the right to propose the points of declaration to the body of the Empire, and to authorize their resolutions, which are executed in his name, as are likewise all the decrees of the Imperial-chamber. He only has a right to the first prayers in the empire. He alone creates and confers the high secular dignities, such as those of king, prince, archduke, duke, marquis, landgrave, count, and

baron, in the empire. He only confers the sovereignty, and regalia, and the principal fiefs of the empire; upon ecclesiasticks by the sceptre, and upon seculars by the standard and sword. But he cannot establish any fact relating to religion, abolish any laws, alter the value of money, declare war within or out of the empire, impose general contributions, erect fortresses, make peace, or contract alliances, as Emperor; without the general consent and concurrence of the Empire.

The Aulic council is one of the two superior courts of the empire, which have a universal jurisdiction, and are the *dernier resort* of all the members and subjects of the empire, in all affairs of a judicial nature. The Emperor names the officers in this court; but the Elector of Mentz has the power of visiting it. It is held near the person of the Emperor, and is, for that reason, styled, 'The Justice of the Emperor.' His Imperial Majesty may preside there, whenever he pleases. He votes there, pronounces the acts or decrees of the court; and, when he is there in person, signs them. This tribunal is composed of a president, always a Catholick; a vice-chancellor, always presented by the Elector of Mentz; a vice-president, and eighteen counsellors; nine of which are Catholicks, and the rest Protestants. They are divided into two benches; one of which is occupied by the nobles, the other by the lawyers. The Counts de Gahlen, Stein, Questenberg, Paar, Wieser, Schonborn, Hamilton, Kufstein, Ulfeld, Ostein, Welzeck, Nostitz, and Serini, are at present the most considerable members of the Aulic council.

The number of souls in Vienna some compute at two-hundred thousand; but others more justly, as we apprehend, at one-hundred seventy thousand, or one-hundred eighty thousand; so that this city, though constantly honoured with the presence of so potent and august a monarch as the Emperor of the Romans, is not much more than a fifth part of London. This seems to be in a good measure confirmed by the *acta Breslaviensia*, which gives us tables of the births and burials in Vienna for the six following years:

1717. Burials 5205. Births 4030.
1718. Burials 6110. Births 4242.
1720. Burials 6825. Births 4126.
1721. Burials 6490. Births 4104.
1722. Burials 4961. Births 4417.
1723. Burials 5443. Births 4457.

Hence it appears, that Vienna (if we regard the number of people it contains) is not much above one-fifth part of London, scarce a fourth of Paris, and very little more than a third of Prague. However, in several respects, it may vie with, and even must be allowed to excel all other cities in Europe.

Whilst we were at Vienna, we paid a visit to Mr. Edwin (an English gentleman of great worth), and his sister Miss Edwin, a young lady of the finest accomplishments, who then resided there. Miss Edwin was pleased to entertain us with an account of Prince Eugene, in whose company she had lately been, and of whom she gave a very advantageous character. We saw that Prince once in his coach riding about the city. He seemed to be pretty much advanced in years; but had an exceeding good aspect, and a very lively piercing eye. He is said to talk a good deal, and very much to the purpose, upon every subject that occurs; and to preserve, even after seventy years of age, an uncommon degree of vivacity. He has a fine aviary here, full of a great variety of curious and uncommon birds. His collection of wild beasts is likewise much admired by foreigners. The gardens belonging to his palace, his library, and stables, as well as those of the Emperor, are ranked amongst the principal curiosities of this place. The Prince is said to be something above a middle stature, and pretty thin. General Philippi is a great favourite with him. Miss Edwin informed us, that she had lately taken a trip to Neitra, a city of considerable note in the Upper Hungary.

The Archduchy of Austria, of which Vienna is more immediately the capital, though it is considered likewise as the metropolis of Germany and the Roman empire, is bounded on the east by Hungary; on the west by Bavaria; on the south by Stiria; and on the

north by Bohemia and Moravia. In the time of the Roman Republick, and the first Roman emperors, it was divided into three parts, which went by three different names. That tract, to the south of the Danube, contained two of these: the first of which, extending from the Inn to Mount Cetius, appertained to Noricum Ripense; the other, to Pannonia; and that to the north of the said river (inhabited by the Quadi and Marcomanni, and afterwards by other nations,) was deemed a province of Germany. All particulars relating to Austria before this period, have, for a long series of ages, been buried in oblivion; the ridiculous fables foisted into the Austrian annals by Henricus Gundelfingius, about the year 1476, having long since been exploded by all the learned writers of this country; particularly by Æneas Sylvius, Cuspinian, and Lambecius. These fictions, according to some, seem to have taken their rise from four antient monuments, with Hebrew inscriptions upon them, said to have been found at Guntendorff, and published by Lazius. But if any curious person shall think it worth his while to compare these inscriptions with what has been advanced by Gundelfingius, he will easily perceive the absurdity of such a notion.

Pannonia was first visited by the Roman arms, about one-hundred seventy-one years before the commencement of the Christian æra, when the Consul P. Licinius Crassus's lieutenant undertook an expedition against Illyricum. For that Pannonia was antiently looked upon as a part of Illyricum, we learn from Strabo; and that the aforesaid lieutenant penetrated into Pannonia, as far as the city of Carnus[7], (about seven German miles from the spot on which at present Vienna stands,) is asserted by Livy. This country we find likewise invaded by Augustus, about thirty years before the birth of Christ, who four years after triumphed over the natives of it; notwithstanding which, that prince seems never to have reached the southern bank of the Danube. Afterwards Tiberius, about the seventh year of the Christian æra, took up his winter quarters in that part of Austria where Vienna is situated; being then about pushing on the war, under the auspices of Augustus, against Maroboduus, leader or general of the Marcomanni. The Pannonians several times shook off the Roman yoke; but at last, about A. D. 12, or at farthest, A. D. 25, their country was reduced to the form of a Roman province. Much about the same time, Noricum Ripense was also subjugated by Claudius Drusus, and other Roman generals. The Transdanubian part of Austria, or that tract lying to the north of the Danube, seems never to have been entirely subdued by the Romans; though the inhabitants of it were frequently exposed to their incursions.

St. Quirinus, bishop of Siscia, first began to plant Christianity in Illyricum, in the reign of the Emperor Dioclesian; but the Norici had the Gospel preached to them by St. Laurentius, about thirty years after the death of Christ; according to the Annals of Passau. He was followed by Syrus and Juventius, disciples of St. Hermagoras; notwithstanding which, St. Severinus had the greatest share in the conversion of the Norici, A. D. 453. The German part of Austria received the Christian Faith, A. D. 396, in which year, (according to St. Paulinus, who lived at that time,) Fritigil, Queen of the Marcomanni, was converted by St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, who held an epistolary correspondence with her. Her conversion was immediately succeeded by that of her husband and his subjects.

Towards the decline of the Roman Empire, the Boii, Suevi, Marcomanni, Gepidæ, Gothi, Longobardi, and other barbarous nations, pouring great armies into Noricum and Vindelicia, over-ran the whole tract between the Danube and the Alps, and annexed it to Germany. The Huns likewise and the Slavi afterwards advanced into these quarters.

[7] This city was called *Carnus* by Livy and Ptolemy; but by Pliny, the Itinerary, and Peutinger's Table, *Carnuntum*. It is generally supposed by the learned to have occupied the spot on which Petronell, or Petronella, at present stands. However, Cluverus imagines Haimburg to answer to the antient Carnuntum: and Lambecius endeavours to reconcile this with the common opinion, by asserting—that Carnuntum was so large a city that it extended from Petronell to Haimburg. Though Licinius Crassus's lieutenant besieged this city, he could not take it, according to Livy; but it surrendered to Tiberius, after he had given a great overthrow to the Dalmatians and Pannonians. We shall not expatiate on this city farther here; since one of us intends to give a farther account of it hereafter, when he proposes to describe part of the Upper Hungary, bordering upon Austria. See Liv. Dec. V. lib. iii. Ptol. lib. ii. cap. 15. Tab. Peuting. Antonin. Itinerar. Plin. lib. iv. cap. 12. Cluver. in Vin. & Nor. cap. 5. Lambec. in Addit. ad lib. ii. &c.

But the French and the Germans, under the command of Charlemain, being united with the Bavarians, defeated, in a great battle, these barbarians, upon the banks of the Ens, which was then the common boundary between them; and extended their eastern frontier much farther, A.D. 791. The tract acquired on this occasion, chiefly by the valour and bravery of the Germans, was called, in their mother-tongue, Oostryck or Oesterreich; in Latin Austria, or the Eastern March; and the Counts or rulers, presiding over it, Marchgraffen, markgraves or marquisses of Austria: which title they obtained, on account of their defending the frontiers against the Sclavonians and Hungarians. They were at first subject to the Dukes of Bavaria; but afterwards immediately to the Kings of Germany, or the Emperors. The title and dignity of Marquis, or Markgrave of Austria, first became hereditary in the reign of Henry the Fowler; who created Leopold I. of the illustrious family of the Counts of Babenberg, hereditary Marquis of Austria; after the death of Rudinger de Pechlarn, prefect of the Oriental March, A. D. 928. Austria, or the Oriental Marquisate, at this time (reaching from the Ens to a little beyond Mount Cetius) was greatly enlarged, and even its present eastern limit settled, by St. Leopold, who died A. D. 1136. As for the western part between the Ens and the Inn, it was taken from Bavaria, and annexed to Austria, by the consent of the Emperor Frederick I. who (that he might prevail upon Henry II. then marquis of Austria, to renounce his pretensions to the rest of Bavaria, which his brother and predecessor, Leopoldus Largus, had obtained of the Emperor Conrad III.) honoured Austria with many noble privileges; styling it, in the public instrument drawn up for this purpose, 'The heart and shield of 'Germany,' and raised it to a duchy, in 1156. When it came to be first dignified with the title of Archduchy, for want of sufficient light from history, cannot now be certainly determined; some fixing this in the reign of Frederick IV. others in that of Albert I. or Frederick II. of the house of Babenberg; and lastly, others make this title to precede Frederick I. and even Henry IV. who reigned A. D. 1058. However, we may in general venture to affirm (as being supported herein by the best of the Austrian historians), that some one of the Austrian princes of the house of Babenberg was first distinguished by the title of Duke, and some one of those of the house of Hapsburg by that of Archduke of Austria.

Frederick II. the last of the house of Babenberg, dying, without issue, in 1246, there were great commotions in Austria, many princes aspiring to the sovereignty of that fine province. But at last Herman of Baden prevailed, in right of his wife; and afterwards Ottocar, king of Bohemia, by virtue likewise of his wife's pretensions. But Ottocar first repudiated his wife, on account of her age, and afterwards poisoned her: and having, after a second marriage, and a refusal of homage to the Emperor Rudolph I. (whose election he affected to treat with contempt,) usurped the sovereignty of Austria; contrary to equity, and the consent of the Empire, which was essentially necessary to his establishment therein; he was adjudged an enemy to the Empire, by the diet at Augsburg, in 1275. War therefore was declared against him. In consequence of which, the Emperor, two years after, invaded Austria, made himself master of it in one campaign, and obliged Ottocar by treaty to cede it to him.

But that prince, being greatly reproached by his wife Kunegund, for his cowardice and pusillanimous conduct, renewed the war, and perished in the prosecution of it. Upon which, Austria, at the request of the deputies of the province, was conferred upon Albert, son of the Emperor Rudolph, by the princes of the Empire, in the diet held at Augsburg, A. D. 1282; and since that time has remained in the possession of the house of Hapsburg.

Austria is situated in the seventh climate, according to the calculus of Strabo; or in the eighth, according to that of the moderns; between 47 deg. 26 min. and 48 deg. 56 min. N. lat. and (computing from the island of Palma) between 36 deg. 15 min. and 40 deg. 50 min. long. according to the German geographers. The country has an extremely pleasant aspect, is finely watered with rivers, diversified with hills and plains, and exceedingly fruitful, producing not only all sorts of corn, but generous wine, in great abundance.

It is divided into Upper and Lower; the first of which inclines to the west, and the other to the east. To the south of the Danube (the common boundary of these provinces) is the Ens; and to the north of that river, a line drawn from the Danube, a little above Ips, to the borders of Bohemia, beyond the city of Weitra. The Lower Austria has a two-fold division assigned it by Cuspinianus: first, it is divided into Steinfeld and Tulnerfeld on this side the Danube, and Marchfeld and Gensfeld on the other. Secondly, in relation to the states, when they are assembled, Lower Austria is divided into that part below the wood or forest of Vienna, and that above the said forest, beyond the Danube; or, as some term it, into the district under mount Meinhard and that above it.

The footmen in Vienna, for the most part, use the Hungarian habit, and are called Heydukes. Many of the Austrian ladies have fine complexions, and are very beautiful. The women's caps and bonnets here are of various forms. The politer sort follow chiefly the Italian mode of dress, which seems to be a medium between the English and French. The best coach-horses here are those sent from Transilvania; which, as well as the saddle-horses produced there, travel with great celerity. We had letters of credit from Messrs. Swymmer and Hewet at Venice, to Messrs. Rad and Hoslin here. The suburb of Leopoldstadt, where the Turkish ambassador always begins his entry in form, and into which we entered by the Stuben, Hungarian, or (as it is frequently called in this city) the Buda gate, is a well-built street, and may be reckoned one of the curiosities of Vienna. Before we departed from hence, one of us determined to see some part of the Upper Hungary contiguous to Austria.

The best inn in Vienna is the Drey-Hawken, where all English gentlemen that visit this town put up. It was, however, so full, when we arrived, that we could not find admission; and therefore were obliged to take up with an inn of inferior rank. The accommodations here were not to be blamed, but a thievish spirit seemed to have possessed the servants; for one of us had his room broke open, his portmanteau rummaged, and several things of value taken out of it; amongst which was a fine gold medal of Pope Clement XI. an ounce weight, of which we could never afterwards get the least intelligence. Though one of us desired to see Breslau, he was determined by the majority, according to the rules observed in travelling; and therefore, having satisfied ourselves with Vienna, we made the necessary dispositions for our journey to Prague.

[*Continued in the next Volume.*]

The English Hermite, or Wonder of this Age. Being a Relation of the Life of Roger Crab [1], living near Uxbridge; taken from his own Mouth: shewing his strange, reserved, and unparalleled Kind of Life, who counteth it a Sin against his Body and Soul, to eat any Sort of Flesh, Fish, or living Creature; or to drink any Wine, Ale, or Beer. He can live with three Farthings a Week. His constant Food is Roots and Herbs; as Cabbage, Turneps, Carrots, Dock-leaves, and Grass; also Bread and Bran, without Butter or Cheese. His Cloathing is Sack-cloth. He left the Army, and kept a Shop at Chesham, and hath now left off that, and sold a considerable Estate to give to the Poor; shewing his Reasons from the Scripture; Mark x. 21. Jer. xxxv.

'Wherefore, if Meat make my Brother to offend, I will never eat Flesh while the World stands.' 1 Cor. viii. 13.

London, printed, and are to be sold in Pope's-Head Alley, and at the Exchange, 1655.

[Quarto; containing Twenty-two Pages.]

The Publisher to the Reader.

Honest Reader,

BEFORE you come to the Author's own epistle, and narration, I shall mention some remarkable passages, which I had from his own mouth, and find them not mentioned in his writing; and, I can assure thee, this relation is no feigned story or fable, but thou hast it presented to thy view, as I received it from the author himself; with all the verses of his own composing.

This Roger Crab is well known to many in this city, and the county; and, while this book was printing, he staid purposely here, in the city, till it was published, and, I think, is in town still: he lodged at the Golden Anchor, in White-cross-street, at one Mr. Carter's house, a glover, where divers people resorted to see him; where such, as doubt of it, may be satisfied. I am informed by himself and others, how that, three years since, he was a haberdasher of hats, and kept a shop at Chesham, in Buckinghamshire; and hath since given over his trade, and sold his estate, and given it to the poor, reserving a small matter to himself, being a single man; and now liveth at Icknam, near Uxbridge, on a small rood of ground, for which he payeth fifty shillings a year, and hath a mean cottage, of his own building, to it: but that which is most strange, and most to be admired, is his strange, reserved, and hermitical kind of life, in refusing to eat any sort of flesh; who saith it is a sin, against his body and soul, to eat flesh or to drink any beer,

[1] [This ascetic appears to have escaped the observation of Ritson, when he was advocating the cause of *vegetable* against *animal* food, in his 'Essay on Abstinence,' or Crab would certainly have had a place in his annals of starvation. Granger seems to consider him as a strange humourist, or madman, who destroyed himself, by eating such trash as was comprehended within his pious and parsimonious plan of living for three farthings a week. Biog. Hist. iii. 152.]

ale, or wine; his diet is only such poor homely food, as his own rood of ground beareth, as corn, bread, and bran, herbs, roots, dock-leaves, mallows, and grass; his drink is water; his apparel is as mean also; he wears a sackcloth frock, and no band on his neck; and this, he saith, is out of conscience, and in obedience to that command of Christ to the young man in the Gospel, and in imitation of the Prophets, and the Rechabites in Jer. xxxv. 'who neither planted vineyards, nor built houses, nor drank wine, and were highly 'commended by the Lord for it.' I reasoned the case with him, and told him, that I conceived Christ's meaning, when he bade the young man sell all he had, and give to the poor, was, that he should part with all his dearest sins, that were as dear to him as his possessions, or else to try him for his covetousness: he answered, "How can a man give that money to the poor, which he selleth his sins for?" I perceive he is well read in the Scriptures; he hath argued strongly with several ministers in the country, about this and other strange opinions which he holds; but I will not be so tedious to the reader, as to mention them all: he approves of civil magistracy, and is neither for the Levellers, nor Quakers, nor Shakers, nor Ranters, but above ordinances. He was seven years in the wars for the Parliament: he is the more to be admired, that he is alone in this opinion of eating, which though it be an error, it is an harmless error. I have heard, since this was in the press, that Captain Norwood was acquainted with Roger Crab, and, inclining to his opinion, began to follow the same poor diet, till it cost him his life; *Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.* In the primitive times, we read of such persons that were weak, who did eat herbs, and made a great scruple of eating flesh; but the Apostle saith, that 'every creature of God is good, if it be received with thankfulness;' 1 Tim. iv. 4. And in 1 Cor. viii. 13, saith he, 'If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat none while 'the world stands.' And in Rom. iv. 2, 3, 4. 'One believeth that he may eat all things; 'another, who is weak, eateth herbs; let not him that eateth, despise him that eateth not,' &c. The reason why this man betook himself to this hermit's reserved life, he saith, was, "That he might be more free from sin, as lust, pride, and because of the many lyes, swearing, and deceiving, that are too frequently used by most shopkeepers and tradesmen, as the Prophet complains in Hos. iv. 1, 2, 3. 'For the Lord hath a controversy with the 'inhabitants of the land, because there is no truth, nor mercy, nor knowledge of God: 'but by swearing, and lying, and killing, and stealing, and whoring, they break out, and 'blood toucheth blood; therefore shall the land mourn,' &c. But, however, we may see how apt men are to err, both on the right hand, and on the left, and to run into extremes; yet, of the two extremes, this is the better and more tolerable, which this English hermit hath chosen, rather than that of our English anticks, and prodigals, who give themselves over to run into all excess of riot and uncleanness, committing 'all sorts of wickedness with greediness;' some given up to drunkenness, others to whoredom, and a third sort to gluttony; as, of late days, it was reported of one Wood (called the great eater of Kent), who could eat a whole sheep at a meal, besides other victuals; also Mr. Marriot, the great eater of Gray's Inn, was such another glutton. Eusebius reports of one Domitius, who (receiving more meat at supper than his stomach could digest, or his belly contain) died suddenly sitting at the table; and Doctor Taylor, that famous preacher of Alderman-bury, in his book of the 'Theatre of God's Judgments[2],' makes mention of Maximinus the emperor, who was given to such excess and gluttony, that every day, for his allowance, he had forty pounds of flesh, and bread answerable, and five gallons of wine for his drink; which he constantly devoured; besides sallets, and made dishes.

Also the Emperor Bonesus would drink healths, and eat excessively: both these came to miserable ends; this emperor was hanged, and the former cut in pieces by his soldiers; see more at large in the second part of that book, page 102. I will add but one more relation he mentions, which, had I not so good an author for, I should not give credit to it: A rich citizen's son, having left him, by his father, thirty-thousand pounds in ready mo-

[2] [A book of profitable perusal to all orders and degrees of men; first set forth by Thomas Beard, D. D. in 1597.]

ney, besides jewels, plate, and houses richly furnished, was so prodigal, as to consume all his whole estate in three years; and he had a great longing to please all his five senses at once, and did accomplish it, allowing to every sense a several hundred pound; it would be too tedious to mention all the story: he grew, at last, to all debauchedness that could be named, and was forced, shamefully, to beg of his acquaintance; and was, after, pressed for a common soldier; see page the last of that book above-mentioned. I shall no longer detain the reader from the Hermit's relation; these things, I thought, would be most pertinent to impart to thee, hoping thou wilt make this good use of it, by avoiding these two extremes, and walking in the golden mean of true godliness, which hath the promise of this life, and of that which is to come. *Vale.*

One more remarkable thing he told me: that when he was in Clerkenwell prison, the seventeenth of this January, 1654, his keeper, having a prejudice against him, ordered the prisoners not to let him have bread with his water, and shut him down in the hole all night. The next morning, being something hungry, walking in the prison-yard, there came a spaniel, and walked after him three or four turns, with a piece of bread in his mouth: he looked upon him, and wondered why the dog walked, as he thought, with a chip in his mouth; he looked at the dog, and he laid it down, and perceived it was bread; he walked away again, and the dog walked after him with it again; then he stopped, and the dog laid it down to his hand; then he took and wiped it, and eat it.

To Mr. Godbold, Preacher at Uxbridge, in Middlesex,

I DEDICATE this my discourse, because he was my friend to help conquer my old man, by informing my friends of Chesham, 'That I was a witch, and was run away, and would never come again.' You, being a public preacher, may do me great service, in helping me to dishonour him; for I have been almost three years conquering my old man by dishonour. Therefore, if you can stir up any more to forward this work, pray do; if it be not hurtful to yourself, and they that do so. I rest

Your reserved Friend,
ROGER CRAB.

To the Impartial Reader.

IN whom malicious envy delights to be, for birds of a feather draw together: but such a constitution is not to be condemned, lest we should condemn the work of God in the flesh, but rather to be instructed with the light of the Scriptures, that thereby he may know himself, and judge himself to be undone and empty, that love and zeal may take possession, and then he will be more valiant and bold, for God and the Scripture, than he that is moderately constituted. Then let us labour for a single eye, which maketh the whole body light; I mean a single heart in single designs, which cannot stand with linsey-woolsey garments, nor with double tongues, nor varieties of fancies after meats and drinks; for Christ himself was to 'eat butter and honey,' till he came to knowledge 'to choose the good, and refuse the evil,' Isa. vii. 15. And if natural Adam had kept to this single natural fruit of God's appointment, namely, fruits and herbs; we had not been corrupted. Thus we see, that by eating and drinking, we are swallowed up in corruption; for, ever since Noah came out of the ark, (the world being drowned, and no fruits nor herbs on the earth,) man was ordered to eat the flesh of the creature which came out of the ark; so that, by that means, our desires were made strong after flesh; that when the herbs and innocent food were come forth, we slighted it, calling it trash in comparison of a beast, or beastly flesh; so that, by that means, the flesh-destroying spirits and angels draw near us, and frequently attend mankind. This you may see by the angels that came

to Abraham, to destroy the flesh of the Sodomites: Abraham, knowing their design, killed them a calf, and made them a fleshly feast; so that we may see, God hath all sorts of creatures for all sorts of designs, and for all sorts of food, both in heaven and in earth; innocent creatures for innocent food, and beastly creatures for beastly and fleshly food.

I rest your Friend as you please,

From my poor Cottage near Uxbridge, Jan. 1654.

ROGER CRABB.

SEEING I am become a gazing-stock to the nation, and a wonderment to many friends, in this my reserved life; I shall, therefore, indite a few lines, as the Most High shall direct me; wherein I shall give an account of this my undoing, owning Christ and the prophets to be exemplary, both in prophesying and practising, as far as God shall give power to any man. I having truly examined it, and often disputed it, with all sexes and ministers in most counties in England; and most of them grant me, that the practice of Christ and the prophets is written for our learning; and if this be granted, that we ought to be imitators of their righteousness, hereby the judgment of God may be seen to a Sodomite generation, living now upon English ground: but first I shall begin with myself, who have transgressed the commands of God, and so am found guilty of the whole law; living in pride, drunkenness, and gluttony, which I upheld by dissembling and lying, cheating and cozening my neighbours. But now, that light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, (according to John's writing,) hath discovered the love of God to my understanding, which causeth me to withdraw from what I have done; and instead of strong drinks and wines, I gave the old man a cup of water; and instead of roast mutton and rabbits, and other dainty dishes, I gave him broth thickened with bran, pudding made with bran and turnip-leaves chopped together, and grass; at which the old man (meaning my body) being moved, would know what he had done, that I used him so hardly; then I shewed him his transgression, as aforesaid: so the wars began, the law of the old man, in my fleshly members, rebelled against the law of my mind, and had a shrewd skirmish; but the mind, being well enlightened, held it, so that the old man grew sick and weak with the flux, like to fall to the dust; but the wonderful love of God (well pleased with the battle) raised him up again, and filled him full of love, peace, and content in mind, and is now become more humble; for now he will eat dock-leaves, mallows, or grass, and yields that he ought to give God more thanks for it, than, formerly, for roast flesh and wines; and certainly concludes, that this must be of God, if it be done out of love, and not out of self-ends: for, before, the old man fought with his steel sword, with his fleshly power against old men, and that envy in him begat envy in them, and both of the devil, in pretence of liberty and peace, it is easily judged of by the event; for our fighting, to regulate government in the old men, we see it still as bad, if not worse, than it was before. Therefore, let us put off the old man, with his fleshly laws, which reached no farther than the government of earthly bodies; so that every one, for their obedience to God in this fleshly law, receiveth a reward, to uphold his fleshly body here upon earth, and would go no further, than reason could reach, in the organs of flesh. Therefore, this law could never give life in the spiritual Christ, but the practisers thereof were the greatest enemies to Christ; as you shall see fully in their calling of Christ devil, and putting of him to death, Mat. x.[3] Luk. xxiii. Far worse than bloody butchers, for they destroy their fellow-creatures for gain, and to feed their bodies; but these destroyed that innocent 'Lamb of God,' merely out of devilish zeal and envy against innocency: this moves the butcher to the question, to know why I would forbear eating of flesh? To which I answer,

First, I do it exemplarily from the Prophet Daniel, chap. i. who saith, 'the king's meat defileth his body,' and beseecheth, that he might 'eat pulse and drink water.' This, 1.

[3] ['If they have called the Master of the house Beëlzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household?']

We ought to believe, because the Scripture saith so. 2. I believe it from experience. 3. From reason.

1. I have experience, that God hath enlightened my understanding in a great measure, more than before I took this course; so that all the tithe-mongers and self-ended people, professing religion, are afraid to meet me in any public dispute; but, lest I should judge myself wiser, in my own conceit, than my understanding will bear me out, I am here ready to be tried by any person or persons whatsoever: and so much for experience. Now I shall shew some reasons.

My first reason is, that God never accepted of any creature, for a sacrifice of flesh, that would destroy a body of flesh to feed on; and also forbade his people the Jews to feed on them; for it is a practice of dogs and wolves, bears and lions, hogs and ravens, kites and hawks, and many such-like devourers of flesh; and all or any of these have no need to fear their lives, but from or of some of that same kind: no innocent creature need ever fear his life from an innocent creature. If all birds would take the dove for an example, and all beasts take the lamb for their example, and all men take Christ for their example; then Mars and Saturn, the two chief devils, would be trampled under feet. Such a time is promised, but not yet; but God waiteth with long patience upon the vessels of wrath, whilst they prepare themselves, by thirsting after flesh and blood, which are thereby made fit to destroy each other. Therefore hearken to the doctrine of Christ, in Matth. chap. v. and vi. 'Deny yourselves, humble yourselves, undo yourselves of all righteousness of the 'flesh; become as little children, like lambs, like doves:' then Christ is ours, and we are his. Few words to the wise are sufficient. I shall return to the reasonable part of the law in this nation, which excludes butchers from being jurymen of life and death. Surely, if they are judged incapable of being of a jury, because they kill the creatures, they that buy them with their money to devour them, cannot be clear; for we always count the receiver more subtle and worse than the thief; so that the buyer is worse than the butcher. But Mars, being the god of war, is the governor of these destroyers, and while he can get flesh to feed on, he will increase his desires to destroy flesh; so that Mars, being servant to the most high God, breeds them up with flesh, until they are full of corruption. Then he raiseth up transgressor against transgressor to destroy each other, as you have it in Isa. xxi. 2. where it saith, 'A grievous vision was shewed unto me, the transgressor 'against the transgressor, and the destroyer against the destroyer. Go up, Elam, besiege 'Media,' &c. Had my parents been so innocent, as to have taught me this doctrine in the time of my youth, I had saved my skull from being cloven to the brain in the late war for the Parliament against the King, and also saved myself from the Parliament's two years imprisonment, which they gave me for my pains; and from my sentence to death in the field by my Lord-protector: but all those things wrought together for the best to me, and, in my estimation, are of more value, than an office of five-hundred pounds a year; for I, in some measure, know myself, and before I neither knew God, nor devil, nor myself: but now, having found out that my body was governed by the inclination of my constitution from the starry heavens; having tried it with many sorts of food, and with much fasting and praying, according to the Scripture; which gave me light into the constitutions of others, and enabled me to administer physick to others; so that I have had a hundred, or six-score patients at once; this gave me a great light of the evil that came by eating of flesh. If my patients were any of them wounded, or feverish, I said, Eating flesh, or drinking strong beer, would inflame their blood, venom their wounds, and increase their disease; so there is no proof like experience: so that eating of flesh is an absolute enemy to pure nature; pure nature being the workmanship of a pure God, and corrupt nature under the custody of the devil. Now for the objection in 1 Tim. iv. 3. where it saith thus: 'Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which 'God hath created to be received, with giving thanks, of them which believe and know the 'truth.' And, ver. 4. it saith, 'For every creature of God is good, and nothing ought to 'be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving.' This scripture is very useful for the purpose, and will give much light to the adherers to this opinion, and confirm them of

sound principles within themselves; for whosoever shall forbear marrying, or abstain from meat from the commandment of man, which pretends his commands to be of God, all that are obedient hereunto will serve the devil, and must needs be without the Spirit of sanctification; neither are they believers, neither obey the truth; so that, if they should eat of every creature, there would a hundred be poisoned at a meal, for want of the Spirit of power and sanctification, which Paul and others had by the promise, which promised them, if they drank any deadly poison, it should not hurt them; and could take away serpents; and, 'if they laid their hands on the sick, they should recover,' as you may see in Mark xvi. 18. Another objection is alleged from the Scripture, in Matth. xv. 11. where it saith these words: 'That which goeth into the mouth defileth not the man, but that which co-'meth out of the mouth, that defileth the man; which is murders, adulteries, fornications, 'thefts, false testimonies, slanders,' &c. If this be meant, that any thing put into the mouth cannot defile the body, then no man can be poisoned; but there hath been many a man poisoned, by taking things into the mouth. If so, then nothing ought to be taken, but that which is nourishable to pure nature, except they have faith and power of sanctification to exclude the venom. So, in short, my judgment is of every place of Scripture, which speaks any thing of this nature; that 'to him that believeth, all things are lawful (as in relation to Christ in the Spirit), but some things not expedient.' Now to those that will not unlink themselves from the world, as to deny father and mother, wife, children, lands, and livings, and all for Christ's sake in the spiritual essence, but will rather serve him according to the flesh in the ten commandments. Now this is the wonderful and admirable love of God, that he will give them a reward also, according to that dispensation they are under; for he hath promised them a blessing in basket and in store, and their children long life in the land for their obedience to their parents in the flesh; but no more than fleshly rewards can be given for fleshly obedience; for he, that dieth with fleshly desires, fleshly inclinations, and fleshly satisfactions, (this being a composure of the spirits of darkness in this body,) must rise again in the same nature, and must be taken into the centre of Mars, the god of flesh, blood, and fire; so that 'every man shall receive the things 'which are done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or evil;' 2 Cor. v. 10.

Then, how happy are they, that take Christ and the prophets for their example! Christ, being an innocent pattern to the whole world, exposed himself to all danger and difficulty, not for his own ends in the flesh, but for others' sakes, even them that persecuted him, and violated him with terms of ignominy, calling him a glutton and a wine-bibber, a blasphemer and a devil, and at length killed him out-right, and hanged him shamefully upon the cross. The persons that did it were the priests, counsellors, lawyers, and the rude multitude instructed by them, filled all with envy against innocency; but all this worketh together for the best to them that fear God in humbleness and meekness, with love and charity; where envy cannot be, but some glimpse of the spiritual light, which discerneth all things, 'even the deep things of God,' according to the Scriptures; 1 Cor. ii. 10. But reason itself will discover a glimpse of God's proceedings in these our days; he hath tried almost every sort of men, and every sort of sects, according to their pedigree in our land.

1. The King and Bishops were exalted next to Christ.

2. The Parliament, who found fault with them, not pulling the beam of covetousness out of their own eyes, and their sects depending, were all exalted instead of the other.

3. The Army, with their trades and sects depending upon the same account, became exalted. So the gentlemen and farmers have had their turn in offices and dearth of corn, and now they will try inferior trades, as journeymen and day-labourers, and their associates depending, even to the orphan and alms-man, which now give them the fulness of bread, and clothing, and silver, and all according to their respective place and capacity they are in: so that now we look over all their proceedings, and judge by their fruits; and it will be a hard matter for a low capacity to judge which of all these parties hath been most just: but I, being of the lowest sort and unlearned, being amongst day-labourers and journeymen, have judged myself with them the worst of all these parties, in pride, gluttony, drun-

kenness, lying, dissembling, swearing, cursing, covetousness, disobedient to parents, breeding up children to disobedience, and all other abominations. Were not the Most High wonderful and merciful to us, one of these sins is enough to bring judgment and terrors upon the whole land; namely, the sin of drunkenness, being explained, will prove it; when the All-seeing Eye looks into every alehouse of this nation, and seeth of which sort are most there, and they will appear to be labouring poor men, which, in times of scarcity, pine and murmur for want of bread, cursing the rich behind his back, and before his face, cap and knee, and a whining countenance; and some are choleric, and discontented, and will not speak at all; neither of them considering what they did in the time of plenty, when they drank in one day as much as a bushel of barley will make, which will keep two ordinary families a whole week in bread: this two men will do twice or three times a week; and, when Sunday cometh, they will hear two sermons, and have their child christened by the virtue of his faith, and receive the sacrament at Easter, and then all is well: his conscience being seared up, he returns to his companions, and falls on, as before, to drunkenness and gluttony, spoiling, backbiting his neighbours, swearing and cursing, and reviling against the higher powers for oppressing him; making a good construction of his fellow-drunkard which is drunk three or four days in the week: they will say he is an honest fellow, and nobody's foe but his own, although both he, and they that do so, are the greatest oppressors under the sun, and the greatest enemies to the poor fatherless orphans, widows, and strangers, which are below them: for by their drunkenness and gluttony corn is made dear; corn being dear, land is made dear; so that the farmer must give a great rent for his farm, and is constrained to hire many more acres. By this means cattle and corn have been at a high rate, the farmer being covetous-minded, to uphold his wife and children in pomp and pride, feasting and gluttony, at christenings and banquetings; by which means surfeits and diseases drive them to the physicians, who wait for their prey, to get money to purchase lands and houses, that they may let it out to them again. Thus, you see, that the body of England is become a monster: God hath created eyes in us that are the feet, to discover her nakedness as far as the middle; we have a little light of her arms and her head, which keeps her pomp by sword and violence; but our sight being weak, and most work to do at home, and most convenient for every man to pull the beam out of his own eye, according to the Scriptures, Matth. vii. 3. that we may see clearer, 'and justly judge the tree by its fruits,' we shall try the inferior and lower sort of feasting among women, called by the name of 'Christenings,' which are these: first, to exchange upon some body that is silly or foolish, sluttish or covetous, or an ill husband, or a drunkard: others be condemned for often feasting, and wearing fine clothes, swearing and lying, so that all sorts are laughed at, and judged, but ourselves; whilst we ourselves are doing the very same things: and this is the fruit that grows upon the tree called 'Christening,' or baptizing the child into the father's faith; which is an admirable tree, if it be true, that the child can be in Christ by the father's faith, and no falling from grace: then let us consider, whether Adam did believe in Christ; and, if it be found he did, then this baptism would have saved all the people from Adam to this day, and will do from this day forward; for the child, being baptized into the father's faith, groweth up, and begetteth children, and cannot fall away, baptizing children into their faith, and so forward. So that, if God had been as wise as we in our own conceit, he might have saved the lives of all his prophets, and apostles, and people too; but the Most High is now once more beginning to break through the clouds of darkness in poor innocent forms of earth, raising them up from carpenting, fishing, and tent-making, 'to confound the high and mighty; for the wisdom 'of man is foolishness:' 1 Cor. chap. i. Now let us compare this inferior feast, called 'Christening,' with the feast of Christ among the multitude, and see which was most exemplary to the people, and which produced most good to soul and body; and consider the example of Christ's birth in a manger, with the pomp and pride of children's births in our days. Again, consider what feast there was when Christ was baptized of John; and, I think, we shall find none at all. Then let us see what Christ had at his feast with the people; he being able 'to command stones to be bread, or water to be wine,' was also able

to command roast beef or pig; but he was to be exemplary to all people on earth, in all his actions and doctrine, made an innocent feast for the people with 'barley-loaves and fishes;' Mat. xiv. But some will object and say, He was able to work miracles, and we are not. To which I answer; If we, as he, were able to command all things, and yet would have nothing at our feast but barley-loaves and fishes, what advantage would our power be to this feast? The feast being innocent, without hurting any creature on earth; but, on the contrary, he endeavoured to preserve, and to reconcile the people to God with sound words of instructions, uttered with love, peace, and meekness, with motions of healing all people that were brought to him: so that you may see a great difference betwixt his feast and the other. Again, he often went to the feast of the Jews, and to a wedding, to shew forth the power of his Father, in turning water into wine; but we never find that ever he was drunk, or eat a bit of flesh at any of their feasts, or weddings. The Passover was his own feast, and did belong to the fulfilling of the law of the Father in his flesh, even for a disobedient people; which the Lord, by Moses, brought out of Egypt from their flesh-pots, into the wilderness; to purify their bodies with angels' food, called 'manna,' which they ground in mills, or beat in mortars, to make in cakes. But they, losing their grossness, grew lean and hungry; and 'murmured and rebelled against the Lord, lusting after the flesh-pots of Egypt.' Their desires being much and strong, the Lord granted them flesh, even as he granted them a king, and his wrath and plague came with it, as you may see in Numb. xi. 33. and Psal. lxxviii. 31. 'While the flesh was yet between their teeth, 'before it was chewed, even then the wrath of the Lord was kindled against the people, 'and the Lord smote the people with an exceeding great plague.' Thus, you see, what miserable creatures we are, being bred up with flesh and blood, onions and garlick, all under Mars, whom God hath made governor over all that humour that lusteth after flesh and blood; which is made strong in us, by feeding of it, as I myself may speak by experience: for if God had commanded me to forbear flesh before I had knowledge of this my discourse, although he had sent an angel, or a man working miracles, I doubt I should have judged all to be of the devil, for the lust I had after the sweetness of flesh; even as the rich men, in these our days, will deny the scripture, wherein Christ commanded the rich man, in the Gospel, 'to sell his goods, and give to the poor.' But they will say, it reached no farther, than that one rich man should; for, say they, if we should believe this scripture extended to us, we should make the poor richer than ourselves. So it seems by this, that they had rather deny this scripture, and many more that speak to this purpose, even Christ and all, rather than to part from their riches: this would have been my condition in ignorance.

Therefore, let not the rich men mistake me, and think that I would have them sell their goods, before God hath enlightened their understandings, and let them see the danger of keeping it; for then they would play the hypocrites, and do as bad to themselves, as if they had kept it, although good to others. This would be the condition of every one that shall forbear flesh or beer, as in relation to God, because it is a sin against the body, or bodies and souls of men: 'Except any man think he sins against God in eating, to him it is 'sin; because he is weak, and doubteth:' so he ought to forbear, because of his scruple; as you shall see in Rom. xiv. 8. 1 Cor. viii. 10: 'For if any man see thee, which hath 'knowledge, sit at table in the idol's temple; shall not the conscience of him which is 'weak, be emboldened to eat those things which are sacrificed to idols?' You may observe from this, that he that walketh by another man's light, before he is fully convinced in himself, if he buildeth on sand, he will fall in the tempest, because he hath lost his tender light of his scruple; which Paul endeavoured to strengthen in every one of his brethren, let them be of what opinion they would in matter of conscience. It is very plain in Rom. xiv. and very few in these days believeth it; for we all cry out against many opinions, yet every one would have his own opinion justified: we may as well cry out and condemn every one his neighbour, because they differ in physiognomy, and so condemn the work of God without us, as well as within us: but this is rebellion against our Maker; for the Scripture commandeth us not to judge one another in matter of conscience towards God,

but for the sin against our brethren and neighbours; we ought to 'know the tree by its fruits.' So that any man or men in countries, towns, or cities, that shall defraud their brethren, and shall advance themselves in pride by oppression and tyranny, imitating Sodom and Gomorrah in all manner of abominations; if any see this imitated in England, it is high time for us, or them that do so, to become imitators of Christ and the prophets: first, in order of the prophets that came before Christ, who were ordered by their practice to shew Israel their transgressions, in drinking water by measure, and in making bread; for Ezekiel took of wheat, barley, and beans, and lentils, and millet, and fishes, and put them in a vessel, and made bread thereof; and instead of butter and spice, he was to take 'cow's dung instead of men's dung to prepare his bread with,' and he was to have his portion by weight, Ezek. iv. 15. Thus, the prophet was to shew them their error in matter of food; and for clothing, you may see in Isa. xx. who was a prophet of God, ordered not only to wear sackcloth, but to go 'naked, and without shoes three years.' If these scriptures are written for our learning, imitation, and practice, then we are to judge which are the prophets of God, by this practice in Scripture; and if so, where shall we find prophets of God? But some will say, we are to follow Christ and the apostles, in the New Testament; and, if you will have it so, then we must exactly see what orders they had in their commission, that we know them from hirelings. We find in the commission, that they were to go and preach 'without money, or scrips, or shoes on their feet, but to 'be shod with sandals;' Mark vi. 8. So we may doubt whether we shall find any apostles too, if we shall judge by Christ's commission; but, if you will not own these scriptures, neither let us try them that mark out the false apostles and teachers; namely, John x. where he saith, 'The hireling is not his shepherd:' and Mat. vii. where he saith, 'Ye shall 'know them by their fruits: inwardly they are ravening wolves.' Many more scriptures to this purpose there are: but, if you have a mind to your hireling still, you will believe no scripture that is against him, neither is there any for him; so that all true practical part of Scriptures must be laid aside; only talk of it and dispute of it a little, and pick out of it a few places to preach out of and to write, to get some money to uphold their pride and honour in this world, to please the old man in the flesh. Surely if John the Baptist should come forth again, and call himself 'Leveller,' and take such food as the wilderness yielded, and such clothing, and preach up his former doctrine, 'He that hath two coats should 'give away one of them, and he that hath food should do likewise.' How scornfully would our proud gentlemen and gallants look on him, that hath gotten three or four coats with great gold and silver buttons, and half a score dainty dishes at his table, besides his gallant house, and his furniture therein; therefore, this scripture must be interpreted some other way, or else denied: and this is our condition, if the Scripture will not serve for our own ends to fulfil selfish desires, to uphold the old man in his fleshly honour, which belongeth to the magistrate only (whom God hath made a minister for thy wealth's sake), and doth not at all belong to innocency, nor Christ in the Spirit; for there is small sign of the old man's dying or putting off, whilst he smites his fellows for the liberty of his fleshly desires; and this is our condition, that love the world, in whom the love of God cannot be, 1 John ii. 15, 16. 'Love not the world, neither the things of the world. If any man love the world, 'the love of the Father is not in him; for all that is in the world, as the lust of the flesh, 'the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world:' These scriptures have I endeavoured formerly to interpret some other way, by absurdities and consequences; how that, if we should not wear superfluous things, thousands of people would starve for want of trading, and so by consequence bring greater evil upon us. So I, being not willing to lose my pride and worldly pomp, I questioned the truth of the Scriptures, and even God himself, and all for want of some glimpse of spiritual light, which my natural eyes in reason could not discern. Therefore, the Most High was pleased to convince me with natural forms, namely, birds of the air, which every day brought me intelligence according to my worldly occasions; for almost three years space I have observed them, for they would foretel me of any danger or cross, or any joy from friends; I mean any danger or dishonour to my person, or loss of cattle, or corn, or any other disadvantage to

my advancement in the world; and this clearly convinced me, that there was a power above man. Then I considered the Wise-man's saying, Eccles. x. 20, 'Curse not the 'king, no not in thy thought; neither curse the rich in thy bed-chamber; for the fowls 'of heaven shall carry the voice, and that which hath wings shall declare the matter.' Also I considered that God made use of a bird to feed Elias the prophet; by this I saw, that he made use of natural causes to fulfil natural desires; so I came to know God in nature. Moreover, I considered the Scriptures where the Lord speaks against the sooth-sayers, and against astrologers, sorcerers, and wizards; all these I found to be the spirits of darkness, and will reach no further than the old man in the flesh, yet very necessary to be known, that we may avoid the evil thereof. Christ and the prophets knew all these things, or else they would never have spoken against them; but we in the old man have often spoken against things that we knew not, out of blind zeal, but 'not according to knowledge.'

Therefore let the Scripture rule us, that we judge no man's heart, which belongeth to God only in the Spirit, but our judgment must be external of every tree according to their fruits; for by their fruits we ought to know them. So to reprove every man his neighbour to his face, leave off backbiting and slandering one another, and making up our laughter in deriding the actions of others, which we cannot do unless we think ourselves wiser than they. This sad thing have I observed in many families, when they have happened in any discourse, it seldom or never ended without backbiting, or deriding one another behind their backs with their tongues; which causeth envy, and 'sets on fire' every man that useth it against his neighbour, according to the Scripture, Jam. iii. and this cometh for want of mortifying the old man in the flesh, Rom. viii. 13. These and many other helps there are in the Scriptures, if we will believe it, to overcome the flesh; for Christ saith, Mat. vii. 8. 'Whosoever asketh, receiveth; and he that seeketh, findeth; and 'to him that knocketh, it shall be opened.' This scripture seems to reach further than the Disciples in some cases; for some that did not believe, made use of his name to cast out devils, and it seems the power of God assisted them therein; for they could not do it by the power of the devil, for then they would not have made use of Christ's name. Again, Christ himself saith, 'If Satan cast out Satan, his kingdom cannot stand;' Mat. xii. 26. And it is contrary to any reason, that God should cast out God, or the devil cast out the devil. So we find, according to the whole tenour of Scripture, that God answereth all sorts of people according to that dispensation they are under, if their desires are fervent, whether it be for their good, or their hurt; as I have proved sufficiently in my discourse concerning the flesh given to the children of Israel, 1 Sam. viii. 7. where God saith to Samuel, 'Hear the voice of the people, in all that they shall say unto thee.' So God condescended to the desires of the people for the hurt of their bodies in granting them a king; but if any, out of zeal towards God in the spirit, will pray unto him, and yet would uphold the righteousness of God in the flesh; God answering them with such spirits as may dishonour them in this world, by lying or false prophesying to destroy the honour of the old man in them, that they may be brought forth as tried in the fire, more pure in the Spirit of light: but if any shall enquire after God at the mouth of his prophets, only to uphold the honour and ambition of the old man in this world, God will send them false spirits to preach lyes, on purpose to destroy them; and this will come upon those that are for their own ambitious ends: as you may see in 1 Kings xxii. where the false spirits wait on God for their message, and God sends them forth, and bids them prosper, to please Ahab in his request: thus we see for the love of this world people are destroyed. Then let us conclude, that it is high time to cast off the old man with his rudiments, with his malice and envy, and entertain light, love, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. That this may be our treasure, leading us up to that throne of grace full of unspeakable joys, where Christ sitteth in the council of his Father, with all his angels, entertaining all with fulness of joy, that enter in at this narrow gate, wiping away all tears; and all desires shall cease, and sorrow shall never more come near them; and instead thereof such joy, that neither tongue of men or angels can express.

If men and angels do prove silent, then
Why should not I, an inferior man:
Now am I silent and indite no more,
Pray use no violence then against the poor.

O Mortal form! what dost thou mean,
To make such long delay;
Keeping thy soul so poor and lean,
Against the dreadful day?
To which we all must once appear,
To receive our sentence deep;
The sorrowing heart, and terrible fears,
Making our souls to weep.
Two things there are to us propos'd,
Whilst we on earth do dwell,
In choosing one, the other 's lost,
Let it be Heaven or Hell.
Then must our choice be circumspect,
Without a worldly mind:
Lest God one day do us reject,
And we no mercy find.
If Heaven we choose, then Hell is lost,
We cannot it embrace;
But to the glory of joy we must
Swallowed be in endless grace.
If Hell we choose, the world is gain'd,
Which is that flesh desires:
Then need we nothing to refrain,
That pride and lust requires.
Such are our lusts and covetousness,
The belly and back to please;
With selling and buying, dissembling and lying,
Yet we cannot live at ease,
But still in discontent abide,
Desiring after more:
Our envy would that all had died,
That loved not the whore.
Her merchants they do howl and weep,
Their traffick none will buy:
They wishing now to sow or reap,
One year before they die.
In Revelation, chap. nineteen,
In truth there you may read;
Who 'tis shall bear the scepter,
When the old whore is dead.
Thus to the wise in their conceit,
As I myself have been:
They now shall know, that once they might,
Have left the greatest sin.
O England, then repent
For the misery thou art in,
Which have all, by consent,
Liv'd on each other's sin.
If pride should banish'd be away,
Then tradesmen out would cry,
Come let us kill, eat, and slay,
Or else for want we die.
Then would the gentry mourn,
Without pride they cannot live;
And slaves to get them corn,
Whilst they themselves deceive.
Thus pride becomes our god,
And dear to us as life;
Whose absence makes us sad,
And cannot please our wife.
If the poor labouring men
Live of their own increase;
Where are your genty then,
But gone among the beasts?
If any would know who is the author,
Or ask whose lines are these:
I answer, one that drinketh water,
And now a liver at ease.
In drinking cannot be drunk,
Nor am I mov'd to swear:
And from wenching am I sunk,
My bones are kept so bare.
For it is the grossness of the flesh
That makes the soul to smart:
And is the cause of his own lust,
That commits adultery in his heart.

Proposals for building, in every County, a Working-Alms-House or Hospital, as the best Expedient to perfect the Trade and Manufactory of Linen Cloth. Whereby, 1. All poor People and their Children, from five or six Years old, may be employed and maintained; as also all Beggars, Vagrants, &c. restrained and for ever prevented, and so all Parishes eased of that intolerable Burden. 2. Many hundred-thousand Pounds kept at Home, which now every Year goes out of the Kingdom for Linen, whereby our Wealth becomes a Prey to other Nations. 3. Much Land improved in every County, to great Advantage of Landlord and Tenant. Humbly offered to the Consideration of the great Wisdom of the whole Nation, now assembled in Parliament.

Printed at London, by W. G. for R. Harford, at the Sign of the Angel, in Cornhill, 1677.

[Quarto, containing Fourteen Pages.]

CONSIDERING the great complaints of poverty; the heavy burdens, most parishes lie under to maintain their poor, which daily increase; the swarms of beggars, vagrants, and idle people, in city and country; the great, and it is feared, irrecoverable decay of our ancient trade for woollen cloth; the vast charge we are yearly at, in purchasing linen, &c. from other nations; whereby our treasure is exhausted, and our lands fall for want of being improved some other way, besides planting corn, breeding for wool, &c. which are become of so low a price, as scarce to turn to account: and understanding, that, for remedying thereof, the improving the manufactory of linen is now under debate, I have taken the boldness to offer the following proposal, which if thought fit to be put in practice, will, in my opinion, infallibly conduce to all the good ends desired and intended, *viz.*

That there may be erected in every county, according to its extent or populousness, a greater or lesser working-alms-house, wherein the poor may be continually employed in the manufactory of linen cloth.

The advantages whereof are evident; for,

I. This manufactory is an employment for the weakest people, nt c apabe of stronger work, *viz.* women and children, and decrepit or aged people, now the most chargeable; as likewise for beggars and vagrants, who live idly, and by the sweat of other men's labours, and can no way so effectually be brought to industry and order, as when reduced into so narrow a compass or confinement, under fitly qualified rulers, officers, and regular government.

II. These working-alms-houses may raise and supply the nation yearly with a sufficient stock of linen cloth (the finest sort excepted), if true measures be taken, and the design effectually prosecuted: as for example, one million three-hundred and fifty-two thousand pounds worth of cloth may yearly be spun in them only, besides what is made in private families.—Thus demonstrated:

1. It is well known by experience, that three-quarters of a pound of thread, worth twlve-pence *per* pound spinning, will make one ell of cloth, worth two shillings *per* ell; which three quarters of a pound two spinners may spin in one day: hence it follows,

2. That two-thousand spinners will spin thread enough in one day to make a thousand ells of cloth, worth a hundred pound. And, working but two-hundred and sixty days in the year, may spin twenty-six thousand pounds worth of linen cloth in a year.

3. Suppose then there be as many public work-houses, as there are counties, which are fifty-two, and in every work-house, one with another, two thousand spinners, (though in some more, some less,) then according to these reasonable measures, there will be the forementioned sum of one million three-hundred and fifty-two thousand pounds worth of cloth spun in one year; which is what we undertook to demonstrate.

This or some such prodigious sum of money might yearly be raised to the nation, whereby a treble benefit would ensue: first, We might have so much money, now yearly sent out of the nation for linen, which (as computed by very worthy intelligent persons) has of late cost us more than a million *per annum*. Secondly, By employing those hands, which, for the greatest part, are idle; it being reasonably supposed that there are, at least, a hundred-thousand beggars or others, who want a lawful employment. Besides, almost all, both men, women, and children, that can but pull tire or tow from the distaff, or such easy work, may be speedily employed and removed from being chargeable; so that there will be no fear of any parish in the kingdom being oppressed, or indeed charged, save only in case of extreme age, or children in their infancy; neither of which continues long. And thirdly, Much land throughout England, will be greatly improved by sowing hemp, flax, &c.

Object. It may be objected, that if the house be stocked with so many weak, ancient people and children, this will cross the great design; because they will not be capable to spin their quantity of cloth, nor so fine.

Answ. As to fineness, it matters not, if but one in five be employed in it, to an exquisite degree; for there is enough occasion for coarser, for sacking, sails, ticking, common table-linen, sheets, &c. And as to quantity, it may not be the less; because the most laborious thing in spinning is turning of the wheel.

Now, for the better effecting a design so profitable and honourable to the kingdom, I have improved my small genius to the utmost, notwithstanding I, above all projectors, have been most discouraged: and I know whoever will attempt any thing for public benefit, may expect these three things: (the first is necessary, the second customary, and the third diabolical:) *viz.* To be the object of wise men's censure, other men's laughter, and, if advantageous to himself, envy's implacable displeasure; of which last, I have had a share to the highest degree, that revenge could express; and this too from a pretended loving brother, a person of an honest profession, and of as debauched a conscience; yet I say, notwithstanding such discouragements, I have spent some time for public advantage, *viz.* to find out an expedient both for ease and quick dispatch, so as that the weak may do as much as the strong, and the strong, much more than before.

As thus: one man may turn fifty spinning-wheels, which shall serve a hundred persons to spin with at once; so that the spinners shall have nothing to do but employ both hands to draw tire from the distaff. The demonstration of the infallibility of this invention may be easily made, when commanded.

As also, an engine by which fifty men may, without striking a stroke, beat as much hemp in one day, as a hundred shall do in two days.

Besides the advantage of this spinning-engine in ease, its expedition will also be considerable; for if, as we doubt not, by this help spinners can earn nine-pence *per* day, as easy as six-pence *per* day without it: by that means computing only a thousand spinners in each of the fifty-two work-houses, in one year's time, will be gained the sum of one-hundred and sixty-three thousand nine-hundred and sixty-eight pounds and upwards, as by calculation appears; and the invention for hemp-beating, which is the hardest work of all, will likewise, in its kind, be very considerably advantageous.

Object. 2. But some will be ready to object, and tell us, that we talk of brave things, if words would do the work; but where is the money for the building of such great hospitals? And providing all tools and materials will cost many thousand pounds.

I confess here is the knot, which seems knit by magick-art; but if it can be untied, without cutting or breaking the thread, then I hope our proposals will not be rejected.

Answ. To this therefore I humbly answer, That it may be done by a county-charge, with as much satisfaction, pleasure, and advantage, as to part with five pounds to prevent paying fifty shillings, *per annum;* which I think no wise people will judge to be an hard bargain; especially, if they consider the other vast profit to the nation, and that thereby they purchase in the country, fifty shillings, *per annum*, more by improvement of their lands for hemp or flax.—As thus:

Suppose every parish, one with another, throughout the nation, relieves as many poor people, beggars, &c. as doth amount to twelve-pence in the pound; so that every hundred pound *per annum* pays five pounds *per annum* to the poor. Now if every hundred pound *per annum* pays five pounds towards building such hospital, then, whereas more than half their poor consists of children, women, and decrepit weak persons, unfit for any other employment, but such as may fitly be removed to this hospital; it follows, more than half their charge will for the future be abated; yea, many parishes have scarce any poor to provide for.

Wherefore, as for raising money, we will take our measures thus: In England, there are commonly accounted nine-thousand, seven-hundred and twenty-five parishes, and fifty-two counties; so that, one with another, there are a hundred and eighty-seven parishes to each county, and each parish supposed to be worth fifteen-hundred pounds *per annum*, some more, some less; at the rate of twelve-pence *per* pound, it will amount to the sum of fourteen-thousand and twenty-five pounds, in each county; which undoubtedly will complete the house and materials.

Object. 3. But this method will not hold; because one county hath not so many parishes as another.

Answ. It matters not: let each county build proportionably to their money, as it will arise at twelve-pence *per* pound, we doubt not but it will be sufficient.

Object. 4. It may further be objected, as impossible, that the spinning-engine should turn to account; because, as often as one spinner has occasion to stop, all the rest must be idle; and again, since every wheel hath its motion alike, and several spinners work some faster, some slower, therefore, all considered, this project will make but a confusion.

Answ. To this I reply; Any one may stop, and the rest work on, and also may vary the motion of each spinning-instrument, so as the nimblest and the slowest may have their desire. Nor may these instruments be contemned, since they are as cheap as the other, and so ordered, that the spinners may sit or stand when they please; which, doubtless, will be a good conveniency.

The invention of these engines is wholly mine; and, if they prove effectual, I hope I shall not be deprived of receiving some benefit thereof; because I am so free, as, in effect, to discover it before-hand. However, I submit to what the pleasure of authority shall allow: and to the intent these hospitals may never fail of encouragement, that the invention may be for ever secured to them and prohibited to all others; so that the same may be improved only for their benefit, and private persons not take the advantage thereof, to the prejudice of this our pious and necessary design. I doubt not but many will say, "Tush! this is easy; any body may invent such things as these."—Thus the industry of one is gratified with the contempt of others. Howbeit, I leave it with all humble submission to the grave wisdom aforesaid, to consider,

1. Whether these great hospitals may not become nurseries for bringing up all poor people's children to industry; and how, by a methodical government, every one may be so encouraged, that one striving to excel the rest, in a very short time the finest linen may be made at home, upon far better terms than what comes from beyond the seas; and whether there be not a probability, if the engines take, that we may come to transport

linen, upon as good terms as other nations, since flax and hemp may here be as plentifully produced as in any other country.

2. Whether this great and profitable trade may not be managed, for the most part, by those who at present are a burden; so that those which before were industrious, may follow their former employments, and so no want of people for husbandry, &c.

Object. 5. But what shall we do for weavers?

Answ. I propose it to consideration, whether it might not be a more Christian and effectual course to suppress notorious malefactors (except only in treason and murder), to condemn them hither, for life or years, where they may be serviceable to turn wheels, fit tire to the distaffs, reel yarn, swingle or hitchel hemp or flax, weave, &c. which an ordinary ingenuity may learn in a few days, rather than to send them out with a brand to commit fresh villainies, or transport them, whence they presently return. And this is the rather to be heeded, for that foreign plantations have now so little occasions for them, that merchants refuse to take them off the sheriff's hands, without being paid for their passage; so that above eighty convicts in Newgate lately obtained a general pardon, on that very score, because they knew not what to do with them. Besides, how many overstocked trades are there that complain for want of trade, &c. These may quickly learn to weave, and never fear an employ.

Object. 6. But, as to convicts brought hither, it will be objected, that they must be kept more secure, lest they escape and do mischief.

Answ. They may be secured well enough, and those that turn the wheel, &c. may be separated by an iron-grate from the rest. And here, by the way, the pious wisdom of the City of London may find out a means, whereby all those impudent night-walkers, and nurses of debauchery, may be wholly removed; which at present are a destruction, both to the estates, bodies, and souls of many hundreds, and cannot be reclaimed by ordinary Bridewels, because their labour there is only a punishment, and turns not to advantage, to keep them there all their days; or at least, until they marry, and keep within doors.

Oject. 7. Some may imagine an inconvenience, in sending so many people from all parts of the county to one place, and say, Why were it not better to build many little workhouses, rather than one great one?

Answ. I answer, By no means; for then we shall miss one great and chief design, *viz.* the maintenance of good government; by which the whole family may be instructed in good manners, both towards God and man; only, as some counties are greater, more populous, &c. they may have more or less, proportionably.

Object. 8. There still remains one objection, and that is, What shall we do for hemp and flax?

Answ. To which I answer, That hemp or flax, one or the other, may plentifully be had in every county of England. Take Sussex as an example: any indifferent good land, chalky, &c. from the foot of the Downs, to the sea-side, with double folding or dunging, and twice plowing, will produce hemp in abundance; yet though their land be rich enough, dry, &c. it will not produce good flax. But, to supply that, many thousand acres of the wild of Sussex will produce crops of flax, worth some four, some five, some six pounds an acre, and that kind for hemp, as aforesaid, worth as much. Besides, for encouraging the planting the same at home, it may be convenient to lay an imposition of four or five shillings in the pound, or upwards, upon all hemp, thread, cordage, or linen, imported from foreign parts: by means whereof, we may raise it at home, cheaper than buy them abroad, and then every body will plant hemp and flax abundantly, as a thing of course, enriching those that promote it.

But why four or five counties should, as some have proposed, enjoy this great wealth and advantage of promoting the linen manufactory, and improvement of lands, and not the rest, I cannot understand; nor, for what reason, so many people should be drained out of all the nation, into four or five midland-counties; since those counties, next adjoining to the sea, ought to be kept most populous.

But to what purpose should so much hemp be planted?

I answer, Hemp is of greater strength than flax, therefore of more excellent use for great advantage, as cables, robes, and all kinds of cordage, sails, sacking, &c. As also thread for all nets for fishery; for which, and other purposes, we now buy yearly several hundred-thousand pounds worth, from beyond the seas; so that, without controversy, there is as much hemp to be used as flax, and consequently the hemp-mill may be as useful as the spinning-instrument.

Having, we hope, satisfactorily answered all material objections against the main body of this design, it remains to consider of the order and method of governing these great families or corporations: but the particulars thereof we leave to the deeper wisdom and judicious care of authority; only in general propose:

1. That, for the better encouragement and support of so many poor people labouring in so profitable a manufactory, each alms-house be provided with, and allowed, a public granary, for stocking themselves with corn, when it is cheapest, against the time of dearth; a privilege we conceive not to be so properly advisable for other companies or handicrafts, as some propose and desire, because that would always keep corn too cheap, and consequently undo the tenant or landlord, or both. For what makes wheat as often at four shillings a bushel (under which it is known, the farmer cannot live) as at two shillings and six-pence; but because all people in the nation, that have occasion, must buy of the land-occupiers, at the same time when it is scarce? But by such general granaries, the hopes of four shillings *per* bushel will be banished the markets: but in our case, painful husbandry, that ancient employment, may well allow granaries, both because this manufactory and design eases their charge to the poor, and is of more advantage to the publick, than some twenty trades besides; and particularly, because it helps to improve their lands by flax and hemp, that now they need not so much rely upon corn, for raising their rent. Besides, if other overstocked trades want bread, let them quit their station and come to weaving, and then they may enjoy the benefit of these granaries also.

2. That the maiden children brought up in this corporation, may, after they attain to the age of fifteen years, or other fit time, be permitted to go forth to service to learn good housewifery; and the lads to husbandry or trades, if they think fit: nor will there be need of so great caution to prevent the marriages of the meaner sort, since now the parishes need not so much fear a charge, knowing a means how to employ all their children, as fast as they come to be five or six years old; nor can a young man have better choice for a wife than here, amongst so many, all bred up industriously, under strict discipline, and in a way to live. And therefore, this method will be so far from causing any depopulation, that it may increase our inhabitants; and the more, the better, since we know how to dispose of them, in such laudable employments. Moreover, hereby the distracting cares of poor honest parents, often occasioned by a foresight of their incapacity to provide for their children, will be removed; so that they may pass their time in peace, knowing, that a good honest comfortable employment and education is provided for their children, and their children's children: nor may this less remove the temptations, both in parents, and children, which cause them to be guilty of such misdemeanours, as sometimes bring them to the gallows; so that the expedients offered for the accomplishing this manufactory will produce a happy change in the whole nation, *viz.* no more want of work or bread for the poor, no more parishes oppressed, no more beggars, a great abatement of felons, thieves, cheats, nurses of debauchery, &c. many lives preserved, and (which is an hundred-thousand times more than all the rest) many souls saved! Much more might be said in this case, to set forth the excellence of this design: but I leave it as a work more deserving the skill of the most learned and godly divine, and shall only add,

In order to that last-mentioned incomparable end, and for the better education and instruction of this great family, that there may be placed in each house, an able, honest godly minister, of a good, peaceable, kind disposition, and exemplary conversation; that so no means may be wanting for promoting God's glory, and their edification: to which

*

purpose, on holidays, and other spare times, all or the most docible part of the people trained up here, may likewise be taught to read, &c.

So may our most great Prince and worthy Senators become further instruments for the nation's prosperity, and the salvation of many souls. Thus may the blessing of Heaven crown all their honourable enterprises and prudent counsels, with most prosperous success; which that it may be so, is the hearty desire of

Your most humble, obedient, and faithful
Subject and Servant,
R. H.

The Irish Cabinet: Or, His Majesty's secret Papers, for Establishing the Papal Clergy in Ireland[1]; with other Matters of high Concernment, taken in the Carriages of the Archbishop of Tuam, who was slain at the late Fight at Sleigo in that Kingdom. Together with two exact and full Relations of the several Victories obtained by the Parliament's Forces, through God's Blessing, in the same Kingdom.

'Ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, That his Majesty's 'Papers, taken at Sleigo, be forthwith Printed and Published.
'H. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.'

London, printed for Edward Husband, Printer to the Honourable House of Commons; and are to be sold at his Shop at the Sign of the Golden Dragon in Fleet-street, near the Inner-Temple, January 20, 1645.

[Quarto, containing Twenty-eight Pages.]

'WHEREAS much time hath been spent in meetings and debates betwixt his Excel-'lency James, Lord Marquis of Ormond, lord-lieutenant and general-governor 'of his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland, commissioner to his most excellent Majesty, Charles, 'by the grace of God, King of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, &c. for the treating 'and concluding of a peace in the said kingdom with his Majesty's humble and loyal sub-'jects; the Confederate and Roman-Catholicks of the said kingdom of Ireland of the one 'part, and the Right-honourable Donnogh, Lord-viscount Muskerry, and others commis-'sioners deputed and authorized by the said Confederate Roman-Catholic subjects, of the 'other part; and thereupon many difficulties did arise, by occasion whereof sundry matters

[1] [It has been observed by Rapin, that this singularly obscure transaction was not one of the least curious points in the history of Charles I. though Lord Carendon has thought fit to pass it over in silence. The articles of agreement and secret instructions entrusted to the Earl of Glamorgan, together with a hint of their accidental discovery, will be found in the present tract: and the mysterious incidents which followed, may be gathered from Rapin, or from 'An Enquiry into the share which King Charles had in the transactions of the Earl of Glamorgan,' &c. published in 1747. Some acute animadversions on the same proceedings may ikewise be found in Lord Orford's Noble Authors, under the article of Edward Somerset.]

'of great weight and consequence necessarily requisite to be condescended unto by his 'Majesty's said commissioners, for the safety of the said Confederate Roman-Catholicks, 'were not hitherto agreed upon; which retarded, and do as yet retard the conclusion of 'a firm peace and settlement in the said kingdom. And whereas the Right-honourable 'Edward, Earl of Glamorgan[2], is entrusted and authorized by his most excellent Majesty, 'to grant and assure to the said Confederate Catholic subjects further grace and favours, 'which the said Lord-lieutenant did not as yet, in that latitude as they expected, grant 'unto them; and the said Earl having seriously considered of all matters and due circum-'stances of the great affairs now in agitation, (which is the peace and quiet of the said 'kingdom, and the importance thereof,) in order to his Majesty's service, and in relation 'to a peace and settlement in his other kingdoms; and here, upon the place, having seen 'the ardent desire of the said Catholicks to assist his Majesty against all that do or shall 'oppress his royal right or monarchic government; and having discerned the alacrity 'and cheerfulness of the said Catholicks to embrace honourable conditions of peace, 'which may preserve their religion and other just interests. In pursuance therefore of 'his Majesty's authority, under his Highness's signature-royal and signet, bearing date 'at Oxon. the twelfth day of March, in the twentieth year of his reign, granted unto the 'Earl of Glamorgan, the tenour whereof is as follows, *viz.* "*Charles Rex.*—Charles, by 'the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland; Defender of the 'Faith, &c. To our trusty and right well-beloved cousin, Edward, Earl of Glamorgan, 'greeting. We, reposing great and especial trust and confidence in your approved wis-'dom and fidelity, do by these (as firmly as under our great-seal, to all intents and pur-'poses) authorize and give you power to treat and conclude with the Confederate Roman-'Catholicks in our kingdom of Ireland, if, upon necessity, any thing be to be condescended 'unto, wherein our Lieutenant cannot so well be seen in, as not fit for us at the present 'publicly to own. Therefore, we charge you to proceed according to this our warrant, 'with all possible secrecy, and for whatsoever you shall engage yourself upon such valu-'able considerations, as you in your judgment shall deem fit; we promise, on the word of a 'King and a Christian, to ratify and perform the same that shall be granted by you, and 'under your hand and seal; the said Confederate Catholicks having by their supplies testi-'fied their zeal to our service. And this shall be in each particular to you a sufficient war-'rant. Given at our court at Oxford, under our signet and royal signature, the twelfth 'day of March, in the twentieth year of our reign, 1644. To our right trusty and right 'well-beloved cousin, Edward, Earl of Glamorgan." It is therefore granted, accorded, 'and agreed, by and between the said Earl of Glamorgan, for and on the behalf of his 'most excellent Majesty, his heirs and successors, on the one part, and the Right-honour-'able Richard, Lord-viscount Mountgarret, lord-president of the supreme council of the 'said Confederate Catholicks, the said Donnogh, Lord-viscount Muskerry, Alexander 'M'Donnel, and Nicholas Plunket, esq. Sir Talbot Barronet, Dermot O'Brien, John 'Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and Jeffery Brown, esq. commissioners in that behalf, appointed 'by the said Confederate Roman-Catholic subjects of Ireland, for and in the behalf of the 'said Confederate Roman-Catholic subjects, of the other part, in manner and form follow-'ing; that is to say,

'1. *Imprimis*, It is granted, accorded, and agreed, by the said Earl, for and in the 'behalf of his most excellent Majesty, his heirs and successors, That all and every the 'professors of the Roman-Catholic religion in the kingdom of Ireland, of whatever estate, 'degree, or quality, he or they be, or shall be, shall for evermore hereafter have and 'enjoy, within the said kingdom, the free and public use and exercise of the Roman-'Catholic religion, and of the respective functions therein.

'2. *Item*, It is granted, accorded, and agreed, by the said Earl, for and on the behalf 'of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, That the said professors of the Roman-Catholic

[2] [Afterwards Marquis of Worcester: for an account of whose inventions in mechanicks, see the fourth tract from the present.]

'religion, shall hold and enjoy all and every the churches by them enjoyed within this 'kingdom, or by them possessed at any time since the twenty-third of October, 1641; 'and all other churches in the said kingdom, other than such as are now actually enjoyed 'by his Majesty's Protestant subjects.

'3. *Item*, It is granted, accorded, and agreed, by the said Earl, for and on the behaf 'of his most excellent Majesty, his heirs and successors, That all and every the Roman-'Catholic subjects of Ireland, of what estate, condition, degree, or quality soever, shall be 'free and exempted from the jurisdiction of the Protestant clergy, and every of them; and 'that the Roman-Catholic clergy of this kingdom shall not be punished, troubled, or 'molested for the exercise of their jurisdiction over their respective Catholic flocks, in mat-'ters spiritual and ecclesiastical.

'4. *Item*, It is further granted, accorded, and agreed by the said Earl, for and on the 'behalf of his most excellent Majesty, his heirs and successors, That an act shall be passed 'in the next parliament to be holden in this kingdom, the tenour and purport whereof shall 'be as followeth, *viz.* 'An Act for the Relief of his Majesty's Catholic Subjects of his High-'ness's kingdom of Ireland.' Whereas by an act made in parliament, held in Dublin the 'second year of the reign of the late Queen Elizabeth, intitled, 'An act restoring to the 'Crown the ancient Jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiastical and Spiritual, and abolishing 'all foreign Power repugnant to the same.' And by one other statute made in the last-'mentioned parliament, intitled, 'An Act for the Uniformity of Common-Prayer in 'the Church, and the Administration of the Sacrament' sundry mulcts, penalties, restraints, 'and incapacities, are and have been laid upon the professors of the Roman-Catholic 'religion in this kingdom, in, for, and concerning, the use, profession, and exercise of 'their religion, and their functions therein; to the great prejudice, trouble, and disquiet 'of the Roman-Catholicks in their liberties and estate, and the general disturbance of the 'whole kingdom. For remedy whereof, and for the better settling, increase, and conti-'nuance of the peace, unity, and tranquillity of this kingdom of Ireland, his Majesty, 'at the humble suit and request of the Lords and Commons in this present parliament 'assembled, is graciously pleased that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the King's 'most excellent Majesty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present 'parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, 'That from and after the first day 'of this session of parliament, it shall and may be lawful to and for all the professors of 'the Roman-Catholic religion, of what degree, condition, or quality, to have, use, and 'enjoy the free and public exercise and profession of the said Roman-Catholic religion, 'and of their several and respective functions therein; without incurring any mulct or 'penalty whatsoever, or being subject to any restraint or incapacity concerning the same; 'any article, or clause, sentence, or provision, in the said last-mentioned acts of parliament, 'or in any other act or acts of parliament, ordinances, law, or usage to the contrary, or in 'any wise, notwithstanding. And be it also further enacted, That neither the said statutes, 'or any other statutes, acts, or ordinances, hereafter made in your Majesty's reign, or in 'the reign of any of your Highness's most noble progenitors or ancestors, and now of 'force in this kingdom; nor all, nor any branch, article, clause, and sentence in them, 'or any of them, contained or specified, shall be of force or validity in this realm, to 'extend to be construed, or adjudged to extend in any wise to inquiet, vex, or molest, 'the professors of the said Roman-Catholic religion, in their persons, lands, hereditaments, 'or goods, for any thing, matter, or cause whatsoever, touching and concerning the free 'and public use, exercise, and enjoyings of their said religion, function, and profession. 'And be it also further enacted and declared by the authority aforesaid, That your Ma-'jesty's Roman-Catholic subjects in the said realm of Ireland, from the first day of this 'session of parliament, shall be, and be taken, deemed, and adjudged capable of all offices 'of trust and advancement, places, degrees, and dignities, and preferment whatsoever, 'within your said realm of Ireland; any acts, statutes, usage, or law to the contrary 'notwithstanding.' And that other acts shall be passed in the said parliament, according 'to the tenour of such agreements or concessions as herein are expressed: and that, in the

'mean time, the said Roman-Catholic subjects, and every of them, shall enjoy the 'full benefit, freedom, and advantage of the said agreements and concessions, and of every 'of them.

'5. *Item*, It is accorded, granted, and agreed by the said Earl, for and in the behalf of 'his Majesty, his heirs and successors, That his Excellency the Lord Marquis of Ormond, 'lord-lieutenant of Ireland, or any other or others, authorized or to be authorized by 'his Majesty, shall not disturb the professors of the Roman-Catholic religion in their 'present possession and continuance of the profession of their said church's jurisdiction, 'or any other the matters aforesaid, in these articles agreed and condescended unto by 'the said Earl; until his Majesty's pleasure be signified, for confirming and publishing 'the grants and agreements hereby articled for, and condescended unto by the said Earl.

'6. *Item*, And the said Earl of Glamorgan doth hereby engage his Majesty's royal 'word and public faith, unto all and singular the professors of the said Roman-Catholic 'religion within the said kingdom of Ireland, for the due observance and performance of 'all and every the articles, grants, and clauses therein contained, and the concessions 'herein mentioned to be performed to them.

'7. *Item*, It is accorded and agreed, That the said public faith of the kingdom shall 'be engaged unto the said Earl, by the said commissioners of the said Confederate Catho- 'licks, for sending ten-thousand men to serve his Majesty, by order and public declaration 'of the general assembly now sitting. And that the supreme council of the said Confe- 'derate Catholicks shall engage themselves to bring the said number of men armed, (the 'one-half with musquets, and the other half with pikes,) unto any port within this realm, 'at the election of the said Earl, and at such time as he shall appoint; to be by him ship- 'ped and transported to serve his Majesty in England, Wales, or Scotland, under the 'command of the said Earl of Glamorgan, as lord-general of the said army. Which 'army is to be kept together in one entire body; and all other the officers and com- 'manders of the said army are to be named by the supreme council of the said Confede- 'rate Catholicks, or by such others, as the general assembly of the said Confederate 'Catholicks of this kingdom shall entrust therewith. In witness whereof, the parties to 'these presents have hereunto interchangeably put their hands and seals, the twenty-fifth 'day of August, 1645.

'GLAMORGAN.'

'Signed, sealed, and delivered, in the
'presence of John Somerset, Jeffery
'Barron, Robert Barry.

'*Copia vera collata fidelitèr cum originali.*'

Thomas Cashell,
Franc. Patricius Waterford & Lismore.

This is a true copy of the original copy, found in the Archbishop of Tuam's carriage, compared by us,

Arthur Annesley.
Rob. King.

Articles of Agreement, made and concluded upon, by and between the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Glamorgan; and in Pursuance, and by Virtue of his Majesty's Authority under his Signet and Royal Signature; bearing Date at Oxford, the twelfth Day of March, in the twentieth Year of his Reign, for and on the Behalf of his most Excellent Majesty, of the one Part; and the Right Honourable Richard Lord Viscount Mountgarret, Lord President of the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholicks of Ireland;

Donnogh Lord Viscount Muskerry, Alexander Mac Donnell, and Nicholas Plunket, Esquires; Sir Robert Talbot, Baronet; Dermot O'Brien, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and Jeffery Brown, Esquires; for and on the Behalf of his Majesty's Roman-Catholic Subjects, and the Catholic Clergy of Ireland, of the other Part.

'*IMprimis*, The said Earl doth grant, conclude, and agree, on the behalf of his 'Majesty, his heirs, and successors, to and with the said Richard Lord Viscount 'Mountgarret, Donnogh Lord Viscount Muskerry; Alexander Mac Donnell and Nicho-'las Plunket, Esquires; Sir Robert Talbot, Baronet; Dermot O'Brien, John Dillon, 'Patrick Darcy, and Jeffery Brown, Esquires, That the Roman-Catholic clergy of the said 'kingdom shall, and may from henceforth for ever, hold and enjoy all and every such 'lands, tenements, tithes, and hereditaments whatsoever, by them respectively enjoyed 'within this kingdom, or by them possessed at any time since the three-and-twentieth of 'October, one-thousand six-hundred forty-one; and all other such lands, tenements, 'tithes and hereditaments belonging to the clergy within this kingdom, other than such 'as are actually enjoyed by his Majesty's Protestant clergy.

'*Item*, It is granted, concluded, and agreed on, by the said Richard Lord Viscount 'Mountgarret, Donnogh Lord Viscount Muskerry, Alexander Mac Donnell, and Nicho-'las Plunket; Sir Robert Talbot, Dermot O'Brien, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and 'Jeffery Brown, on the behalf of the Confederate Roman-Catholicks of Ireland, That two 'parts in three parts to be divided of all the said lands, tithes, and hereditaments what-'soever, mentioned in the preceding article, shall, for three years next ensuing the feast 'of Easter, which shall be in the year of our Lord God 1646, be disposed of, and con-'verted for and to the use of his Majesty's forces, employed or to be employed in his ser-'vice, and the other third part to the use of the said clergy respectively; and so the like 'disposition to be renewed, from three years to three years, by the said clergy, during 'the wars.

'*Item*, It is accorded and agreed, by the said Earl of Glamorgan, for and in the behalf 'of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, That his Excellency the Lord Marquis of 'Ormond, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, or any other or others, authorized or to be autho-'rized by his Majesty, shall not disturb the professors of the Roman-Catholic religion in 'their present possession, and continuance of the possession of their churches, lands, 'tenements, tithes, hereditaments, jurisdiction, or any other the matters aforesaid in these 'articles agreed and condescended to by the said Earl, until his Majesty's pleasure be 'signified for confirming and publishing the grants herein articled for, and condescended 'unto by the said Earl.

'*Item*, It is accorded, granted, and agreed by the said Earl, for and in the behalf of his 'Majesty, his heirs, and successors, That an act shall be passed, in the next parliament to 'be held in this kingdom, according to the tenor of such agreements or concessions, as 'herein are expressed; and that in the mean time, the said clergy shall enjoy the full 'benefit, freedom, and advantage, of the said agreements and concessions, and every of 'them.

'And the said Earl of Glamorgan doth hereby engage his Majesty's royal word and 'public faith unto the said Lord Viscount Mountgarret, and the rest of the said commis-'sioners, for the due observation and performance of all and every the articles, agree-'ments, and concessions herein contained and mentioned, to be performed to the said 'Roman-Catholic clergy, and every of them. In witness whereof, the parties to these 'presents have hereunto interchangeably put their hands and seals, the twenty-fifth day 'of August, *Anno Domini* 1645. 'GLAMORGAN.'

'Signed, sealed, and delivered, in the pre-
'sence of John Sommerset, Jeffery Bar-
'ron, Robert Barry.'

'Whereas, in these articles touching the clergy's livings, the Right-honourable the 'Earl of Glamorgan is obliged, in his Majesty's behalf, to secure the concessions in these 'articles by act of parliament; We, holding that manner of securing those grants, as to 'the clergy's livings, to prove more difficult and prejudicial to his Majesty, than by doing 'thereof, and securing those concessions otherwise, as to the said livings, the said Earl 'undertaking and promising in the behalf of his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, as 'hereby he doth undertake to settle the said concessions, and secure them to the clergy, 'and their respective successors, in another secure way, other than by parliament at pre-'sent, till a fit opportunity be offered for securing the same, do agree and condescend 'thereunto. And this instrument, by his Lordship signed, was, before the perfecting 'thereof, intended to that purpose, as to the said livings; to which purpose we have 'mutually signed this indorsement. And it is further intended, that the Catholic clergy 'shall not be interrupted by parliament, or otherwise, as to the said livings, contrary to 'the meaning of these articles.

'GLAMORGAN.'

Copia vera collata fidelitèr cum originali.

Thomas Cashell.
Fra. Patricius Waterford & Lismore.

This is a true copy of the original copy found in the Archbishop of Tuam's carriage, compared by us,

Arthur Annesley.
Robert King.

'I Edward, Earl of Glamorgan, do protest and swear, faithfully to acquaint the King's 'most excellent Majesty with the proceedings of this kingdom, in order to his service, 'and to the endearment of this nation; and punctual performance of what I have, as 'authorized by his Majesty, obliged myself to see performed; and, in default, not to per-'mit the army, entrusted to my charge, to adventure itself, or any considerable part 'thereof, until conditions from his Majesty, and, by his Majesty, be performed.

'September 3, 1645. GLAMORGAN.'

Copia vera concordans de verbo ad verbum fidelitèr cum originali.

Tho. Cashel.

This is a true copy of the original copy, found in the Archbishop of Tuam's carriage, compared by us,

Arthur Annesley,
Robert King.

A Copy of a Letter in Cipher.

Honourable Sir;

THERE are some passages, which we omitted in our letters to the Committee, because we judge it expedient to express them in cipher; the rebels grew higher in their demands, since the King's affairs have been in a declining condition; which, with their abusing the King's . . . . . and authority, in the taking our garrisons in Connaught, and turning the English out of some of them, hath so incensed the Marquis of Ormond, that he desires but power and opportunity to break off all treaty, and fall upon them; and, in order thereunto, we have had an overture, by one that came from him to us, for the British and Scotish forces to join with him against the rebels, upon these conditions:

First, That the treaty, between England and Scotland, should be observed.

Secondly, That the covenant should not be pressed upon the forces under his Lordship's command; and that it should be left free, for those of them that would, to use the Common-prayer-book, and the established government, till the King and Parliament settle some other.

Thirdly, That the British army be left to the chief governor for the time being; he appointing them a governor of their own choosing.

Fourthly, That every party, out of his estate or charge, be restored.

Fifthly, That none be sent out of the kingdom, without consent on both parts.

Sixthly, That some ammunition be left to them of Dublin.

Seventhly, For our security, Drogheda should be given into our hands; we giving assurance, that use should not be made of it against his Lordship.

Eighthly, Both parties do swear to perform. We suppose some good effect might be produced from these beginnings; but, without the Scots commissioners, we have no power, and, therefore, expect your directions therein, and desire that in the mean while, they may be kept secret; for if any notice of a transaction, in this kind, come to the rebels, it would hazard the putting Dublin, and those parts, into their hands: the proposition is the more considerable, because your armies here will much want a port in Leimpster for a magazine; but we shall do nothing in it till we hear from you, but what may keep them on. Having nothing more to advertise you of at present, we remain

Your humble Servants,

Belfast, this nineteenth of November, 1645.

ARTHUR ANNESLEY.
ROBERT KING.
WILLIAM BEALE.

If you think fit to proceed, we doubt not but to bring the business unto far better conditions than are proposed.

SIR;

THE same letter, which we have written to the Committee of both kingdoms, we have also written to the Lords and Commons, and, if either give redress to the wrongs complained of, it is well: what we wrote to you, of the nineteenth of this month, in character, might as well have been done with less trouble; for Master Galbreth, that delivered to us the same, under an injunction of great secrecy, hath since communicated it to most of the colonels of the British army; so that it was evidently a plot, to draw this army, under the command of the Marquis. I was jealous of it at first, and we took bonds of him to appear before the Committee, when the Scots commissioners shall land; but it was not thought fit to commit him till then, because there be divers other malignants, whom we intend, at that time, to lay up together, who, perhaps, would not appear then, if there were any very strict course taken now.

We think the strength of the army stands well affected, but both armies have known malignants in them, who being removed, there will be no danger. Since my former, Sir Patrick Wemys is come from Dublin, and brought his whole family with him. I think he hath done his part exceeding well, and, if it be not effectually prosecuted, you shall plainly know where the fault lies. We want our money and meal extremely; without them we are, as it were, wind-bound; we intend to visit the Major-general shortly. He saith he hath no commission to command the army; but you may see, by his warrant that we have sent to the Committee, he wants not a commission to levy money. Our letters lie here, for want of a vessel to waft them over; nor have we heard a word thence, since our landing; but I will forbear that further trouble, till there be more cause.

Your most humble and most affectionate Servant,

Belfast, Nov. 26, 1645. ROBERT KING.

POSTSCRIPT.—Sir; You will receive, herewith, copies of such papers as were found in the Archbishop of Tuam's carriage; they are of very high consequence, for they shew you what his Majesty grants the Papists here, and how far the peace with the Rebels is advanced, be pleased to read them I pray you.

The News from Sligo.

ON the Lord's-day, October the seventeenth, 1645, the rebels (before the Ulster forces from the Laggan were come to Sligo) surrounded the town, with about two-thousand foot, and three-hundred horse. The garrison, seeing little hopes of the Ulstermen's advance, not knowing they were then at Bundrous, conceived it of absolute necessity to hazard the fighting with the rebels with their own strength, and Sir William Cole's troop, rather than to lose themselves, and the out-garrisons; which were, in a manner, all blocked up, by the rebels lying between them and Sligo. Captain Richard Coot, and Captain Cole, commanded the horse, being near two-hundred; and, after some skirmishing with the rebels' horse, fell, pell-mell, into their several divisions of foot, routed them, and pursued them; and Lieutenant-colonel Sanderson, sallying out of the town with his foot, and Sir Francis Hamilton coming, in the nick of time, with his troop, they had all execution upon the rebels for five miles; and, at the end thereof, left slain the popish Archbishop of Tuam, the rebels' president of Connaught, for a memorable mark. They took one-hundred and fifty horse, with their arms, their tents, and all other baggage and ammunition, and had much spoil; several colours of horse and foot, and many officers of note, to the number of about twenty-eight, prisoners; about two-hundred killed; and our loss but of one man, and six hurt. Many more of the rebels might have been killed, but that our foot left the chace, and fell to plunder.

Their whole army being thus defeated, one-thousand foot and three troops of horse, that were coming to join with them, upon the news thereof, returned. And our men, with the Laggan army joined with them, have since entered the barony of Tereragh, and taken thirteen castles there, well provided of corn, which was our chief want, and like to be the loss of that whole province, if God, in this miraculous manner, had not supplied it. The oxen, which drew the enemy's waggons, drew our ordnance, for the taking in of the said castles. And now our men have good quarters for this winter, about the said castles, which keep the country under contribution.

The Archbishop of Tuam[3] was a principal agent in these wars, and one of the supreme council of Kilkenny. He attended their army at this time, to visit his diocess, and to put in execution an order of the arrears of his bishoprick, granted to him from the council at Kilkenny; which order, together with the Pope's bull, and several other letters of correspondence, between him and his agents from Rome, Paris, and several parts of this kingdom, were found about him. The particulars of which letters, in order to the Irish affairs, are as followeth:

'That the Pope would not, at the first, engage himself, in the sending of a nuncio for 'Ireland, till the Irish agents had fully satisfied him, that the establishment of the Catho-'lic religion was a thing feasible, and attainable in this kingdom; whereupon, he was 'content to solicit their cause with Florence, Venice, &c. and also to delegate Farmano, 'his nuncio, to attend this kingdom.' Who, the said nuncio, after some delays in France, was, at last, expedited thence, by express order from the Pope; and he arrived at the river of Kilmare, in a frigate of twenty-one pieces, twenty-six Italians of his retinue, secretary Belinges, and divers regular and secular priests, October the twenty-second. The Irish are much encouraged with these supplies which he hath brought; the list whereof, found about the Archbishop, is:

'*Imprimis*, Two-thousand musquets, four-thousand bandeliers, two-thousand swords, 'five-hundred petronels, and twenty-thousand pounds of powder, (all which arrived in ano-'ther barque by itself at Brook-haven, October the tenth,) together with five or six desks, 'or small trunks of Spanish gold, the sum uncertain.'

These letters likewise inform us, that the King's hopes are from the Irish nation; and if

[3] [President of Connaught.]

they desert him, he is like to be in a hard condition very speedily. Several other things they contain, concerning Prince Rupert, Colonel Legg, the King's losses at Bristol and Chester. Something there is, also, of the treaty of peace. "Ormond (says one) is found a Machiavellian;" Dillon, Muskerry, Talbot, are for peace; "*Conditionibus quibuscunque iniquis*," says another; "Our public affairs are *in viâ, non in termino*," says a third; the propositions high, the answers high and sly. There are some mysteries of state in this business, which I cannot commit to paper; yet, "morally certain it is, there will be peace," saith a fourth. It seems, also, there were some differences amongst the rebels themselves, as between Muskerry and Brown; insomuch, that Brown is dispatched from Dublin to Kilkenny, between Castle-haven and Preston; insomuch, that father Scrampe went from the supreme council to reconcile them. There was also a private letter, of suspicious informations, against Dominico Spinola, an agent in Ireland; wherein he is said to hold correspondence with the Queen of England in France, and to be a lover of their enemies.

Prisoners at Sligo.

Great Morah ne Dom. O' Flaherty, lieutenant-colonel to Richard Bourk, cousin-german to the Earl of Clanrickard, and his next heir.

John Gerdy, lieutenant-colonel to Sir Tibbot Bourk, eldest son to the Lord of Mayoe.

Richard Bourk, major to Richard Bourk aforesaid.

Captain William O' Shaghnise, brother to Sir Roger O' Shaghnise.

Captain Garret Dillon, son to Sir Lucas Dillon, who saith, that his father was shot in the thigh.

Captain Costologh, with divers other inferior officers.

The titular Archbishop of Tuam was slain.

Captain Brown, brother to Jeffery Brown, the lawyer, who brought one-hundred musquets from Galloway, was also killed.

A true and fuller Relation from Ireland of the Service performed by the Men of Inniskillin, of Sir William Cole's Regiment and Troop at Lowtherstowne, upon Thursday, November the Twenty-seventh, 1645, about One o'Clock in the Night; wherein, they did not only, by the Providence of God, rescue their Prey, but, having there routed a Party of four or five hundred Men of the Rebels, did likewise put the whole Army of Owen Mac Arte O'Neale to Flight, viz.

SIR William Cole, upon Sunday morning, November the twenty-third, received a letter from Sir Charles Coot, lord-president of Connaught; who, to satisfy his Lordship's desires, commanded his troop to march unto him, to be at Sligo, on Thursday night, November the twenty-seventh, to join in some expedition, by his Lordship's orders, against the rebels in that province.

The greatest part of his troop, with their horses, were then in the island of Baawe, sixteen miles northward from Inniskillin; who, upon his notice, did march away, upon Monday, November the twenty-fourth, together with almost all the foot-soldiers of two companies of his regiment, that quartered with their cattle, and many of the cows of Inniskillin in that island, unto Balleshannon, which was their place of rendezvouz.

The cornet of that troop, upon Tuesday, November the twenty-fifth, with about twenty horsemen, marched from Inniskillin to the westward of Loghern, with resolution to lodge, that night, by the way, within fifteen miles of Sligo: but a little snow falling, altered their determination, and so took their course to Balleshannon, without appointment; God, in his high providence, for the advancement of his own glory, and our good, directing them thither; where, as soon as they got their horses shod, they were still hastening towards

Sligo, whither sundry of their foot-companies aforesaid, on horseback, rid before them: and a great part of the troop were advanced as far as Bundrowis, where the alarm overtook them, with orders to return, to resist the enemy, to the number of four or five hundred men, of Owen Mac Arte's army, under the conduct of several captains, led by Roury Mac Guire in chief; who, upon Wednesday morning, November the twenty-sixth, being provided with two of our own boats, by the treachery of one Bryan O'Harran, and others of our bosom-snakes, protected Sinons[4], had entered the said island of Baawe, at the south-end of it, and was burning, spoiling, and preying their goods; wherein they prevailed, even to the stripping naked of all our women, plundering and taking theirs, and our then absent soldiers' clothes, victuals, and arms away.

That party of our horsemen speedily returning to Balleshannon, whence, with the cornet, the rest of the said troop, some of the foot-soldiers on horseback, and Captain John Folliot, accompanied with as many horsemen as he could make, hastened towards the north-end of that island; which is distant, from the south-end thereof, three English miles. But, the enemy having driven the prey of cows, horses, and mares, forth at the south-end, our horsemen, with Captain Folliot, followed by Termon-castle; whence they marched through very inaccessible woods and bogs, in the night, to the Cash (distant sixteen miles from Balleshannon), being the first place that they could guide themselves by the track of the enemy and prey; which they still pursued, with cheerfulness, to Lowtherstown; where, overtaking them about one o'clock in the morning of November the twenty-seventh, 1645, their trumpet sounding a charge, they followed it home so resolutely, that, after a fierce confliction, in a short time, they routed the enemy, and had the execution of them for a mile and a half; slew many of them in the place, took some prisoners, rescued most part of their prey, recovered their own soldiers, that were then the enemy's prisoners, with some of the rebels' knapsacks to boot: which sudden and unexpected fright did so amaze Owen Mac Arte, and his army, consisting of about two-thousand foot, and two-hundred horse, (as prisoners do inform,) who, after they had made their bravado on the top of an hill, within a mile of Inniskillin, in the evening of November the twenty-sixth, (to keep the town from issuing forth, to resist or stay the prey,) encamped, that night, at Ballenamallaght, within four miles of this town; that they all, in a most fearful and confused manner, ran away to the mountains, so vehemently scared and affrighted, that their van thought their own rear were my troops, and their rear likewise imagined, those that escaped the fight, by flight from Lowtherstown, to have been also my party that pursued them; whereby, their mantles, cloaks, and all that could be an impediment to their more speedy flight, were cast upon the ground, and left behind them; and so continued, until they passed the mountains of Slewbagha into the county of Monaghan, where they are quartered upon the county Creaghts, which lies from Arthur Blaney's house, and from Monaghan Duffee, near the town of Monaghan, all along to Drogheda, consisting of the banished inhabitants of Tyrone, Armagh, Monaghan, and Lowth.

My troop returned, with Captain Folliot, in safety, (praised be God!) without hurt of man or beast, save one horse of Lieutenant Edward Graham's, that was shot and killed under him. And having put the said prey again into the said island, upon Friday, November the twenty-eighth, they marched to Balleshannon; whence, again, they came home to Inniskillin, on the north-side of Loghern, the thirtieth of November, 1645.

Among those that were slain, the grandson of Sir Tirlagh Mac Henry O'Neale was one. One captain killed. Two lieutenants killed. And, I find, there is some man, of more eminent note than any of these, killed; but, as yet, cannot learn certainly who it is. Lieutenant Tirlagh O'Moylan, of Captain Awney O'Cahan's company, taken prisoner; who, upon examination, saith, "That Inchiquin hath given a great blow, of late, unto Castlehaven and Preston, in their quarters near Yoghel;" and also saith, "That the intent of this army was, that if they could come off with our said prey, without check, they purposed

[4] [Sinon was an agent of dissimulation from the Greeks to the Trojans, through whose perfidious direction the latter were induced to admit the fatal wooden horse within the walls of Troy.]

then to have besieged this town, and, according as fortune favoured them, to have proceeded against the Lagan, and other places of Ulster."

And yet I find, by the answer of some others of the prisoners, that, by direction from the supreme council of Ireland, this army of Owen Mac Arte's are to serve in nature of a running party, to weaken our forces of Inniskillin, Laggan, and Claneby's, by sudden incursions, to kill, spoil, and prey us, upon all occasions of advantage, according as, by their successes therein, they shall assume encouragement to themselves to go forwards against us, but especially against Inniskillin, which they conceive is worst able to resist their attempts.

Captain Folliot had sixteen horsemen, with four of Mannor Hamilton's men, and four of Castle-Termon horsemen, that joined very fortunately in this service, with my troop; for which God Almighty be ever glorified and praised by

WILLIAM COLE.

'*Die Lunæ*, 12 *Januarii*, 1645.

'Ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, That the Committee of Lords and 'Commons for Irish affairs do take care, that the relation of the late good success in Ire-'land be forthwith printed.

'H. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.'

An humble Remonstrance of the Batchelors, in and about London, to the honourable House; in Answer to a late Paper, intitled, 'A Petition of the Ladies for Husbands.' [1]

London: printed for, and sold by the Bookselling-Batchelors in St. Paul's Churh-yard.

[Quarto, containing Four Pages.]

Gentlemen,

YOU are the sanctuary of the oppressed; and it is natural for the subject, whenever he finds himself unjustly treated, to fly to his representatives for a redress. You that have so effectually mortified arbitrary power, even in a great monarch, will certainly never cherish it in a lower station; and this inclines us to hope, that the Ladies will not find that encouragement at your hands, which their vanity prompted them to expect. Though their petition to you speaks in a very sublime style; yet for all that they can assume a different sort of language in other places. There they not only dispute the superiority with the men, but even pretend to the right of conquest over them: for their grandmother Eve, they say, triumphed over the weakness of our great-grandfather Adam in Paradise; and no doubt on it, had insisted upon that article before you, but that your House, last week, so punished the unpalateable doctrine of conquest. To disarm them of this illegal pretence, which is prejudicial to the liberty and privilege of our sex; we have examined all the old records, but cannot find the least appearance to colour such a plea. At present, we shall dismiss this point, to descend into the particulars of their petition, and leave unto you, at last, to decide the controversy, now depending between us.

[1] [See p. 326.]

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They complain, that the holy state of matrimony has of late years been very irreverently spoken of; that it has been rhymed to death in sonnet, and murdered in effigie, upon the stage. Now we would not be guilty of that ill-breeding, to say that the Ladies, all along, found the matter, and the satirist only found the words. However, we are assured from all hands, that those persons, who have taken the greatest pains to expose that holy state, were all of them *married:* to prove which, we could name a famous abdicating poet[2], if we were minded; and we hope the Ladies do not expect we should either defend or condemn them, till we are married ourselves, and consequently in a capacity to judge on which side the truth lies. At present we know no more of matrimony, than a mere land-man knows of the sea; every gazette tells him of abundance of wrecks; but for all that, he will venture to sea in hopes of making fifty *per cent.* by exchange of his commodities.

But, to make amends for this melancholy scene, they very devoutly thank heaven, (in the next place,) that their sex found the benefit of the clergy; when the laity had, in a manner, abandoned them. Pray, Gentlemen, observe what returns of gratitude the Ladies have made their best and surest cards the church-men, for this their loving kindness. One would have thought they might, at least, have allowed their ancient friends the first choice of the vintage: it is no more than what the French do to the Scotch merchants at Bourdeaux, out of respect to their old alliance; but we find no such thing. Old superannuated house-keepers with a maidenhead defunct, and farmers' daughters, are the best presents they give the poor church; so they, on this account, serve the Christian parsons, as their predecessors, the pagan priests, did their deities, who used to compliment Jupiter with the guts and garbage, and reserved the remainder of the bullock for themselves. After all, whether this happens by their own fault or no, the Levites are made but a civiler sort of scavengers to carry off the dust and rubbish of the sex, so that the Ladies may spare their thanks to them if they please; for it is we, of the laity only, that are in their debt for this great civility.

After this, Gentlemen, the Ladies are pleased to avouch, that if it had not been for a certain damned liquor, called wine; the men, by the mere impulse of nature, had been long since reduced to their duty. Here, by the word duty, they plainly insinuate a conquest; and therefore we humbly beg that their petition may be sent to the Palace-yard, and there served *secundùm usum Sarum.* In the mean time, it is a mystery to us, what makes the Ladies vent their spleen so furiously upon poor wine; which, by the bye, never meant the least harm in its life to the god of love's subjects, unless they intend to monopolize all the drinking to themselves; or else, since their sex has been so familiar with brandy (blasphemed by the name of cold tea), a jury of red-nosed midwives have pronounced wine to be a feeble impotent creature, in comparison of that. They wonder, why the men should scruple to marry, out of fear of cuckoldom; and yet not scruple to drink stummed wine for fear of a fever. To which we reply, that the case is extremely different: not one man in an hundred gets a fever by drinking; at the same time, scarce one in a hundred, that is married, escapes cuckoldom: and, Gentlemen, is not that great odds?

They would have you pass it into a law, that every man should be obliged to marry, immediately after twenty-one; and in case he refuses so to do, to pay a good round sum yearly for his liberty: though we are all of us agreed that one-and-twenty is somewhat of the soonest to begin at. For why should a man be forbidden to travel upon the road, unless he sets out exactly at sun-rising? Yet, out of complaisance to the Ladies, we are willing to let it pass, though we are certain that half the racers will be foundered before thirty; provided always (and to be sure, they will never mislike that word, either in an act of parliament, or out of an act of parliament), that all virgins, or reputed virgins, who are past the age of one-and-twenty, and have wherewithal to set up some honest, well-chined

[2] [Probably Dryden; whose attachment to King James and his religion, yielded an opportunity for Shadwell to fill the laureat-throne.]

younger brother; but tarry in expectation of striking a country-squire or alderman's son, shall be likewise amerced the same sum for their maidenheads. The Ladies perhaps will here object, that it is hard to be taxed for an invisible estate: but we say, No. We can name them a hundred tradesmen here in the city, that since the Revolution, have paid for what they never had; those, for instance, that have been rated at four-hundred pounds, when they were not really worth one; and yet, so valuable a thing is reputation (whether we deserve it or no), lost nothing by the bargain.

They would have none excused from marriage, but only the impotent and frigid; which, by the bye, Gentlemen, is full as severe, as if you should vote that all must troop to the wars, but the parsons; and desire you to erect a court in every county, consisting of half a score experienced matrons, who shall have full authority to examine all persons, whom they suspect to carry clipped money about them, for fear they should put upon their spouses; when it is not in their power to change it. Pray not altogether so hasty, fair Ladies. Let your court have some men in it, and not all women: then we may expect to have justice done us; for experienced matrons are too much a party concerned, to be trusted by themselves. We demand, whether it be convenient, that only vintners and ale-drapers should have the sole right of determining measures. Vintners never think the measures small enough; but it may so happen, that your experienced matrons (*Anglicè*, your midwives) may be of a different opinion, and so think no measure large enough. Gentlemen, do but remember the Tryers under the late reign of Fanaticism; they were a parcel of inquisitor-divines set up by the then-no government, to license all such persons that were to be dispatched into the vineyard. Now these conscientious judges, if they had a quarrel to a man, certainly rejected him, and put him by; though, perhaps, he was master of a more unexceptionable talent, than several more that had passed the pulpit-master before him. This needs no application.

They complain of the excessive multitude of misses and harlots, in and about the town; who, as they express it, divert the course of those streams that would otherwise run in the regular channel of matrimony. It is a sad truth, we confess it, the number of these interlopers is very grievous; and yet it is as sad a truth, that the petitioning Ladies have occasioned it. Let them but leave quarrelling about jointures, and carry a little more Christian complaisance about them, and the other fry would disappear in a moment: for whores in a state, are like copper farthings in the way of trade, only used for the convenience of readier change. But, though these obdurate females are really accessory to the great increase of misses, they would have every person of quality who keeps one, in his own defence, pay a good swinging fine to the government. Is this reasonable or fair? Would Governor Walker[3], do ye think, have done like a gentleman, if he had fined his heroes of Londonderry for feeding on horse-flesh, contrary to the statute, when they had nothing else to help themselves with? It is the same in all cases, where there is no choice but downright necessity.

They would have you enact, (since they find wine is so potent a rival,) that none but married men should have the privilege of entering into a tavern; that is, modestly speaking, of being drunk. With all our hearts, Gentlemen; provided always, that none but married women shall be licensed to appear at the theatre, chocolate-house, Whitehall, or the Park; or if they do, that any vigorous cavalier shall have full liberty to carry them off, without incurring the fate of poor Sir John Johnson[4].

To present you at one view, with the merits of the cause. The Ladies are weary of lying alone, and so are we. They would fain be advantageously married, and so would your

[3] [George Walker, D. D. who rendered himself conspicuously eminent by his skill and valour in defending Londonderry, when besieged by James II. The garrison was reduced to such extremity as to use the flesh of horses, dogs, rats, &c. for food.]

[4] [Who was hanged for assisting Captain James Campbell in the forcible marriage of Miss Mary Wharton, a rich heiress. See "A brief history of the memorable passages and transactions that have attended the life and untimely death of Sir John Johnston, who was executed at Tyburn, Dec. 23, 1690, for stealing Mrs. Mary Wharton."]

humble servants. The quarrel therefore, on their side, is unjustly begun. They look upon us to be their adversaries, whereas we have the same kind inclinations to their sex, as any of our forefathers; the same desires, the same wishes; by the same token, we heartily believe they have equal beauty, and equal, if not superior charms, to any of their sex before them. But as, in a long tract of time, innovations cannot fail to start up; so the Ladies, either presuming on their own strength, or on the inadvertency of the men, have trumped up several new doctrines upon us. A courtship, as the Ladies are pleased to order it, is now the greatest penance any man in the world can undergo. We must swear as many oaths, as would serve one of his Majesty's largest garrisons for a twelve-month, till we are believed. We must treat them like goddesses, lie prostrate at their feet, make presents so expensive and numerous; that, perhaps, the wife's portion will scarce make amends for what the mistress extorted from us. Because Jacob could serve two apprenticeships for his Rachel, they imagine that we must do the same; not considering, that the race of the Methuselahs and patriarchs is quite extinct, and that this Old-Testament-lover, were he in our circumstances, who begin to decay at thirty, would have taken wiser and better measures.

Gentlemen,

These are our sentiments upon this subject: and, as we do not doubt the justice of this honourable House, so we little question, but that our cause will prevail. In a word, let love be encouraged, and cruelty and coyness be punished,

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

A true Description, or rather a Parallel between Cardinal Wolsey, Archbishop of York, and William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Printed in the Year 1641.

[Quarto, containing Eight Pages.]

THERE be two primates, or archbishops, throughout England and Wales, Canterbury and York, both metropolitans; York of England, Canterbury of all England; for so their titles run. To the primate of Canterbury are subordinate thirteen bishops in England, and four in Wales; but the primate of York hath at this time but two suffragans in England, namely, the bishops of Carlisle and Durham; though he had in King Lucius's days, who was the first Christian king of this our nation, all the prelacy of Scotland within his jurisdiction: Canterbury commanding all from this side the river Trent to the furthest limits of Wales, and York commanding all from beyond the Trent to the utmost bounds of Scotland. And hitherto their prime archiepiscopal prerogatives may, not improperly, be paralleled.

In the time of Henry the First, were potent two famous prelates, Anselm of Canterbury, who durst contest against the King; and Girald of York, who denied to give place, or any precedence at all to Anselm. Thomas Becket, who was first chancellor, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, in the reign of Henry the Second, bore himself so insolently against the King his sovereign, that it cost him his life; being slain in the church, as he was going to the altar. But, above all, the pride, tyranny, and oppression of the bishop of Ely, in the reign of Richard the First, wants example; who was at once chan-

cellor of England and regent of the land, and held in his hand at once the two archbishopricks of York and Canterbury; who never rode abroad without a thousand horse for his guard to attend him, whom we may well parallel with the now great Cardinal[1] of France: and need he had of such a train to keep himself from being pulled to pieces by the oppressed prelates and people, equally extorting from the clergy and laity; yet he, in the end, disguising himself in the shape of an old woman, thinking to pass the sea at Dover, where he waited on the strand, a pinnace being hired for that purpose, he was discovered by a sailor, and brought back to abide a most severe sentence. Stephen Lancthon, archbishop of Canterbury, in the time of King John, would not absolve the land (being for six years together indicted by the Pope), till the King had paid unto him, and the rest of the bishops, eighteen-thousand marks in gold. And thus I could continue the pride of the prelacy, and their great tyranny, through all the kings' reigns: but I now fall upon the promised parallel betwixt Thomas Wolsey, archbishop of York and cardinal, and William Laud, doctor in divinity, and archbishop of Canterbury.

They were both the sons of mean and mechanic men, Wolsey of a butcher, Laud of a cloth-worker; the one born in Ipswich (three-score miles), the other in Reading (thirty miles distant from the city of London); both of them very toward, forward, and pregnant grammar-scholars, and of singular apprehensions; as suddenly rising to the first form in the school. From thence, being young, they were removed to the University of Oxford; Wolsey admitted into Maudlin College, Laud into St. John's; and as they were of different times, so they were of different statures; yet either of them well shaped, according to their proportions. Wolsey was of a competent tallness, Laud of a less size, but might be called a pretty man, as the other a proper man; both of ingenious and acute aspects, as may appear by this man's face, the other's picture. In their particular colleges they were alike proficients, both as active of body as brain, serious at their private studies, and equally frequent in the schools; eloquent orators, either to write, speak, or dictate; dainty disputants; well versed in philosophy, both moral, physical, and metaphysical, as also in the mathematicks, and neither of them strangers to the muses, both taking their degrees according to their time; and, through the whole academy, Sir Wolsey was called the 'Boy-bachelor,' and Sir Laud the 'Little Bachelor.'

The main study, that either of them fixed upon, was theology; for though they were conversant in all the other arts and sciences, yet that they solely professed, and by that came their future preferment. Wolsey, being bachelor, was made schoolmaster of Maudlin-school in Oxford; but Laud came in time to be master of St. John's College in Oxford; therein transcending the other, as also in his degrees of master of arts, bachelor of divinity, and doctor of divinity; when the other, being suddenly called from the rectorship of his school, to be resident upon a country benefice, took no more academical degrees, than the first of bachelor; and, taking a strange affront by one Sir Amias Paulet, a knight in the country, who set him in the stocks, he endured likewise divers other disasters; but that disgrace he made the knight pay dearly for, after he came to be invested in his dignity. Briefly, they came both to stand in the prince's eye. But, before I proceed any further, let me give the courteous reader this modest *caveat*, That he is to expect from me only a parallel of their acts and fortune, but no legend of their lives: it therefore briefly thus followeth.

Both these from academicks coming to turn courtiers; Wolsey, by his diligent waiting, came to insinuate himself into the breasts of the privy-counsellors. His first employment was in an ambassy to the Emperor, which was done by such fortunate, and almost incredible expedition, that by that only he grew into first grace with King Henry the Seventh, father to King Henry the Eighth. Laud (by the mediation and means, wrought by friends) grew first into favour with King James, of sacred memory, father to our now royal sovereign King Charles. They were both at first the king's chaplains; Wolsey's first preferment was to be dean of Lincoln, of which he was after bishop. Laud's first ecclesias-

[1] [Richelieu.]

tical dignity was to be dean of St. David's, of which he was after bishop also. And both these prelatical courtiers came also to be privy-counsellors. Wolsey, in the beginning of Henry the Eighth's reign, was made bishop of Tournay in France; soon after, bishop of Lincoln; and before his full consecration, by the death of the incumbent, was ended, translated to the archbishoprick of York, and all this within the compass of a year. Laud, though not so suddenly, yet very speedily, was from St. David's removed to London, and from London to Canterbury, and this in the beginning of the reign of King Charles. Thus, you see, they were both archbishops; and as Laud was never cardinal, so Wolsey was never Canterbury.

But, in some things, the Cardinal much exceeded Canterbury; as in holding all these bishopricks at once, when the other was never possessed but of one at one time. The Cardinal also held the bishoprick of of Winchester, of Worcester, Bath and Wells, with a fourth, and two abbotships *in commendam*. He had, besides, an hat sent him from Rome, and made himself cardinal, that, being before but York, he might over-top Canterbury. But our William, howsoever he might have the will, yet never attained to that power, and, howsoever he could not compass a hat from Rome, yet made the means to have a consecrated mitre sent from Rome; which was so narrowly watched, that it came not to his wearing. Moreover, the Cardinal extorted the chancellorship from Canterbury; but we find not that Canterbury ever either intrenched upon the jurisdiction, or took any thing away from the archbishoprick of York.

Wolsey likewise far out-went him in his numerous train, and the nobleness thereof; being waited on, not only by the prime gentry, but even of earls, and earls' sons, who were listed in his family, and attended him at his table: as also in his hospitality, his open house being made free for all comers, with the rare and extraordinary state of his palace, in which there were daily up-rising and down-lying a thousand persons, who were his domestic servants. Moreover, in his many entertainments of the Kings with masks, and mighty sumptuous banquets, his sumptuous buildings, the prince-like state he carried in his foreign ambassages, into France, to the Emperor, &c. in which he spent more coin in the service of his King, for the honour of his country, and to uphold the credit of his cardinal's cap, than would, for the time, have paid an army-royal. But I answer in behalf of our Canterbury, that he had never that means or employment, by which he might make so vain-glorious a show of his pontificality, or archiepiscopal dignity: for unbounded minds may be restrained within narrow limits, and therefore the parallel may something hold in this too.

They were also in their judicial courts equally tyrannous; the one in the Chancery, the other in the High-commission; both of them at the Council-board, and in the Star-chamber, alike draconically supercilious. Blood drawn from Dr. Bonner's head, by the fall of his cross, presaged the Cardinal's downfall. Blood drawn from the ears of Burton, Prynne, and Bastwick[2], was a prediction of Canterbury's ruin; the first accidental, the last premeditate and of purpose. The Cardinal would have expelled all the Lutherans and Protestants out of the realm; this, our Canterbury, would have exiled both our Dutch and French church out of the kingdom. The Cardinal took main delight in his fool Patch; and Canterbury took much delight in his party-coloured cats[3]. The Cardinal used for his agents, Bonner and others; Canterbury, for his ministers, Duck, Lamb, and others. They both favoured the see of Rome, and respected his Holiness in it. The Cardinal did profess it publicly; the Archbishop did reverence it privately. The Cardinal's ambition was to be pope; the Archbishop strove to be patriarch: they both bid fairly for it, yet lost their aim; and far easier it is for men to descend, than to ascend.

The Cardinal, as I have said, was very ambitious; the Archbishop was likewise of the same mind, though better moulded, and of a more politic brain; having a close and more

[2] [See the present Volume, p. 12.]

[3] [This passage gives much support to the opinion of Mr. Douce, that fools were formerly nick-named Patch, from their parti-coloured dress. From Heywood's Epigrams and Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, it appears, that the Lord-Cardinal had a pair of fools whose real names were Sexten and Williams, but both were called Patch. See Illustr. of Shakspeare, &c. vol. i. 257.]

reserved judgment in all his observations, and more fluent in his delivery. The Cardinal was very curious in his attire and ornament of his body, and took great delight in his train, and other his servants, for their rich apparel: the Archbishop's attire was neat and rich, but not so gaudy as the Cardinal's was; yet he took as much felicity in his gentlemen's rich apparel, especially those that waited on his person, as ever the Cardinal did, though other men paid for them; and if all men had their own, and every bird her feather, some of them would be as bare as those that profess themselves to be of the sect of the Adamites. To speak truth, the Archbishop's men were all given to covetousness and wantonness, that I never heard of were in the Cardinal's men.

As the Cardinal was sumptuous in his buildings, as that of Whitehall, Hampton-court, &c. as also in laying the foundation of two famous colleges; the one at Ipswich, where he was born, the other at Oxford, where he had his breeding; so Christ-church, which he left unfinished, Canterbury hath since repaired; and wherein he hath come short of him in building, though he hath bestowed much on St. John's College, yet he hath outgone him in his bounty of brave voluminous books, being fourscore in number, late sent to the Bodleian or University Library: farther, as the Cardinal was chancellor of Oxford. And as the Cardinal, by plucking down of small abbeys, to prepare stone for his greater structures, opened a gap for the King, by which he took the advantage utterly to raze and demolish the rest: so Canterbury, by giving way for one bishop to have a temporal trial, and to be convicted; not by the clergy, but the laity; left the same path open both for himself, and the rest of the episcopacy; of which, there before scarce remained a precedent.

I have paralleled them in their dignities; I will conclude with a word or two concerning their downfalls. The Cardinal fell into the displeasure of his king, Canterbury into an extreme hatred of the commons. Both were arrested of high-treason; the Cardinal by process, Canterbury by parliament. The Cardinal at Keywood-castle, near York; Canterbury at Westminster, near London; both their falls were speedy and sudden. The Cardinal sat as this day in the High-court of Chancery, and within two days after was confined to his house; Canterbury as this day sat at the Council-board, and in the Upper House of Parliament, and the same day was committed to the Black-Rod, and from thence to the Tower. The Cardinal died at Leicester, some say of a flux; Canterbury remains still in the Tower, only sick of a fever: *Vanitas vanitatum omnia vanitas.*

A Letter from the Nobility, Barons, and Commons of Scotland, in the Year 1320, yet extant, under all the Seals of the Nobility, directed to Pope John: Wherein they declare their firm Resolutions to adhere to their King, Robert the Bruce[1], as the Restorer of the Safety, and Liberties of the People, and as having the true Right of Succession. But, withal, they notwithstanding declare, That if the King should offer to subvert their Civil Liberties; they will disown him as an Enemy, and choose another to be King for their own Defence. Translated from the Original, in Latin, as it is inserted by Sir George Mackenzy of Rosehaugh, in his Observations on Precedency, &c.

[Quarto, containing Eight Pages.]

SANCTISSIMO patri in Christo, ac domino, Joanni, Divinâ Providentiâ, sacrosanctæ Romanæ, et universalis ecclesiæ summo pontifici, filii sui humiles et devoti, Duncanus, comes de Fyfe, Thomas Ranulphi, comes Moraviæ, dominus Manniæ et Vallis Annandiæ, Patricus de Dumbar, comes Marchiæ, Malisius, comes de Strathern, Malcolmus, comes de Levenox, Willielmus, comes de Ross, Magnus, comes de Cathaniæ et Orcadiæ, et Willielmus, comes de Sutherlandiæ, Walterus, senescallus Scotiæ, Willielmus de Soules, buttellarius Scotiæ, Jacobus, dominus de Douglas, Rogerus de Moubray, David, dominus de Brechine, David de Graham, Ingelramus de Umfravile, Joannes de Monteith, custos comitatûs de Monteith, Alexander Frazier, Gilbertus de Haiâ, constabularius Scotiæ, Robertus de Keith, mariscallus Scotiæ, Henricus de Sanctoclaro, Joannes de Graham, David de Lindsey, Willielmus Oliphant, Patricus de Graham, Joannes de Fenton, Willielmus de Abernethy, David de Weyms, Willielmus de Montefixo, Fergusius de Ardrosan, Eustachius de Maxwel, Willielmus de Ramsay, Willielmus de Montalto, Alanus de Moraviâ, Dovenaldus Campbel, Joannes Campburn, Reginaldus le Chene, Alexander de Seton, Andreas de Lesceline, et Alexander de Straton, cæterique barones

'TO our most holy father in Christ, and 'our lord, John, by the Divine 'Providence, chief-bishop of the most holy 'Roman and universal church, your hum-'ble and devoted sons, Duncan, earl of 'Fyfe, Thomas Randolph, earl of Murray, 'lord Mannia and Annandale, Patrick de 'Dumbar, earl of March, Malisius, earl of 'Strathern, Malcolm, earl of Lenox, Wil-'liam, earl of Ross, Magnus, earl of Caith-'ness and Orkney, William, earl of Suther-'land, Walter, steward of Scotland, Wil-'liam de Soules, buttelarius of Scotland, 'James, lord Douglas, Roger de Mowbray, 'David, lord Brechin, David de Grahame, 'Ingelramus de Umfravile, John de Mon-'teith, warder of the county of Monteith, 'Alexander Frazer, Gilbert de Hay, con-'stable of Scotland, Robert de Keith, mar-'shal of Scotland, Henry de Sancto Claro, 'John de Graham, David de Lindsey, 'William Oliphant, Patrick de Graham, 'John de Fenton, William de Abernethy, 'David de Weyms, William de Montefixo, 'Fergus de Ardrosan, Eustachius de Max-'wel, William de Ramsay, William de 'Monte-alto, Allan de Murray, Donald 'Campbel, John Camburn, Reginald le 'Chene, Alexander de Seton, Andrew de 'Lesceline, and Alexander Straton, and the

[1] [See Mr. Pinkerton's edition of Barbour's Bruce, vo. iii. p. 121.]

et liberetenentes, ac tota communitas regni Scotiæ; omnimodam reverentiam filialem, cum devotis pedum osculis beatorum. Scimus, sanctissime pater et domine, et ex antiquorum gestis et libris colligimus, quòd inter cæteras nationes egregias, nostra scil. Scotorum natio, multis præconiis fuerit insignita: Quæ de Majori Scythiâ per mare Tyrrhenum et Columnas Herculis transiens, et in Hispaniâ inter ferocissimos, per multa temporum curricula, residens, à nullis quantumcunque barbaricis poterat alicubi subjugari: indèque veniens post mille et ducentos annos à transitu populi Israëlitici, sibi sedes in Occidente quas nunc obtinet, expulsis Britonibus, et Pictis omninò deletis, licèt per Norwegienses, Danos, et Anglos sæpiùs impugnata fuerit, multis sibi victoriis et laboribus quamplurimis adquisivit; ipsásque ab omni servitute liberas, ut priscorum testantur historiæ, semper tenuit. In quòrum regnò, centum et tresdecem reges de ipsorum regali prosapiâ, nullâ alienigenâ interveniente, regnaverunt; quorum nobilitates et merita, licèt ex aliis non clarerent, satìs tamen patentèr effulgent, ex eo quòd Rex regum, Dominus Jesus Christus, post passionem et resurrectionem suam, ipsos (in ultimis terræ finibus constitutos) quasi primos, ad suam fidem sanctissimam convocavit. Nec eos per quemlibet in dictâ fide confirmari voluit, sed per suum primum Apostolum (quamvis ordine secundum vel tertium) sanctum Andream, meritissimum beati Petri germanum, quem semper ipsis præesse voluit ut patronum. Hæc autem sanctissimi patres et prædecessores vestri solicitâ mente pensantes, ipsum regnum et populum, ut beati Petri germani peculium, multis favoribus et privilegiis quamplurimis muniverunt. Itaque gens nostra, sub ipsorum protectione, libera hactenùs deguit et quieta; donec ille princeps magnificus rex Anglorum Edwardus, pater istius qui nunc est, regnum nostrum acephalum, populúmque nullius mali aut doli conscium, nec bellis aut insultibus tunc assuetum, (sub amici et confœderati specie,) innumerabilitèr infestavit: cujus injurias, cædes et violentias, prædationes, incendia, prælatorum incarcerationes, monasteriorum combustiones, religiosorum spoliationes, et occisiones, alia quoque enormia, quæ, indicto populo, exercuit, nulli parcens ætati aut sexui, religioni aut ordini, nullus scriberet, nec ad plenum intelligeret, nisi quem experientia informaret. A quibus malis innumeris, Ipso juvante (qui

‘ rest of the barons and freeholders, and
‘ whole community, or commons of the king-
‘ dom of Scotland; send all manner of filial
‘ reverence, with devout kisses, of your
‘ blessed and happy feet. Most holy father
‘ and lord, we know, and gather from antient
‘ acts and records, that in every famous
‘ nation, this of Scotland hath been cele-
‘ brated with many praises: this nation
‘ having come from Scythia the Greater,
‘ through the Tuscan Sea, and by Her-
‘ cules's Pillars; and having, for many
‘ ages, taken its residence in Spain, in the
‘ midst of a most fierce people, could never
‘ be brought in subjection by any people,
‘ how barbarous soever. And having re-
‘ moved from these parts, above twelve-
‘ hundred years after the coming of the
‘ Israelites out of Egypt, did, by many vic-
‘ tories, and much toil, obtain these parts in
‘ the West, which they still possess; having
‘ expelled the Britons, and entirely rooted
‘ out the Picts, notwithstanding the fre-
‘ quent assaults and invasions they met
‘ with from the Norwegians, Danes, and
‘ English: and these parts and possessions
‘ they have always retained free from all
‘ manner of servitude and subjection, as
‘ antient histories do witness. This kingdom
‘ hath been governed by an uninterrupted
‘ succession of 113 kings, all of our own
‘ native and royal stock, without the inter-
‘ vening of any stranger. The true nobility
‘ and merits of these princes and people are
‘ very remarkable, from this one considera-
‘ tion, though there were no other evidence
‘ for it; that the King of kings, the Lord
‘ Jesus Christ, after his passion and resur-
‘ rection, honoured them, as it were, the
‘ first (though living in the outmost ends of
‘ the earth) with a call to his most holy
‘ faith. Neither would our Saviour have
‘ them confirmed in the Christian faith, by
‘ any other instrument, than his own first
‘ Apostle (though, in order, the second or
‘ third) St. Andrew, the most worthy bro-
‘ ther of the blessed Peter, whom he would
‘ always have to be over us, as our patron
‘ or protector. Upon the weighty conside-
‘ ration of these things, our most holy
‘ fathers, your predecessors, did, with many
‘ great and singular favours and privileges,
‘ fence and secure this kingdom and peo-
‘ ple, as being the peculiar charge and
‘ care of the brother of St. Peter; so that

post vulnera medetur et sanat), liberati sumus per serenissimum principem, regem, et dominum nostrum, dominum Robertum; qui, (pro populo et hæreditate suis, de manibus inimicorum liberandis,) quasi alter Maccabæus, aut Josuë, labores et tædia, inedias et pericula, læto sustinuit animo. Quem etiam divina dispositio, et juxta leges et consuetudines nostras (quas usque ad mortem sustinere volumus) juris successio, et debitus nostrorum consensus et assensus, nostrum fecerunt principem atque regem. Cui, tanquam illi per quem salus in populo facta est pro nostrâ libertate tuendâ, tam jure quàm meritis tenemur, et volumus in omnibus adhærere. Quem, si ab inceptis desistet, regi Anglorum aut Anglicis nos aut regnum nostrum volens subjicere, tanquam inimicum nostrum, et sui nostríque juris subversorem, statìm expellere niteremur, et alium regem nostrum, qui ad defensionem nostram sufficiet, faciemus: quia, quamdiu centum vivi remanserint, nunquam Anglorum dominio aliquatenùs volumus subjugari. Non enim propter gloriam, divitias, aut honores pugnamus, sed propter libertatem solummodò, quam nemo bonus nisi simul cum vitâ amittit. Hinc est, (reverende pater ac domine,) quòd Sanctitatem vestram cum omni præcum instantiâ, genu flexis cordibus exoramus; quatenùs sincero corde menteque piâ recensentes, quòd apud Eum cujus vices in terris geritis, non sic pondus et pondus, nec distinctio Judæi et Græci, Scoti aut Anglici, tribulationes et angustias nobis et ecclesiæ Dei illatas ab Anglicis paternis oculis intuentes; regem Anglorum (cui sufficere debet quod possidet, cùm olim Anglia septem aut pluribus solebat sufficere regibus) monere et exhortari dignemini, ut nos Scotos in exili degentes Scotiâ ultra quam habitatio non est, nihilque nisi nostrum cupientes in pace dimittat. Cui pro nostrâ procurandâ quiete quicquid possumus, ad statum nostrum respectu habito, hoc facere volumus cum effectu. Vestrâ enim interest, (sancte pater,) hoc facere, qui Paganorum feritatem, Christianorum culpis exigentibus, in Christianos sævientem aspicitis, et Christianorum terminos arctari indiès. Quare nè quid vestræ Sanctitatis memoriæ deroget, et, si (quod absit!) ecclesia in aliquâ sui parte vestris temporibus patiatur eclipsin aut scandalum vos videritis, exhorter igitur Christianos principes, qui, non casum

'our nation hath hitherto lived in freedom
'and quietness, under their protection, till
'the magnificent king Edward, father to
'the present king of England, did (under
'the colour of friendship, and alliance, or
'confederacy,) with innumerable oppres-
'sions infest us; who minded no fraud or
'deceit, at a time when we were without a
'king or head, and when the people were
'unacquainted with wars and invasions.
'It is impossible for any, whose own ex-
'perience hath not informed him, to de-
'scribe, or fully to understand, the injuries,
'blood, and violence; the depredations and
'fire; the imprisonments of prelates; the
'burning, slaughter, and robbery, commit-
'ted upon holy persons, and religious
'houses; and a vast multitude of other
'barbarities, which that king executed on
'this people, without sparing of any sex, or
'age, religion, or order of men whatsoever.
'But, at length, it pleased God (who only
'can heal after wounds) to restore us to
'liberty, from these innumerable calamities,
'by our most serene prince, king, and lord,
'Robert; who (for the delivering of his
'people, and his own rightful inheritance,
'from the enemy's hand) did, like another
'Joshua, or Maccabeus, most cheerfully
'undergo all manner of toil, fatigue, hard-
'ship, and hazard. The Divine Providence,
'the right of succession, by the laws and
'customs of the kingdom (which we will
'defend till death), and the due and lawful
'consent and assent of all the people, made
'him our king and prince. To him we
'are obliged, and resolved to adhere in all
'things; both upon the account of his
'right, and his own merit; as being the
'person who hath restored the people's
'safety, in defence of their liberties. But,
'after all, if this prince shall leave these
'principles, he hath so nobly pursued;
'and consent, that we or our kingdom be
'subjected to the king or people of England,
'we will immediately endeavour to expel
'him, as our enemy, and as the subverter
'both of his own and our rights, and will
'make another king, who will defend our
'liberties. For, so long as there shall but
'one-hundred of us remain alive, we will
'never subject ourselves to the dominion of
'the English. For it is not glory, it is not

ut casum ponentes, se fingunt in subsidium Terræ Sanctæ, propter guerras quas habent cum proximis, ire non posse: cujus impedimenti causa est verior, quòd, in minoribus proximis debellandis, utilitas proprior et resistentia debilior æstimantur. Sic quàm lætо corde dictus dominus rex noster, et nos, si rex Anglorum nos in pace dimittet, illuc iremus; qui nihil ignoret satis novit: quod Christi vicario totíque Christianitati ostendimus et testamur. Quibus si Sanctitas vestra Anglorum relatibus nimis credula fidem sinceram non adhibet, aut ipsis in nostram confusionem favere non desinat; corporum excidia, animarum exitia, et cætera quæ sequentur incommoda, quæ ipsi in nobis et nos in ipsis fecerimus; vobis ab Altissimo credimus imputanda. Ex quo sumus et erimus in his quæ tenemur tanquam obedientiæ filii vobis tanquam ipsius vicario in omnibus complacere; ipsíque tanquam summo regi et judici causam nostram tuendam committimus cogitatum nostrum jactantes in ipso, sperantesque finem; quod in nobis virtutem faciet et ad nihilum rediget hostes nostros. Serenitatem et Sanctitatem vestram conservet Altissimus ecclesiæ suæ sanctæ per tempora diuturna.—Datum apud monasterium de Aberbrothock in Scotiâ, sexto die Aprilis, anno Gratiæ millesimo trecentesimo-vicesimo, anno vero regni regis nostri supradicti, quintodecimo.

'riches, neither is it honour, but it is liberty 'alone that we fight and contend for, which 'no honest man will lose but with his life. 'For these reasons, (most reverend father 'and lord,) we do, with most earnest pray-'ers, from our bended knees and hearts, 'beg and entreat your Holiness, that you 'may be pleased, with a sincere and cor-'dial piety to consider, that with Him 'whose vicar on earth you are, there is no 'respect nor distinction of Jew nor Greek, 'Scots nor English; and that with a ten-'der and fatherly eye, you may look upon 'the calamities and straits brought upon 'us, and the church of God, by the En-'glish; and that you may admonish, and 'exhort the king of England (who may well 'rest satisfied with his own possessions, 'since that kingdom, of old, used to be suffi-'cient for seven or more kings) to suffer us 'to live at peace in that narrow spot of 'Scotland; beyond which we have no ha-'bitation, since we desire nothing but our 'own: and we, on our part, as far as we 'are able, with respect to our own condi-'tion, shall effectually agree to him in every 'thing that may procure our quiet. It is 'your concernment, (most holy father,) to 'interpose in this, when you see how far 'the violence and barbarity of the Pagans 'is let loose against Christendom, for punish-'ing of the sins of the Christians; and how 'much they daily incroach upon the Christian territories. And it is your interest to 'notice, that there be no ground given for reflecting on your memory, if you should suffer 'any part of the church to come under a scandal or eclipse (which we pray God may 'prevent!) during your time. Let it therefore please your Holiness, to exhort the Chris-'tian princes, not to make the wars betwixt them and their neighbours, a pretext for not 'going to the relief of the Holy-Land; since that is not the true cause of the impediment: 'the truer ground of it is, that they have a much nearer prospect of advantage, and far 'less opposition, in the subduing of their weaker neighbours. And God, who is ignorant 'of nothing, knows with how much cheerfulness, both our king and we would go thither, 'if the king of England would leave us in peace; and we do hereby testify and declare it 'to the vicar of Christ, and to all Christendom. But, if your Holiness shall be too cre-'dulous of the English misrepresentations, and not give firm credit to what we have said, 'nor desist to favour the English, to our destruction; we must believe, that the Most 'High will lay to your charge all the blood, loss of souls, and other calamities, that shall 'follow, on either hand, betwixt them and us. Your Holiness, in granting our just de-'sires, will oblige us, in every case where our duty shall require it, to endeavour your 'satisfaction, as becomes the obedient sons of the vicar of Christ. We commit the 'defence of our cause, to Him who is the sovereign King and Judge: we cast the 'burthen of our cares upon Him; and hope for such an issue, as may give strength and 'courage to us, and bring our enemies to nothing. The most high God long preserve 'your Serenity and Holiness to his holy church.—Given at the monastery of Aberbrothock 'in Scotland, the sixth day of April, in the year of Grace M.CCC.XX, and of our said 'king's reign, the fifteenth year.'

A Century of the Names and Scantlings of such Inventions, as at present I can call to Mind to have tried and perfected; which (my former Notes being lost) I have, at the Instance of a powerful Friend, endeavoured now, in the Year 1655, to set these down in such a Way as may sufficiently instruct me to put any of them in Practice[1].

——————— *Artis & Naturæ proles.*

London, printed by J. Grismond, in 1663.

[Twenty-fours, containing Ninety-one Pages.]

To the King's most excellent Majesty[2].

SIR,

SCIRE meum nihil est, nisi me scire hoc sciat alter, saith the poet; and I most justly, in order to please your Majesty, whose satisfaction is my happiness, and whom to serve is my only aim, placing therein my *summum bonum* in this world! Be therefore pleased to cast your gracious eye over this summary collection, and then to pick and choose. I confess, I made it but for the superficial satisfaction of a friend's curiosity, according as it is set down; and if it might now serve to give aim to your Majesty, how to make use of my poor endeavours, it would crown my thoughts, who am neither covetous nor ambitious, but of deserving your Majesty's favour upon my own cost and charges: yet, according to the old English proverb, 'It is a poor dog that is not worth whistling after.' Let but your Majesty approve, and I will effectually perform, to the height of my undertaking. Vouchsafe but to command; and with my life and fortune, I shall cheerfully obey, and (maugre envy, ignorance, and malice,) ever appear,

Your Majesty's
Passionately devoted,
or otherwise disinterested
Subject and Servant,
WORCESTER.

To the Right Honourable, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal; and to the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the Honourable House of Commons; now assembled in Parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

BE not startled if I address to all, and every of you, this century of summary heads of wonderful things, even after the dedication of them to his most excellent Majesty; since

[1] [Notwithstanding the supercilious stigma which Lord Orford thought fit to bestow upon this little piece, in his Catalogue of Noble Authors, the experience of later years and the multiplication of modern discoveries fully authorize the more liberal assertion of Mr. Granger, 'That a practical mathematician, who has quickness to 'seize a hint and sagacity to apply it, might avail himself greatly of these *Scantlings*, though little more than a 'bare catalogue.' It is probable that the scarceness of the book, and the scanty acquaintance which scientific men have, in general, with literary curiosities, may have been a principal reason why no more of these mechanical inventions are at present known.]

[2] [Charles the Second.]

it is with his most gracious and particular consent, as well as indeed no ways derogating from my duty to his sacred self, but rather in further order unto it; since your Lordships, who are his great council, and you, Gentlemen, his whole kingdom's representative, (most worthily welcome unto him,) may fitly receive into your wise and serious considerations, what doth, or may publicly concern both his Majesty, and his tenderly-beloved people.

Pardon me if I say, (my Lords and Gentlemen,) that it is jointly your parts to digest to his hand these ensuing particulars, fitting them to his palate, and ordering how to reduce them into practice, in a way useful and beneficial, both to his Majesty and his kingdom.

Neither do I esteem it less proper for me to present them to you, in order to his Majesty's service, than it is to give into the hands of a faithful and provident steward, whatsoever dainties and provisions are intended for the master's diet: the knowing and faithful steward being best able to make use thereof to his master's contentment, and greatest profit; keeping for the morrow, whatever should be overplus, or needless for the present day, or at least to save something else in lieu thereof. In a word, my Lords and Gentlemen, I humbly conceive this simile not improper, since you are his Majesty's provident stewards; into whose hands I commit myself, with all properties fit to obey you: that is to say, with a heart harbouring no ambition, but an endless aim to serve my King and country. And if my endeavours prove effectual, (as I am confident they will,) his Majesty shall not only become rich, but his people likewise, as treasurers unto him; and his peerless Majesty, our King, shall become both beloved at home, and feared abroad; deeming the riches of a king to consist in the plenty enjoyed by his people.

And the way to render him to be feared abroad, is to content his people at home, who then, with heart and hand, are ready to assist him; and whatsoever God blesseth me with, to contribute towards the increase of his revenues in any considerable way, I desire it may be employed to the use of his people: that is, for the taking off such taxes or burthens from them, as they chiefly groan under, and by a temporary necessity only imposed on them; which being thus supplied, will certainly best content the King, and satisfy his people; which, I dare say, is the continual tendency of all your indefatigable pains, and the perfect demonstrations of your zeal to his Majesty, and an evidence that the kingdom's trust is justly and deservedly reposed in you. And if ever parliament acquitted themselves thereof, it is this of yours, composed of most deserving and qualified persons; qualified, I say, with your affection to your Prince, and with a tenderness to his people; with a bountiful heart towards him, yet a frugality in their behalfs.

Go on, therefore, cheerfully, (my Lords and Gentlemen,) and not only our gracious King, but the KING of kings, will reward you; the prayers of the people will attend you; and his Majesty will, with thankful arms, embrace you. And be pleased to make use of me and my endeavours to enrich them, not myself; such being my only request unto you, spare me not in what your wisdoms shall find me useful, who do esteem myself not only by the act of the Water-commanding Engine (which so cheerfully you have passed) sufficiently rewarded, but likewise with courage enabled to do ten times more for the future; and my debts being paid, and a competency to live according to my birth and quality settled, the rest shall I dedicate to the service of our King and country by your disposals; and esteem me not the more, or rather any more, by what is past, but by what is to come; professing really from my heart, that my intentions are to out-go the six or seven hundred-thousand pounds already sacrificed, (if countenanced and encouraged by you,) ingenuously confessing that the melancholy, which hath lately seized upon me, (the cause whereof none of you but may easily guess,) hath, I dare say, retarded more advantages to the public service than modesty will permit me to utter. And now revived by your promising favours, I shall infallibly be enabled thereunto in the experiments extant, and comprised under these heads, practicable with my directions by the unparalleled workman both for trust and skill, Casper Kaltoff's hand, who hath been these thirty-five years, as in a school under me employed, and still at my disposal, in a place by my great expences made fit for public service; yet lately like to be taken from me, and consequently from the service of

king and kingdom, without the least regard of above ten-thousand pounds expended by me, and through my zeal to the common good; my zeal, I say; a field large enough for you, (my Lords and Gentlemen,) to work upon.

The treasures buried under these heads, both for war, peace, and pleasure, being inexhaustible; I beseech you, pardon me if I say so: it seems a vanity, but comprehends a truth; since no good spring but becomes the more plentiful, by how much more it is drawn; and the spinner, to weave his web, is never stinted, but further enforced.

The more then that you shall be pleased to make use of my inventions, the more inventive shall you ever find me; one invention begetting still another, and more and more improving my ability to serve my King and you: and, as to my heartiness therein, there needs no addition, nor to my readiness a spur. And, therefore, (my Lords and Gentlemen,) be pleased to begin, and desist not from commanding me, till I flag in my obedience and endeavours to serve my King and country:

For certainly you'll find me breathless first t'expire,
Before my hands grow weary, or my legs do tire.

Yet, abstracting from any interest of my own, but as a fellow-subject and compatriot, will I ever labour in the vineyard, most heartily and readily obeying the least summons from you, by putting faithfully in execution, what your judgments shall think fit to pitch upon, among this century of experiences; perhaps, dearly purchased by me, but not frankly and *gratis* offered to you. Since my heart, methinks, cannot be satisfied in serving my King and country, if it should cost them any thing: as I confess when I had the honour to be near so obliging a master as his late Majesty of happy memory, who never refused me his ear to any reasonable motion; and as for unreasonable ones, or such as were not fitting for him to grant, I would rather to have died a thousand deaths, than ever have made any one unto him.

Yet whatever I was so happy as to obtain for any deserving person, my pains, breath, and interest employed therein satisfied me not, unless I likewise satisfied the fees; but that was in my golden age.

And even now, though my ability and means are shortened, the world knows why my heart remains still the same; and be you pleased, (my Lords and Gentlemen,) to rest most assured, that the very complacency that I shall take in the executing your commands, shall be unto me a sufficient and an abundantly satisfactory reward.

Vouchsafe, therefore, to dispose freely of me, and whatever lieth in my power to perform: first, in order to his Majesty's service; secondly, for the good and advantage of the kingdom; thirdly, to all your satisfactions for particular profit and pleasure to your individual selves; professing, that in all, and each of the three respects, I will ever demean myself as it best becomes,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Your most passionately-bent Fellow-subject in his Majesty's service, Compatriot for the public good and advantage, and a most humble Servant to all and every of you,

WORCESTER.

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A Century of the Names and Scantlings of Inventions by me already practised.

1. SEVERAL sorts of Seals: some shewing by screws, others by gages, fastening or unfastening all the marks at once; others by additional points and imaginary places, proportionable to ordinary escutcheons and seals at arms, each way palpably and punctually setting down, yet private from all others, but the owner; and, by his assent, the day of the month, the day of the week, the month of the year, the year of our Lord, the names of the witnesses, and the individual place where any thing was sealed, though in ten-thousand several places; together with the very number of lines contained in a contract, whereby falsification may be discovered, and manifestly proved, being upon good grounds suspected.——Upon any of these seals a man may keep accounts of receipts and disbursements, from one farthing to an hundred millions; punctually shewing each pound, shilling, penny, or farthing.——By these seals likewise, any letter, though written but in English, may be read and understood in eight several languages, and in English itself, to a clean contrary and different sense, unknown to any but the correspondent; and not to be

read or understood by him neither, if opened before it arrive unto him; so that neither threats, nor hopes of reward, can make him reveal the secret; the letter having been intercepted, and first opened by the enemy.

2. How ten-thousand persons may use these Seals to all and every of the purposes aforesaid, and yet keep their secrets from any but whom they please.

3. A Cypher and Character so contrived, that one line, without returns and circumflexes, stands for each and every of the Twenty-four Letters; and as ready to be made for the one letter as the other.

4. This invention refined, and so abbreviated, that a Point only sheweth distinctly and significantly any of the Twenty-four Letters; and these very points to be made with two pens, so that no time will be lost, but as one finger riseth, the other may make the following letter; never clogging the memory with several figures for words, and combination of letters; which with ease, and void of confusion, are thus speedily and punctually, letter for letter, set down by naked, and not multiplied points: and nothing can be less than a point, the mathematical definition of it being *cujus pars nulla*. And of a motion no swifter imaginable than semiquavers or releshes, yet applicable to this manner of writing[3].

5. A way by a circular motion, either along a rule or ring-wise, to vary any Alphabet, even this of Points, so that the self-same point individually placed, without the least additional mark or variation of place, shall stand for all the Twenty-four Letters, and not for the same letter twice in ten sheets writing; yet as easily and certainly read and known, as if it stood but for one and the self-same letter constantly signified.

6. How at a window, as far as eye can discover black from white, a man may hold Discourse with his correspondent, without noise made or notice taken; being, according to occasion given or means afforded, *ex re natâ*, and no need of provision beforehand; though much better if foreseen, and means prepared for it, and a premeditated course taken by mutual consent of parties.

7. A way to do it by Night as well as by Day, though as dark as pitch is black[4].

8. A way how to level and shoot Cannon by night as well as by day, and as directly; without a platform or measures taken by day, yet by a plain and infallible rule.

9. An Engine, portable in one's pocket, which may be carried and fastened on the inside of the greatest Ship, *tanquam aliud agens;* and at any appointed minute, though a week after, either of day or night, it shall irrecoverably sink that ship.

10. A way from a Mile off, to dive and fasten a like Engine to any Ship, so as it may punctually work the same effect either for time or execution.

11. How to prevent and safe-guard any Ship from such an attempt by day or night.

12. A way to make a Ship not possible to be sunk, though shot an hundred times betwixt wind and water by cannon, and should it lose a whole plank, yet in half an hour's time should be made as fit to sail as before.

13. How to make such false Decks, as in a moment should kill and take prisoners as many as should board the ship, without blowing the decks up, or destroying them from being reducible; and in a quarter of an hour's time, should recover their former shape, and be made fit for any employment without discovering the secret.

14. How to bring a Force to weigh up an Anchor, or to do any forcible exploit in the narrowest or lowest room in any Ship, where few hands shall do the work of many; and

[3] [William Blair, Esq. in his elaborate treatise on *Ciphers*, given in Dr. Rees's Cyclopædia, acquaints us that he has discovered in Bibl. Harl. No. 2428, the Marquis of Worcester's peculiar, and hitherto inexplicable, mode of Writing, which seems to be briefly described in the 3d and 4th articles of his Lordship's Century. This Cipher was one of the extraordinary inventions for which the Marquis applied to parliament, in hopes of a remuneration; but as he was not known to have either printed an account of it, or to have left any explanation of it in writing, many shrewd conjectures were afterwards made, touching the nature of the contrivance. One of these surmises may be seen in Gent. Mag. vol. xviii. p. 55; but this does not appear at all to correspond with the Marquis's intention: and Mr. Blair has described the real Cipher from the MS. before mentioned, which he thinks bears clear internal marks of its origin.]

[4] [Polybius has shewn a method of corresponding Alphabetically, and giving or receiving any species of intelligence, by Torches, without previous concert. Vid. Polyb. l. x. *sub finem.*]

many hands applicable to the same force, some standing, others sitting, and by virtue of their several helps, a great force augmented in little room, as effectual as if there were sufficient space to go about with an axle-tree, and work far from the centre.

15. A way how to make a Boat work itself against Wind and Tide, yea, both without the help of man or beast; yet so that the wind or tide, though directly opposite, shall force the ship or boat against itself; and in no point of the compass, but it shall be as effectual, as if the wind were in the poop, or the stream actually with the course it is to steer, according to which the oars shall row, and necessary motions work and move towards the desired port or point of the compass.

16. How to make a Sea-castle or Fortification Cannon-proof, and capable of a thousand men, yet sailable at pleasure to defend a passage, or in an hour's time to divide itself into three ships as fit and trimmed to sail as before: and even whilst it is a Fort or Castle, they shall be unanimously steered, and effectually driven by an indifferent strong wind.

17. How to make upon the Thames a floating Garden of Pleasure, with trees, flowers, banqueting-houses, and fountains, stews for all kind of fishes, a reserve for snow to keep wine in, delicate bathing-places, and the like; with musick made with mills, and all in the midst of the stream, where it is most rapid.

18. An Artificial Fountain, to be turned like an hour-glass by a child in the twinkling of an eye; it holding a great quantity of water, and of force sufficient to make snow, ice, and thunder, with a chirping and singing of birds, and shewing of several shapes and effects usual to fountains of pleasure.

19. A little Engine within a Coach, whereby a child may stop it, and secure all persons within it, and the coachman himself, though the horses be never so unruly in a full career; a child being sufficiently capable to loosen them, in what posture soever they should have put themselves, turning never so short: for a child can do it in the twinkling of an eye.

20. How to bring up Water Balance-wise, so that as little weight or force as will turn a balance will be only needful, more than the weight of the water within the buckets; which counter-poised empty themselves one into the other, the uppermost yielding its water, how great a quantity soever it holds, at the self-same time the lower-most takes it in, though it be an hundred fathom high.

21. How to raise Water constantly with two buckets only day and night, without any other force than its own motion; using not so much as any force, wheel, or sucker, nor more pulleys than one, on which the cord or chain rolleth, with a bucket fastened at each end. This, I confess, I have seen and learned of the great mathematician Claudius's studies at Rome, he having made a present thereof unto a cardinal; and I desire not to own any other men's inventions, but if I set down any, to nominate likewise the inventor.

22. To make a River in a Garden to ebb and flow constantly, though twenty feet over, with a child's force, in some private room or place out of sight, and a competent distance from it.

23. To set a Clock in a Castle, the water filling the trenches about it: it shall shew, by ebbing and flowing, the hours, minutes and seconds, and all the comprehensible motions of the heavens, and counter-libration of the earth according to Copernicus.

24. How to increase the Strength of a Spring to such an height, as to shoot bumbasses and bullets of a hundred pounds weight, a steeple height, and a quarter of a mile off, and more, stone-bow-wise; admirable for fire-works, and astonishing of besieged cities, when, without warning given by noise, they find themselves so forcibly and dangerously surprized.

25. How to make a Weight that cannot take up an hundred pounds, and yet shall take up two-hundred pounds, and at the self-same distance from the centre; and so proportionably to millions of pounds.

26. To raise Weight as well and as forcibly with the drawing-back of the lever, as with the thrusting it forwards; and by that means to lose no time in motion or strength. This I saw in the arsenal at Venice.

27. A way to remove to and fro huge Weights, with a most inconsiderable strength from

place to place. For example, ten ton with ten pounds, and less; the said ten pounds not to fall lower, than it makes the ten ton to advance or retreat upon a level.

28. A Bridge portable in a cart with six horses, which in a few hours time may be placed over a river half a mile broad, whereon with much expedition may be transported horse, foot, and cannon [5].

29. A portable Fortification able to contain five-hundred fighting men; and yet, in six hours time, may be set up, and made cannon-proof, upon the side of a river or pass, with cannon mounted upon it; and as complete as a regular fortification, with half-moons and counter-scarps.

30. A way, in one night's time, to raise a Bulwark twenty or thirty feet high, cannon-proof, and cannon mounted upon it, with men to over-look, command, and batter a town; for though it contain but four pieces, they shall be able to discharge two-hundred bullets each hour.

31. A way how, safely and speedily, to make an Approach to a Castle or Town-wall, and over the very ditch at noon-day.

32. How to compose an Universal [6] Character, methodical and easy to be written, yet intelligible in any language; so that, if an Englishman write it in English, a Frenchman, Italian, Spaniard, Irish, Welsh, being scholars; yea, Grecian or Hebritian, shall as perfectly understand it in their own tongue, as if they were perfect English; distinguishing the verbs from nouns, the numbers, tenses, and cases, as properly expressed in their own language as it was written in English.

33. To write with a Needle and Thread, white, or any colour upon white, or any other colour, so that one stitch shall significantly shew any letter, and as readily and as easily shew the one letter as the other, and fit for any language.

34. To write by a knotted Silk-string, so that every knot shall signify any letter with a comma, full-point, or interrogation, and as legible as with pen and ink upon white paper [7].

35. The like by the Fringe of Gloves.

36. By Stringing of Bracelets.

37. By pinked Gloves.

38. By Holes in the bottom of a Sieve.

39. By a Lattin or Plate-Lanthorn.

40. By the Smell.
41. By the Taste.
42. By the Touch.

} By these three senses, as perfectly, distinctly, and unconfusedly, (yea as readily,) as by the Sight.

43. How to vary each of these, so that ten-thousand may know them, and yet keep the understanding part from any but their correspondent.

44. To make a Key of a Chamber-door, which to your sight hath its wards and rose-pipe but paper-thick, and yet at pleasure in a minute of an hour shall become a perfect Pistol, capable to shoot through a breast-plate commonly of carbine-proof, with prime, powder, and fire-lock, undiscoverable in a stranger's hand.

45. How to light a Fire and a Candle at what hour of the night one awaketh, without rising, or putting one's hand out of the bed. And the same thing becomes a serviceable Pistol at pleasure; yet by a stranger, not knowing the secret, seemeth but a dexterous tinder-box.

[5] [M. Couplet mentions one of this kind 200 feet long, and which forty men may carry. See Du Hamel. Hist. Roy. Acad. Scienc.]

[6] [This Universal Character is no chimera: the Chinese and Japanese have already something like it. They have a common character, which each of those nations understand alike in their several languages; though they pronounce it with an entirely different sound. Considerable attempts for a real character, or universal language, have been made by Bishop Wilkins, by Dalgarme, by Leibnitz, and by Lodwick. In the Journal Littéraire, *an.* 1720, there is likewise a very ingenious project for an universal character, by the combinations of the 9 Arabic Figures. The difficulty, however, is not in inventing the most simple, easy, and commodious character, but in engaging the several nations to use it; there being nothing they agree in less, than the understanding and pursuing their common interest.]

[7] [Bishop Wilkins has illustrated this device in the 5th and 11th chapters of his 'Secret and Swift Messenger.']

46. How to make an artificial Bird to fly which way, and as long as one pleaseth, by, or against the wind, sometimes chirping, other times hovering, still tending the way it is designed for.

47. To make a Ball of any metal, which thrown into a pool or pail of water shall presently rise from the bottom, and constantly shew, by the superficies of the water, the hour of the day or night; never rising more out of the water, than just to the minute it sheweth, of each quarter of the hour: and, if by force kept under water, yet the time is not lost, but recovered as soon as it is permitted to rise to the superficies of the water.

48. A screwed Ascent, instead of stairs, with fit landing-places to the best chambers of each story, with back stairs within the noel of it, convenient for servants to pass up and down to the inward rooms of them unseen and private.

49. A portable Engine, in way of a tobacco-tongs, whereby a man may get over a wall, or get up again being come down, finding the coast proving unsecure unto him.

50. A complete, light, portable Ladder, which taken out of one's pocket, may be by himself fastened an hundred feet high, to get up by, from the ground.

51. A Rule of Gradation, which with ease and method reduceth all things to a private correspondence, most useful for secret intelligence.

52. How to signify Words, and a perfect Discourse, by Jangling of Bells of any parish-church, or by any musical instrument within hearing, in a seeming way of tuning it; or of an unskilful beginner[8].

53. A way how to make hollow and cover a Water-screw[9], as big and as long as one pleaseth, in an easy and cheap way.

54. How to make a Water-screw tight, and yet transparent, and free from breaking; but so clear, that one may palpably see the water or any heavy thing, how, and why it is mounted by turning.

55. A double Water-screw, the innermost to mount the water, and the outermost for it to descend more in number of threads, and consequently in quantity of water; though much shorter than the innermost screw, by which the water ascendeth; a most extraordinary help for the turning of the screw to make the water rise.

56. To provide and make, that all the Weights of the descending side of a Wheel shall be perpetually further from the centre, than those of the mounting side, and yet equal in number and heft to the one side as the other. A most incredible thing, if not seen; but tried before the late King, of blessed memory, in the Tower, by my directions; two extraordinary ambassadors accompanying his Majesty, and the Dukes of Richmond and Hamilton, with most of the court, attending him. The wheel was fourteen feet over, and forty weights of fifty pounds a-piece. Sir William Balfore, then lieutenant of the Tower, can justify it, with several others. They all saw, that no sooner these great weights passed the diameter-line of the lower side, but they hung a foot further from the centre; nor no sooner passed the diameter-line of the upper side, but they hung a foot nearer. Be pleased to judge the consequence.

57. An Ebbing and Flowing Water-work in two vessels, into either of which, the water standing at a level, if a globe be cast in, instead of rising, it presently ebbeth; and so remains, until a like globe be cast into the other vessel, which the water is no sooner sensible of, but that vessel presently ebbeth, and the other floweth; and so continueth ebbing and flowing, until one or both of the globes be taken out; working some little effect besides its own motion, without the help of any man within sight or hearing. But if either of the globes be taken out with ever so swift or easy a motion, at the very instant the ebbing and flowing ceaseth; for if during the ebbing you take out the globe, the water of that vessel presently returneth to flow, and never ebbeth after, until the globe be turned into it, and then the motion beginneth as before.

[8] [See the solution of this in Dr. Rees's New Cyclopædia, article *Cipher*.—That the Marquis had turned his attention particularly to the art of Cryptography, is strikingly evident from the number of articles in the Century, which have relation to this subject. *Vide* Nos. 5, 6, 7, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 51, 52, 75, 76.]

[9] [What is now called an Archimedes' Screw.]

58. How to make a Pistol to discharge a dozen times with one loading, and without so much as once new priming requisite, or to change it out of one hand into the other, or stop one's horse.

59. Another way as fast and effectual, but more proper for Carbines.

60. A way with a Flask appropriated unto it, which will furnish either Pistol or Carbine with a dozen charges in three minutes time, to do the whole execution of a dozen shots, as soon as one pleaseth, proportionably.

61. A third way, and particular for Musquets, without taking them from their rests to charge or prime, to a like execution, and as fast as the flask; the musquet containing but one charge at a time.

62. A way for a Harquebuss, a Crock, or Ship-musquet, six upon a carriage, shooting with such expedition, as without danger one may charge, level, and discharge them sixty times in a minute of an hour, two or three together.

63. A sixth way, most excellent for Sakers, differing from the other, yet as swift.

64. A seventh, tried and approved before the late King, of ever blessed memory, and an hundred lords and commons, in a Cannon of eight inches half quarter, to shoot bullets of sixty-four pounds weight, and twenty-four pounds of powder, twenty times in six minutes; so clear from danger, that after all were discharged, a pound of butter did not melt being laid upon the cannon-breech, nor the green oil discoloured that was first anointed and used between the barrel thereof, and the engine, having never in it, nor within six feet, but one charge at a time.

65. A way that one man in the cabbin may govern the whole side of Ship-musquets, to the number, if need require, of two or three thousand shots.

66. A way that, against several Avenues to a Fort or Castle, one man may charge fifty cannons playing, and stopping when he pleaseth, though out of sight of the cannon.

67. A rare way likewise for Musquettoons fastened to the pummel of the saddle, so that a common trooper cannot miss to charge them, with twenty or thirty bullets at a time, even in full career.—When first I gave my thoughts to make Guns shoot often, I thought there had been but one only exquisite way inventible; yet by several trials and much charge, I have perfectly tried all these.

68. An admirable and most forcible way to drive up Water by Fire, not by drawing or sucking it upwards, for that must be, as the philosopher calleth it, *intra sphæram activitatis*, which is but at such a distance. But this way hath no bounder, if the vessels be strong enough; for I have taken a piece of a whole cannon, whereof the end was burst, and filled it three quarters full of water, stopping and screwing up the broken end; as also the touch-hole; and making a constant fire under it, within twenty-four hours it burst and made a great crack: so that having a way to make my vessels, so that they are strengthened by the force within them, and the one to fill after the other, I have seen the water run like a constant fountain-stream forty feet high; one vessel of water, rarified by fire, driveth up forty of cold water. And a man that tends the work is but to turn two cocks; that one vessel of water being consumed, another begins to force and re-fill with cold water, and so successively; the fire being tended and kept constant, which the self-same person may likewise abundantly perform in the interim between the necessity of turning the said cocks [10].

69. A way how a little triangle-screwed Key, not weighing a shilling, shall be capable and strong enough to bolt and unbolt round about a great chest and an hundred bolts through fifty staples, two in each, with a direct contrary motion, and as many more from both sides and ends, and at the self-same time shall fasten it to the place beyond a man's natural strength to take it away; and in one and the same turn both locks and opens it.

70. A Key with a rose-turning pipe, and two roses pierced through endwise, the bit

[10] [Q. May not this be a modification of the Eolipile?]

thereof, with several handsomely contrived wards, which may likewise do the same effects.

71. A Key perfectly square, with a screw turning within it, and more conceited than any of the rest, and no heavier than the triangle-screwed key, and doth the same effects.

72. An Escutcheon to be placed before any of these locks, with these properties:—1. The owner, though a woman, may with her delicate hand vary the ways of coming to open the lock ten-millions of times, beyond the knowledge of the smith that made it, or of me who invented it.—2. If a stranger open it, it setteth an alarm a-going, which the stranger cannot stop from running out; and besides, though none should be within hearing, yet it catcheth his hand, as a trap doth a fox; and though far from maiming him, yet it leaveth such a mark behind it, as will discover him if suspected; the escutcheon or lock plainly shewing what monies he hath taken out of the box to a farthing, and how many times opened since the owner had been in it.

73. A transmittible Gallery over any ditch or breach in a town-wall, with a blind and parapet cannon-proof.

74. A Door, whereof the turning of a key, with the help and motion of the handle, makes the hinges to be of either side; and to open either inward or outward, as one is to enter, or to go out, or to open in half [11].

75. How a Tape or Ribbon-weaver may set down a whole discourse, without knowing a letter, or interweaving any thing suspicious of other secret than a new-fashion ribbon.

76. How to write in the Dark, as straight as by day or candle-light [12].

77. How to make a man to fly; which I have tried with a little boy of ten years old in a barn, from one end to the other, on an hay-mow.

78. A Watch to go constantly, and yet needs no other winding from the first setting on the cord or chain, unless it be broken; requiring no other care from one than to be now and then consulted with, concerning the hour of the day or night; and if it be laid by a week together, it will not err much, but the oftener looked upon, the more exact it shews the time of the day or night.

79. A way to lock all the Boxes of a Cabinet, though never so many, at one time, which were by particular keys appropriated to each lock opened severally, and independent the one of the other, as much as concerneth the opening of them, and by these means cannot be left open unawares.

80. How to make a Pistol-barrel no thicker than a shilling, and yet able to endure a musquet proof of powder and bullet.

81. A Comb-conveyance, carrying of letters without suspicion, the head being opened with a needle-screw drawing a spring towards them; the comb being made but after an usual form carried in one's pocket.

82. A Knife, Spoon, or Fork, in an usual portable case, may have the like conveyances in their handles [13].

83. A Rasping-mill for Harts-horn, whereby a child may do the work of half a dozen men, commonly taken up with that work.

84. An Instrument whereby persons, ignorant in Arithmetick, may perfectly observe numerations and subtractions of all sums and fractions [14].

[11] [Mr. Hawkins, of Titchfield-street, Mary-le-bone, invented a contrivance of this nature in 1796. See the Catalogue of his Museum of useful and mechanical Inventions, 1808, page 12.]

[12] [Three instruments of different constructions, for Writing in the Dark, are shewn at Mr. Hawkins's Museum, one of which is his own invention. See his Catalogue, Nos. 34, 35, 36.]

[13] [These methods of Secret Conveyance seem to bear some analogy to those of Æneas Tacticus, in a valuable fragment on the Duties of a General (translated into Latin by Casaubon), wherein are many curious remarks on the subject of Secret Correspondence. As for example, by rolling thin leaves of lead into the form of ear-rings, &c. after having written thereon:—putting a bladder into a bottle of oil, first inscribing upon it, and inflating it so as to fill the bottle completely:—or sewing up an epistle within the sole of a person's shoe, or hiding it under the arm-pit, &c.]

[14] [This was very probably an improvement of the Abacus.]

85. A little Ball made in the shape of a plum or pear, being dexterously conveyed or forced into a body's mouth, shall presently shoot forth such, and so many bolts of each side, and at both ends, as without the owner's key can neither be opened nor filed off, being made of tempered steel, and as effectually locked as an iron chest.

86. A Chair made *à la mode*, and yet a stranger, being persuaded to sit in it, shall have immediately his arms and thighs locked up, beyond his own power to loosen them.

87. A Brass-mould to cast Candles, in which a man may make five-hundred dozen in a day, and add an ingredient to the tallow which will make it cheaper; and yet so, that the candles shall look whiter, and last longer.

88. How to make a brazen or stone Head, in the midst of a great field or garden, so artificial and natural, that though a man speak never so softly, and even whispers into the ear thereof, it will presently open its mouth, and resolve the question in French, Latin, Welsh, Irish, or English, in good terms, uttering it out of its mouth, and then shut it until the next question be asked[15].

89. White Silk knotted in the fingers of a pair of white Gloves, and so contrived without suspicion, that playing at Primero at cards, one may (without clogging his memory) keep reckoning of all sixes, sevens, and aces, which he hath discarded.

90. A most dexterous Dicing-box, with holes transparent, after the usual fashion; with a device so dexterous, that with a knock of it against the table, the four good dice are fastened, and it looseneth four false dice made fit for his purpose.

91. An artificial Horse, with saddle and caparisons fit for running at the ring; on which a man being mounted, with his lance in his hand, he can at pleasure make him start, and swiftly to run his career, using the decent posture with *bon grace;* may take the ring as handsomely, and running as swiftly as if he rode upon a barb.

92. A Screw made like a water-screw, but the bottom made of iron-plate spade-wise, which at the side of a boat emptieth the mud of a pond, or raiseth gravel.

93. An Engine whereby one man may take out of the water a ship of five-hundred tons, so that it may be calked, trimmed, and repaired without need of the usual way of stocks, and as easily let it down again.

94. A little Engine portable in one's pocket, which placed to any door, without any noise, but one crack, openeth any door or gate.

95. A double Cross-bow, neat, handsome, and strong, to shoot two arrows, either together, or one after the other, so immediately, that a deer cannot run two steps, but, if he miss of one arrow, he may be reached with the other; whether the deer run forward, sideway, or start backward.

96. A way to make a Sea-bank so firm and geometrically strong, that a stream can have no power over it; excellent likewise to save the pillar of a bridge, being far cheaper and stronger than stone-walls.

97. An Instrument whereby an ignorant person may take any thing in Perspective, as justly and more than the skilfullest painter can do by his eye[16].

98. An Engine so contrived, that working the *primum mobile* forward or backward, upward or downward, circularly or cornerwise, to and fro, straight, upright, or downright, yet the pretended operation continueth and advanceth, none of the motions above-mentioned hindering, much less stopping the other; but unanimously, and with harmony agreeing, they all augment and contribute strength unto the intended work and operation: and therefore I call this 'A semi-omnipotent Engine,' and do intend that a model thereof be buried with me.

[15] [The manner of putting this article into execution is shewn in the 2d volume of Dr. Hooper's "Rational Recreations," p. 220, where our noble author is thus highly praised: 'This recreation appears to be taken 'from the "Century of Inventions" of the MARQUIS OF WORCESTER; one of those men of sublime genius, 'who are able to perform actions infinitely superior to the capacity, or even the comprehension of the mere scho- 'lar or man of business; and though his designs, at the time they were published, were treated with ridicule 'and neglect by the great and little vulgar, who (judging by their own abilities) are ever ready to condemn 'what they cannot comprehend, yet they are now known to be generally, if not universally practicable.']

[16] [See a contrivance for this purpose in Dr. Hooper's "Rational Recreations," vol. ii. p. 186.]

99. How to make one Pound-weight to raise an hundred as high as one pound falleth; and yet, the hundred pound descending, doth what nothing less than one-hundred pound can effect.

100. Upon so potent a help as these two last-mentioned inventions, a Water-work[17] is by many years' experience and labour so advantageously by me contrived, that a child's force bringeth up an hundred feet high an incredible quantity of water, even two feet diameter, so naturally, that the work will not be heard even unto the next room; and with so great ease and geometrical symmetry, that though it works day and night from one end of the year to the other, it will not require forty shillings reparation to the whole engine, nor hinder one day's-work[18]. And I may boldly call it, 'The most stupendous work in 'the whole world:' not only with little charge to drain all sorts of mines, and furnish cities with water, though never so high seated, as well to keep them sweet, running through several streets, and so performing the work of scavengers, as well as furnishing the inhabitants with sufficieut water for their private occasions; but likewise supplying rivers with sufficient to maintain and make them portable from town to town, and for the bettering of lands all the way it runs; with many more advantageous, and yet greater effects of profit, admiration, and consequence. So that deservedly I deem this invention to crown my labours, to reward my expences, and make my thoughts acquiesce in way of further inventions: this making up the whole century, and preventing any further trouble to the reader for the present; meaning to leave to posterity a book, wherein, under each of these heads, the means to put in execution and visible trial all and every of these inventions, with the shape and form of all things belonging to them, shall be printed by brass-plates[19].

In bonum publicum, et ad majorem Dei gloriam.

[17] [This last contrivance contains the principle of what we now call the Steam-Engine, but it is not known that the Marquis ever constructed one of these engines, though he procured an act of parliament to be passed in 1663, which was to enable himself and his heirs, for ninety-nine years, to receive the sole benefit resulting from this invention; one tenth part thereof being appropriated, without deduction or abatement, to his Majesty Charles II. and his successors: and so exclusive was the patent privilege, and so sanguine were its abettors, that those who counterfeited this water-commanding engine, were to forfeit £.5 for every hour they should be found to use the same, without the consent and licence of the Marquis of Worcester or his assigns.

The invention however seems to have been neglected for several years, when Capt. Thos. Savery, after a variety of experiments, brought it to some tolerable degree of perfection. Dr. Desaguliers, who entered largely into the discussion, maintains that Capt. Savery was wholly indebted to the Marquis; and, to conceal the piracy, he charges him with having purchased all the books which contained the discovery, and burnt them. But Capt. Savery denied the charge, and asserted that he was wholly led to the discovery by accident.]

[18] [A MS addition to Mr. Heber's copy of Lord Worcester's book, contains the following description of this grand hydraulic machine; ascribed by the enthusiastic contriver to 'heavenly inspiration:'

"A stupendous or a water-commanding engine; boundless for height or quantity, requiring no external nor even additional help or force, to be set or continued in motion, but what intrinsically is afforded from its own operation, nor yet the twentieth part thereof: and the engine consisteth of the following particulars:

1. A perfect counterpoise for what quantity soever of water.
2. A perfect countervail for what height soever it is to be brought unto.
3. A *primum mobile*, commanding both height and quantity, regulator-wise.
4. A vicegerent or countervail, supplying the place and performing the full force of man, wind, beast, or mill.
5. A helm or stern, with bit and reins, wherewith any child may guide, order, or controul the whole operation.
6. A particular magazine for water, according to the intended quantity or height of water.
7. An aqueduct, capable of any intended quantity or height of water.
8. A place for the original fountain or even river to run into, and naturally of its own accord incorporate itself with the rising water, and at the very bottom of the said aqueduct, though never so big or high.

"By divine Providence and heavenly inspiration, this is my stupendous water-commanding engine, boundless for height and quantity.

Whosoever is master of weight, is master of force;
Whosoever is master of water, is master of both:

and consequently to him all forcible actions and achievements are easy, which are in anywise beneficial to or for mankind, &c. Worcester."]

[19] [This invention is not known to have been ever accomplished.]

The Bill of Attainder that passed against Thomas Earl of Strafford [1].

Printed for J. A. 1641.

[Quarto, containing Six Pages.]

WHEREAS the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons in this present parliament assembled, have, in the name of themselves, and all the Commons of England, impeached Thomas Earl of Strafford of high-treason, for endeavouring to subvert the ancient and fundamental laws and government of his Majesty's realms of England and Ireland, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government against law in the said kingdoms; and for exercising a tyrannous and exorbitant power over, and against the laws of the said kingdoms, over the liberties, estates, and lives of his Majesty's subjects; and likewise for having, by his own authority, commanded the laying and assessing of soldiers upon his Majesty's subjects in Ireland, against their consents, to compel them to obey his unlawful commands and orders, made upon paper petitions, in causes between party and party, which accordingly was executed upon divers of his Majesty's subjects, in a warlike manner, within the said realm of Ireland; and, in so doing, did levy war against the King's Majesty, and his liege people in that kingdom: and also, for that he, upon the unhappy dissolution of the last parliament, did slander the House of Commons to his Majesty, and did counsel and advise his Majesty, that he was loose and absolved from rules of government, and that he had an army in Ireland, which he might employ to reduce this kingdom; for which he deserves to undergo the pains and forfeitures of high-treason.

And the said Earl hath been also an incendiary of the wars between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland: all which offences have been sufficiently proved against the said Earl upon his impeachment.

Be it therefore enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, and by the Lords and Commons in this present parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, That the said Earl of Strafford, for the heinous crimes and offences aforesaid, stand and be adjudged and attainted of high-treason, and shall suffer the pain of death, and incur the forfeitures of his goods and chattels, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, of any estate of freehold or inheritance, in the said kingdoms of England and Ireland, which the said Earl, or any other to his use, or in trust for him, have or had, the day of the first sitting of this present parliament, or at any time since.

Provided, that no judge or judges, justice or justices whatsoever, shall adjudge or interpret any act or thing to be treason, nor hear or determine any treason, nor in any other manner than he or they should or ought to have done before the making of this act, and

[1] [This bill was preferred by Sir Arthur Haslerigg in the house of commons, April 21, 1641, and passed with unexampled alacrity, and with a majority of 204 against 59. In the upper-house it met with a different reception. The lords were in no haste to examine it, or to answer the impatience of the commons. The King tried every method to appease their resentment, and in a zealous but ill-advised speech to both houses on the 1st of May, defended the Earl from the imputation of high-treason. This speech produced a quite contrary effect to that intended: and an enraged populace, flocking to Westminster; the lords (perhaps terrified by their threats and by the protestations of the other house) passed this bill of attainder; there being not above 46 present out of the 80 who had constantly attended the trial. The Earl understanding the distress of the King, generously wrote to him not to hazard the safety of his family, and the peace of the kingdom, for his sake; adding, that *his* consent would abundantly acquit his Majesty in the eyes of heaven. The King, after passing two days and nights in the utmost perplexity, at length gave his sanction to the bill.—The sequel it must be needless to narrate.]

as if this act had never been had or made. Saving always unto all and singular persons and bodies politic and corporal, their heirs and successors, others than the said Earl and his heirs, and such as claim by, from, or under him, all such right, title, and interest, of, in, and to all and singular such of the said lands, tenements, and hereditaments, as he, they, or any of them, had before the first day of this present parliament; any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided, that the passing of this present act, and his Majesty's assent thereunto, shall not be any determination of this present sessions of parliament, but that this present sessions of parliament, and all bills and matters whatsoever, depending in parliament, and not fully enacted and determined, and all statutes and acts of parliament, which have their continuance until the end of this present session of parliament, shall remain, continue, and be in full force, as if this act had not been.

Strange Apparitions; or the Ghost of King James: With a late Conference between the Ghost of that good King, the Marquis of Hamilton's, and George Eglisham's, Doctor of Physick; unto which appeared the Ghost of the late Duke of Buckingham, concerning the Death and Poisoning of King James, and the rest.

Printed at London for J. Aston, 1642.

[Quarto; containing Eight Pages.]

King James. DOST thou know me, Buckingham? If our spirits or ghosts retain any knowledge of mortal actions, let us discourse together.

Bucking. Honour hath not now transported me to forget your Majesty; I know you to be the *umbra* or shade of my Sovereign King James, unto whom Buckingham was once so great a favourite. But what ghost of Aristotle is that which bears you company? His pale looks shew him to be some scholar.

K. James. It is the changed shadow of George Eglisham, for ten years together my doctor of physick, who in the discharge of his place was ever to me most faithful: this other is his and my old friend, the Marquis of Hamilton.

Bucking. My Liege, I cannot discourse as long as they are present, they do behold me with such threatening looks: and your Majesty hath a disturbed brow, as if you were offended with your servant Buckingham.

K. James. I, and the Marquis of Hamilton, have just cause to frown and be offended. Hast thou not been our most ungrateful murderer?

Bucking. Who I, my Liege? What act of mine could make you to suspect that I could do a deed so full of horror? Produce a witness to my forehead, before you condemn me upon bare suspicion.

K. James. My doctor, Eglisham, shall prove it to thy face, and (if thou hast but any sense of goodness) shall make thy pale ghost blush, ungrateful Buckingham!

Bucking. I defy all such votes and false accusations: if I had been so wicked, why was not I, when living, brought to trial, and sacrificed to justice?

K. James. A petition was drawn by my doctor, George Eglisham[1], (wherein he most lovingly amplified the ingratitude of thee, my favourite Buckingham, in poisoning me his sovereign,) which he then presented to my son King Charles, and to the Parliament, for he had vowed to revenge our death: but they, taking no course for the examination of thy guiltiness, (by reason of thy plot, which dissolved that parliament,) Doctor Eglisham was fain to go over into Holland, to avoid the fury of thy malice.

Marq. of Hamilt. Nay, he discovered thee, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, to have committed two eminent murders; namely, of the King's Majesty, and of me the Lord Marquis of Hamilton: and, for all thy subtlety in thy poisoning art, God hath on earth manifested thee to be the author of our deaths.

Bucking. Were we living, thou durst not use this language; thy words are false. Who dare appear to prove what thou didst speak?

Dr. Eglish. I, Doctor Eglisham, as I did once accuse thee unto the King and Parliament, and the whole world, so I affirm again, that thou didst poison King James and the Marquis of Hamilton; and first I will prove the murder of the Marquis of Hamilton, who died first.

Bucking. I stand without all fear; and durst thou, base Doctor, to speak even all thy malice can invent against me?

Dr. Eglish. Then know, Buckingham, that being raised from mean blood to honour, and therefore extreme proud, thou hadst an ambition to match thy niece with the Marquis's eldest son, and the bride should have had fifty-thousand pound sterling for her portion.

Bucking. But what is this to the matter of poisoning the Marquis?

Eglish. Yes; thy niece being unequal in degree to the Marquis's son, the Marquis thrice refused the offer of such a marriage; but, at last, hoping some way might be found to annul it before it should be confirmed, he yielded unto the King's desire of the match, and at Greenwich, before the King, it was concluded: and you, Buckingham, caused your niece to be laid in bed with the Marquis's son in the King's chamber, the bride being unfit and not marriageable. Afterwards, the Marquis having sent his son into France to prevent the confirmation of the marriage, and your niece growing marriageable, and the confirmation of the marriage by you desired, the Marquis answered her since the motion; which caused a deadly quarrel between you and the Marquis, often reconciled, and often breaking forth again.

Bucking. It may be I was offended, but I sought no base revenge.

Eglish. That shall appear hereafter. The Marquis of Hamilton, after this quarrel happening between you, fell sick; and you (whom King James knew to be vindictive) had occasioned this his sickness, and afterwards his death by poison.

Marq. I could not endure that thou shouldst come near me, Buckingham, in my sickness.

Bucking. But I was still desirous to visit you in your sickness, though this urinal-observer, Dr. Eglisham, kept me away.

Eglish. I knew your visitation proceeded from dissimulation: but to hasten to the end of my accusation, you, Buckingham, and my Lord Denbigh, would not, all the time of his sickness, suffer his son to come near him, lest my Lord Marquis should advise him not to marry Buckingham's niece. Matters being thus suspiciously carried, my Lord Marquis deceased; and you, Buckingham, would have him buried that night in Westminster-church. When he was dead, his body was swelled to a strange and monstrous proportion: I desired his body might be viewed by physicians, but you, Buckingham, being guilty, endeavoured to hinder it; but view him they did, and all the physicians acknowledged that he was poisoned: and after his death, you, Buckingham, sent my Lord Marquis his son,

[1] [See Dr. Eglisham's petition printed, in Vol. II. p. 69. of the present Work.]

out of town, made a dissembling show of mourning for his death, and a bruit was spread of poisoning Buckingham's adversaries, and the poison-monger or mountebank, was graced by Buckingham; all which are sufficient grounds to prove you guilty of the Marquis of Hamilton's death. Now I will also declare thee to be a traitor, in poisoning thy Sovereign King James.

Bucking. Speak what thou canst, and add more lies to this relation: I will not answer thee until the end.

K. James. Was Buckingham the author of my death? I would have thought those heavenly essences, called angels, might have been sooner corrupted than Buckingham: was he my poisoner?

Eglish. He was, my Liege; for Buckingham being advertised that your Majesty had, by letters, intelligence of his bad behaviour in Spain, and that your affection towards him was thereby grown somewhat colder; Buckingham, after his coming from Spain, said, that the King being grown old, it was fit he should resign all government, and let the Prince be crowned.

K. James. Didst thou desire the death of thy aged Prince? I could not long have lived by nature's course, must poison needs dispatch me? But proceed, Eglisham, give us the circumstances briefly, how and in what manner I was poisoned by Buckingham.

Eglish. Then thus, my Liege: your Highness being sick of an ague, and in the spring, which is no deadly disease; Buckingham, when your doctors of physick were at dinner, on the Monday before your death, offered you a white powder to take; you refused it, but, after his much importunity, took it; and thereupon you grew extreme sick, crying out against that white powder, and the Countess of Buckingham. Buckingham's mother applied a plaister to the King's heart and breast, whereby all the physicians said that he was poisoned; but Buckingham threatened the physicians, and quarrelled with them, and Buckingham's mother fell down on her knees, and desired justice against those that had said that her son and she had poisoned your Majesty. "Poisoned me!" said you; and with that, King James, you turned yourself, swooned and died. Buckingham, as before, made a dissembling show that he was sorry for the King's death, which was nothing so; for he was nothing moved at all, during his sickness, nor after his death. To conclude, the dead body of King James, like as Marquis Hamilton's corpse, swelled above all measure, their hair came off, and their nails became loose. Now thereupon, upon these proofs, in presence of the King and Marquis, confess thyself guilty; for, Buckingham, thou wert both a murderer and a traitor[2].

K. James. Buckingham, what canst thou allege for thyself? Did not I end many differences and jealousies between my son Charles and thee, and compose many fractions? Did not I, when ill language issued from thee, insomuch that blows were struck, and swords drawn in my presence, to the jeopardy of thy life, cry, "Save my George, save my George?" Did I not love thee, Buckingham, as if thou hadst been my dearest son? Made thee from a low beginning rise so fast, that thy sudden growth in honour was envied at the court? Hadst thou poisoned some other man, thy soul had not been half so black or foul; thou mightest have been compelled to it by envy, or else transported by some cruel passion, or urged thereunto by jealous fears to make away thy enemy; but to kill him that was thy gracious prince, whose favour had created thee Duke, and gave thee honours far above desert; it was the highest step of base ingratitude. O Buckingham! go and lament thy sins; and here, to ease thy troubled mind, confess unto me, didst thou poison thy master King James? shew me why, and for what reason thou didst it.

Bucking. First, Your Majesty began to decline your wonted affection to me, and likewise to be very jealous of all my actions and sayings. Secondly, Your Majesty was stricken in years, and grew intemperate, and a burthen to yourself and to your people; and they, sick of an old government, and desiring a new change. Thirdly, Had I not undertaken

[2] [This heavy charge against the Duke of Buckingham gained so much credit, as to be annexed to the articles of impeachment passed against him in the house of commons, *anno* 1626.]

it, I could not have stood a favourite to a succeeding King, nor been so eminent in the court.

K. James. Who were actors besides thyself in this hellish plot?

Bucking. Many more besides myself, whom I dare not reveal as yet; but time shall produce them, and their foul actions. Sir, I desire your pardon: I did contrive your death by poison, but I have paid full justice for it, since my conscience hath been my judge and executioner.

K. James. Let princes learn from thee, never to trust a favourite! But what dost thou answer to the accusation of poisoning the Marquis of Hamilton?

Bucking. This Dr. Eglisham hath spoke all truth, and proved, by many circumstances, that I procured his death by poison; I know that I am guilty, but cannot more be punished: furies of conscience do torment my soul, and I have no hope of ease until you seal my pardon, and say you can forgive me, for I, George Duke of Buckingham, poisoned King James, and the Marquis of Hamilton.

Eglish. And, lastly, for fear that I George Eglisham should discover you, as I have now done, to be the poisoner, I was sought to be murdered, but I fled into Holland; and there, by your appointment, I was stabbed and killed.

Bucking. I do acknowledge that my mortal hatred unto thee was great; and I acknowledge myself guilty too of thy death, Dr. Eglisham.

K. James. Then, Buckingham, thou wast to me a most ungrateful traitor.

Marq. of Hamilton. To me a cunning and dissembling poisoner.

Bucking. I suffer for it now; for Heaven is just. Farewell, I'll go and weep for grief.

"MURDER will out, and just revenge, though slow,
Doth overtake the murderer, this I know,
Whose passages of life, and shining glory,
Might be compil'd into a tragic story.
For, before Felton[3] did my life conclude,
I added murder to ingratitude:
Never did weeping penitent confess
With greater sorrow: Oh, I did transgress
Against the laws of nature, that would have
Subjects defend good kings, not dig their grave.
The voice of murder she doth upward fly,
And unto heaven doth for vengeance cry;
And you, good King, were gracious to that man,
Whose ghost you see, the Duke of Buckingham,
But I was most ungrateful to my King,
And Marquis Hamilton, whom I did bring
Both to untimely deaths, forgive my sin.
Great King, great Marquis, Doctor Eglisham,
All murder'd by the Duke of Buckingham.
Forgive me all, and pardon me, I pray:"—
This being said, the Duke's ghost shrunk away.

[3] [The dagger of Felton seems to have been directed by personal disappointment. He was a lieutenant in the army, and had been refused the command of a company by the Duke, upon the death of his captain.]

A lamentable and piteous Treatise[1], verye necessarye for everie Christen Manne to reade: wherin is contayned, not onely the high Entreprise and Valeauntnes of th'Emperour Charles the V. and his Army (in his Voyage made to the Towne of Argier[2] in Affrique, agaynst the Turckes, the Enemyes of the Christen Fayth, th'Inhabitoures of the same), but also the myserable Chaunces of Wynde and Wether; with dyverse other Adversites, hable to move even a stonye Hearte to bewayle the same, and to pray to God for his Ayde and Succoure. Whiche was written and sent unto the Lorde of Langest. Truly and dylygently translated out of Latyn into Frenche, and out of Frenche into Englishe. 1542.

Ricardus Grafton excudebat, cum Privilegio ad imprimendum solum.

[Octavo, containing Twenty-seven Pages.]

To the ryght hygh and myghtye Lorde, Sir Wyllyam of Bellay, Vyceroy of Pyment, and Knyght of the Ordre of the mooste Christen Kynge; Syr Nycolas Vyllagnon, Gretynge.

I HAVE geven you to wytte (ryght honorable Lorde) by my laste letters, that in makyng hast towarde you, I was retarded and constrayned to tarye at Rome, because of the renewing and grefe of the woundes, that I was hurt of; the which, by the dyffycultye and length of the way, recreased and waxed worsse dayly. For the truthe is, that the daylye procedynge of my sorenesse hath holly taken from me hope to depart from hens; and from my departyng hath hyndred me much more then I wold. Howbeit, beyng contynually incyted by great desyre to se you agayne, and seyng the let of my departyng out of this towne, as yet unredy; I have advysed me to put in wryting the ordre and estate of my voyage, and send it to you, because that, in suche wyse, ye should the sooner knowe it; which I my selfe wold sooner have done, yf my dysease would have suffred it. And, by the same meanes, the delay of my commyng towarde you to be excused. Your good frende Franceys Guyche, a worthy man and lyberall, by greate amyte hath receyved me into his house, and kyndly entreated me: and hath doone so muche by his great dylygence, that by the helpe of medycyns, I hope ryght soone to come into the way of amendement; wherby I am greatly beholden to hym. It hath been he, that whan I would have enforced me to have gone on my waye, hath letted me tyll I were somewhat more at ease, and stronger to endure the travayle of the waye, and the disposycion of wynter: which yf he had not done, I was in daunger to have fallen in another grevous

[1] See Oldys' Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 71.

[2] [Then under the government of Hassan or Hascen Aga, a Sardinian renegado, who succeeded Hayradin, the brother of Barbarossa, as bashaw of Algiers; and outdid, if possible, Barbarossa himself in boldness and cruelty. See Dr. Robertson's Hist. of the Emperor Charles V.]

malady; for with the payne and smert of my woundes, all my body was swollen, so that almoste I was fallen into an hydropsy. Howbeit, as nowe I purpose, as sone as my dysease is paste, to put me in waye with all dylygence to se you ryght soone. At Turyn.

And fare ye well.

AS, in the sommer paste[3], my pryvate, necessary, and domestiqual busynes moved me to retourne into Fraunce, I was advertised by my frendes of th'Emperour's jorney into Italy, and of the purposed passage of his army into Affrique: who, knowynge the councell and purpose of th'Emperour, dyd move and persuade me to thire good and honeste entreprise. Then I, understandyng well my fayth and duetye accordyng to my profession, knewe that I was bound, with all my powre, to employe my selfe to fight against th'enemys of the faith: and lykewyse fearynge greately, that my body, longe accustomed with the peynes of warre, shuld by the meanes of muche ease become to tendre for lacke of use and exercise, if I shuld have taryed longe lyngerynge with my frendes; wherfore, I purposed with my selfe, to deferre and set asyde my former busynes tyll another tyme, rather then to leave suche a present and oportune occasyon of honour in so necessary a matter. Nowe then, the mynd and purpose of th'Emperour (as I perceaved by my frendes letters) was thus, as foloweth:

Th'Emperour beyng in Allmeigney[4], to th'entent to appease and set a staye in the controversyes and dyssencyons, whiche are amonge the Allmeignes in matters of religion, dyd there fynde Ferdinand his brother, and the sonne of the same Jhon, which last of all obteyned the realme of Hungarye, and had knowledge that they wer inflamed with great and pernycious dyscordes, and in mynde to fyght together violentlye for the right of the saide realme. The whiche sonne of Jhon, for the feare that he had of the powre of Ferdinand, called and sought ayde of the Turckes; whiche when Ferdinand sawe commyng, in preventynge theim, with all his powre, beseged the towne of Buda, enforcynge him selfe moost dylygently to have taken the saide towne before the Turckes cam. The which when th'Emperour knew, and consyderynge howe necessary it was to stoppe the Turckes from entryng within our lymites and boundes, dyd dyspatche a porcion of his armye to go and ayde his brother, to th'entent that the soner and the easyer he myght attayne to th'end of his entreprise, and to take the saide towne of Buda; notwithstandyng he beeynge allwayes troubled with the feare of their purposed commynge, (aswell of the strength of the place, as also of the dylygence of the enemyes which resisted and withstode him,) was constreigned to tarye the commynge of the sayde Turckes. And therfore th'Emperour, leavynge his former entrepryse of the controversyes of the faithe, thought yt muche better to set a staye and ordre in this aforesaide warre. And for that he knewe wel, that it was a verey daungerous and jeoperdous thinge, so sone and unadvysedly to goo against the might and force of the Turckes beinge so freshly arryved, inlesse they had been, in some parte, weryed by longe sojournynge and taryenge after theyr commyng. Wherfore he was mynded to set forwarde his hoost into another place, more farther back from the partes of Christendome; and therfore, leavynge with his brother Ferdinand, for his ayde and helpe, the hoost before sent, supposyng theim ynough, because the tyme was not convenient for warre, seinge that wyntre was at hande; and the saide Ferdinand receavyng the whole charge and guydynge of the saide hoost to the parties aforesaide, th'Emperour, with great travayle and dylygence, retorned to Italy: at which place beinge arryved, he caused with al spede newe menne of warre to be taken up, and in a lytle tyme had readye a perfite hoost of men; and lykewise ther was made aswell at Gene[5], as also at Naples, diverse shippes and galyes, imediatlye to conduce and brynge the saide armye into Affrique. For it was now more necessarye for hym to assayle Affrique, then enye other contrey of Turcky, for feare that if he had made his armye into Turcky, he had left his enemyes in Affrique without warre, whiche shuld have

[3] [A. D. 1541.] [4] [Germany.] [5] [Genoa.]

turned to the great feare of the Spanyardes, whom he purposely kept, to be ayded by theim, bothe of money and menne, at his invadynge of Turcky.

In the meane ceason, that all thynges were makynge readye, and that the gallyes were furnysshed with vytayles and artillarye, receavyng the menne of warre, th'Emperour had communicacion with the B.[6] of Rome, in the towne of Luke, to th'entent to advertise him of his entreprise, counsell and purpose, of the saide warre. The B. of Rome (because Affrique hathe fewe good havens to lande in) advysed him not to take the sea, neither to abyde thereon; and toke muche pein to persuade th'Emperour from hys purpose[7]. Howbeyt, that the reason of the sayde Bisshop was alwayes very good, yet notwythstandyng, for other greater consideracions, th'Emperour dyd remayn in his fyrst purpose; for he knewe how great a nombre of people wer oppressed in Hongrie, and how nedeful it was, that the warre in that place shuld not be long continued; and therfore chaunged his purpose, to arryve in another place, to th'entent, that our enemyes shuld be compelled to kepe warre wythin theyr owne countre. He sawe well that it was a woorke that requyred greate dylygence, and so much the rather, because he had conceaved wyth him selfe, that the Turckyshe warre requyred a greater provision. In such sorte, that before the sommer next foloynge, he coulde not prepare so great an army; wherfore, in the meane tyme, he thought it more convenient to make warre in Affrique, to th'entent to deliver the Spaniardes from the feare of the Affricans, and that afterwarde he myghte the more easely preserve the sayd Spaniardes for his Turckyshe warres. For the Spaniardes are accustomed, when th'Emperour doth aske eny moneye of theim, to excuse theim selves by the neyghbourhed of the saide Affricanes their enemyes. So that, by this meanes, and suche lyke reasons, the B. of Rome was persuaded, and allowed the wyl and mynde of th'Emperour, and, praysynge his wisdome, did departe.

All these thinges then beyng readye, as is aforesyade, th'Emperour commaunded that the gallyes, whiche were laden with vytayles and instrumentes of warre, shulde depart, from Naples and Gene, and go to the ysles of Baleares, the whiche nowe is called the ysle of Majorque and Minorque, and that there they shulde tary; and he him selfe within short tyme after departed from the haven of Veneri[8], beynge accompaignyed with xxxvi great shippes, takynge his course to the ysle of Corphou[9]; and after he had sayled a lytle while, without any trouble, there dyd sodaynlye aryse a mervelous greate tempeste, whiche devyded the whole navye, in suche wise, that with great pein and strength of owers[10], the barque, that th'Emperour was in, with vii other shippes onlye, myght skarce recover the land of the sayd ysle of Corphou; so that all the other were dryved by the great violence and vehemency of the tempeste unto dyverse places ferre asonder, in suche wise, that they arryved not with the other vii shippes, before two dayes were expired; duryng whiche tyme th'Emperour was constreigned to remayne at the foresayde haven to abide the sayde shippes. And, after the arryvynge of the sayde shippes, he passed with all his navye untyl he came to a towne of Boniface[11], the which towne is so situate upon a rocke, that iii quarters therof no man maye come nygh, havynge but onelye one place to entre at, which is thorough the cave and holowe parte of the foote of a mountayne standyng in the stead of a dytche, for the same towne, so that the sayde towne is not praysed for eny other thynge, but for the haven beyng so verye nere unto it: in the whiche towne, after th'Emperour had a lytle tyme rested him selfe, and seyng the wether well dysposed, he departed from thence, with all his armye, and without any trouble he arryved in the ysle of Sardague[12] nere to the see of Affrique, and in the same place, he refresshed hym selfe in the towne of Lahorgera; in whiche place, the same daye, that they arryved, there chaunced a woondrefull, straunge, and mervelous thynge, for in the nyght folowyng,

[6] [Bishop, *aliàs* Pope.]

[7] [Charles had likewise been warned by the sage and cautious Andrea Dorea, of what would be the certain issue of this unseasonable enterprise. "Fie, (said the obstinate Emperor,) suppose we do perish: twenty-two years of empire for *me*, and seventy-two of life for *you*, are a pretty fair allowance. Go, go, I will have my own way for once." Hist. D'Espagne, cited by Andrews.]

[8] [Porto Venere, in the Genoese territories.] [9] [Corfu, in the Mediterranean.]

[10] [Oars.] [11] [Bonifacio, in the island of Corsica.] [12] [Sardinia.]

ther was a kowe that calfed a calfe with two heades, the which was brought to th'Emperour to behold. Two days after, th'Emperour parted from that place, and for the space of two dayes folowyng, had a mervelous good wynde, and approched nere the Baleare of Minorque; into the whiche, thinkynge to entre, they were dryven backe with a wondrefull, sodayne, and sore tempeste, so sharpely, that skase, with verye greate pein, was it possible for them ever to have recovered the haven; which neverthelesse came to passe, and that throughe force and strengthe of oers in spight of bothe wynde and wether; and the tempest was so great, that for the space of vii dayes contynuallye, dooyng our uttermoost, we had not ben hable to have made iiii legges[13]. So that, for the contynuaunce of the great storme and wynde, we were dryven to abyde at ancres, without the haven, the reste of the nyghte, and the morowe after: seinge the porte of Mahon to be harde by us, we arrived into the same, not without greate and excedynge peine and labour. This haven (of al that I have seen) is the fayrest and best, were it not that it is very harde entreinge into the same, whiche commeth of the nature of the place; for al the border of this ysle is compassed about with veraye high mountaignes and hilles; and the place, by which they enter into the same porte, is so streyght and narrowe, that it is vereye jeoperdious and daungerous to aventure to entre into the same, without a smal and softe wynde: but to the rest, it is veray propre and handsome to herbour and kepe safe a great nombre of shyppes, aswell for the length (which is ii legges), as also for the corners, wholes, and turnyng places, whiche let that no tempeste of the see maye once vexe, greve, or trouble enye ship that is therin. And harde by are manye mountaignes, covered with forestes and great woodes, whiche is a necessarye thinge, and profitable for theim that shall arryve there. And, at the ende of the saide haven, is situate and buylded a veraye fayre towne, uppon the toppe of the mountaignes; the whiche, if yt were buylded and furnysshed with menne, as it is stronge by nature of the place, it shulde be more hard for the barbarousse to wynne and take, then to assayle it, as he hathe done.

Nowe then th'Emperour rested in this place the space of two dayes, so longe as the storme and rage of the tempest of the sea continued; the whiche as sone as it was alayed, we departed thence, and we bordred upon Majorque; and, when th'Emperour was come, he founde ther arryved Ferrande Gonzaga, viceroy of Naples, and an hundred and fyftie shyppes of the Italyans, and with theim beynge accompanyed with seven galleyes stronge and well trymmed; which, with them that th'Emperour brought, made the nombre of fyftye galleyes, over and above all the nombre of the forsayde shyppes; and yet th'Emperour loked for fyftene great shyppes to be sent hym out of Spayne, with a great nombre of other shyppes, all laden, which then were arryved upon the border of Affrique, and shortly after was shewed unto th'Emperour; who, hearynge the sayde newes, commaunded every man to go aborde, and to hoyse up the sayles, and to take theyr course unto Affrique; and so we lefte behynde us the ysle of Majorque, the whiche to descrybe unto you: The nature and kynde therof is farre otherwyse then of Minorque; for the see costes[14] of the same be flat and lowe, without any fruytfull mountaignes, or haboundynge with any good thynge; but the myddle therof is hyllye and stony grounde, unfruytefull and baren; and that, because it lyeth more nere to the south, then doth Spayne, by reason wherof the wyntre is more temperate, without any sharpe colde, beyng plentyfull of all suche fruyte, as customably doth growe in Affrique. The inhabitauntes therof dooe use the lawes, customes, and language of the Traconytes, greatly resemblynge them in all thynges. They use, in the makynge of theyr morter to buylde with all, to put softe earthe, gravel, small stones, and sande; which is the substance and princypall thynge, wherwith the walles of theyr chefe towne is buylded.

Nowe to retourne to th'Emperour: When all the gallyes and shyppes were departed from the foresayde ysle of Majorque in good ordre, he toke hys waye unto Affrique, towarde the towne of Argiere, and dyd arryve nere unto the same, within ii dayes after his departyng from the foresayde ysle of Majorque; and there founde his foresayde gallyes, whiche were harboured fyve legges longe frome the sayde towne of Argiere, that bordereth

[13] [Leagues.] [14] [Sea-coasts.]

harde upon the see coste; who, spying us a-farre of, made towardes us; but ymmediatly they were commaunded by th'Emperour to retourne agayne to the same place, where they laye before, to stoppe or let, that no succoure shulde come unto the towne from that parte. Th'Emperour then, approchynge somwhat nere unto it, commaunded that, with all dilygence, twelve shyppes, traversyng before the towne, shulde go on the other parte, to spye and see yf they coulde fynde a more commodyous place to harboure his sayde gallyes in, where they myght lye in lesse daunger of tempestes and stormes of wynde and wether: which was quickely done; and, perceaving that he had a more sure abyding and commodyous place, th'Emperour, with the strength of his navye, passed before the sayde towne, and went to the place aforesayde, where they cast ancres; waytinge in the same place for the shyppes that were laden with vytayles and other baggages of warre; and, from the sayde place, one myghte easely se all the proporcyon and sytuacion of the sayde towne, and a great parte of the countrey nygh unto it. The daye folowynge (perceavyng the see to aryse and swell a lytle and lytle) we wayed oure ancres, and removed, chosynge another place, where the wynde myght doo us lesse harme and dammage; the whiche place is called Matasus[15]. And, this thyng done, behold there came forth two shyppes of the Turcke to spye, the whiche incircumspectly fell into our handes; and, quyckly perceaving theyr folyshnes and ignorance, caste about theyr sayles, and recovered the depth in such wise, that it was not possyble to take one of them: for the one was sonke in the see by oure people; and the other, with swyfte sayling and strength of ores, saved her selfe. Neverthelesse, it was knowen by them whiche were taken, that they were espyes sent to knowe the state and provisyon of our army. The rest of the daye was spent in assemblyng together to the sayde place all the gallyes, in the meane tyme; and whyle the see dyd asswage. Whyle this was doynge, th'Emperour commaunded the Lorde Ferrande Gonzaga and James Bossus, menne of great wytte, and practized in warres, that with a lytel fysher-bote they shulde ronne alongest the wynde, espying or searchyng out a mete and convenyent place where to land his armye. And these, obeyinge the commaundement of th'Emperour, dyd theyr dilygence, and when they retorned, shewed the place chosen by theim for this purpose. The daye folowyng, the see was woondreous still and calme. Afterwarde, th'Emperour, drawyng more nere to the towne, landed all his army without anye maner of resistence of the enemyes; and the ordre and araye of the same armye was as foloweth: the nombre of the foote menne were xxii M. wherof vii M. were Spanyardes, whiche came aswell from Naples, as also from Sicile. Ther was also vi M. Allmeignes, vi M. Italyans, and iii M. of diverse other nacyons, whiche, of theyr owne good willes folowyng th'Emperour, sought theyr honoures and adventures; beside the housholde servauntes of th'Emperour, and beside iii C. of diverse other nacyons, whiche were sent from Malta by the Knyghtes of the Rhodes, the whiche also were of diverse countryes. The nombre of the horsemen were xi C. that came oute of Spayne, of the whiche, iiii C. ordinarily weyted upon th'Emperour. Then, assone as our menne were landed (for this daye there wer but fewe menne of armes that came a-lande) couragiously they assembled theim selves together, every manne accordynge to his owne nacion; purposing every man with him selfe wisely to set upon, and assayle our enemies; whiche by diverse courses and skyrmishes sought to hurt us: but assone as they approched and came nere to us, they were dryven backe by our people, with the artillarye and harquebusshes, that they wer compelled to ronne dispersed and oute of araye, in suche sorte and maner, that we had none hurte by them. Our enemyes then, beinge driven backe, wer constreigned to kepe theim selfes in the mountaignes.

Our armye then began to drawe nere the towne: the Spanyardes had the forwarde, or vantgard, under the governaunce of the Lorde Ferrand Gonzaga. Th'Emperour set forwarde in the battayll, accompaignyed with his Allmaignes; in the arriergarde, or hinder warde, was the Italyans and the Rhodyans; beyng under the governaunce of the Lorde Camillus Columna. And in this ordre we wente forwarde the same day, almoste halfe a legge, where we passed awaye the night with lytle slepe. For the Numydyans, whiche

[15] [Cape Metafuz; about two leagues from the coast of Algiers.]

were creapte up into the mountaignes, came downe often tymes, and noyed us evyl with bowe-shott; moost chefely that parte which was nearest to th'Emperour's tentes; against whom there were by th'Emperour sent iii compaignyes of Spanyardes, to refreyne and stoppe them, or at the leaste to staye theyr fearcenes and boldnes. But oure enemye (knowynge the places and conveighaunces of the countrees), at the commynge and sight of the foresaide menne, they gate them backe into the woodes and mountaignes; places moost sure and safe, lettyng our people from commyng up; whiche they coulde not always do any long tyme; for our people, with great courage and hardynes, went up and made them flye: but at the last, perceavyng the nombre of our enemyes to encreace dayly more and more, and they beynge wery with so often skyrmysshynge, or fightynge with theyr enemyes, were constreigned to come backe agayne to the armye; whiche they dyd not without great losse: seing they contynued in battayle, from the firste settynge of the watche, tyll the dawnynge of the daye; and speciallye for because they were evell provyded of gonne-powder. Then it is to be understande, that the waye of the halfe legge, whiche we went, is a flat and even grounde, and that ther is none other let therin, but certen wild busshes and shrubbes; and such is the place, tyll ye come to the foote of dyverse lytle hylles, or mottes, whiche contynue from the sayde playne to the towne of Argiers, and are in length almoste halfe a legge. And under the same playne the see floweth, begynnynge at the rocke, from whence we firste came to searche a more sure place (as is aforesayde), and it is of length, from the sayde towne to the rocke, about v or vi legges, measured with a strayte lyne. Howbeit, they that shall jorney it, shall fynde nere x legges; because the mounteignes continue, and come from the sayde rocke to the foresayde lytle hylles, whiche in maner do compasse the towne, so that ther is none other playne, savynge the valyes of the sayde mounteignes, betwene theim; for the sayde lytle hylles are set in such sort, that they shewe as though they were an haven: for lyke wise as, wher the see beateth upon the lande, it maketh it eyther streyte, or compasse lyke a bowe; so, in lyke maner, the mounteignes beyng farther in the lande or nearer to the haven, that is to saye, semeth to be nye, wher they lye flat, and, when they be croked, or compassed havenlyke, shewe much larger then the playne. In this place then (lyke as ye have hearde) the iii enseignes or banners beyng returned, th'Emperour caused the armye to approche neere the towne; whiche to bring to passe, it was convenient to wynne and obtayne the upper partes of the sayde lytle mottes, or hylles, that joyne unto the playne, and enclose the sayde towne, receavynge all that came from the mounteignes, which we have declared to come from the former rocke: the whiche mounteignes also were necessarye to be had, to let our enemyes from stoppinge oure entreprise; for by theim oure adversaries ceased not to provoke and assayle us, and so sore troubled us, that oure people coulde not get up easelye: for they, possessing the top of the hylles, might lyghtly wythdrawe theim selfes, when we woulde do oure endevours to pursue theim. And it was farther thought, that yf it were possible to obteyne the heigth of the sayde mounteignes, it shoulde be then muche more easye to stoppe and let, that they shoulde have no succour of vitayles, whych myght have come to theim of the towne by lande; and therfore it was devysed, that they shoulde drive awaye, oute of the sayde mounteignes, the Numidoys, that so muche had molested us; and in the very selfe same place he set his vauntgarde, or forward. And, for so muche as it was very harde to brynge to passe, because of the heigth and uprightnes of the mounteignes; that, not wythstandinge, by the wisdome and good government of the Lorde Ferrande Gonzaga, the Spanyardes had the honour of the gettyng up. The mounteignes then beyng occupied with the vauntgarde, the campe, or battayle, remained amonge the lytle hylles, of the whyche is spoken before, and a lytle farther, by the haven of the see, was set the riergarde; and the army beynge thus ordred, the towne of Argiers semed to be shut in a triangle; for of the one syde it had the see, and on the other two partes laye oure army, in suche wise, that they were enclosed from ayde and succour of anye parte; forasmuche, as the townes and countrees there aboute, beyng oure enemyes, myght have come and done us displeasoure. Neverthelesse, we beynge holpen by the commodite and heigth of the sayde mounteignes, wher we wer, feared very lytle their

comminge; considering also, that in the same campe or felde, were many dyches, or caves, and wholes, of the nature of the place, which also served us wel in steede of dytches and trenches. So that then, all our enemyes beynge dryven into the sayde towne, and all thynges beynge in good ordre and staye; beholde, in the evenynge tyde, ther came a sodeyne and piteous calamyte or miserye, unevitable or uneschuable[16]: for there fell so greate and vehemente haboundaunce of rayne, commynge downe with suche vyolence and force, and contynuyng so longe, that it was not possible eny longer to endure it without present death: and the same tempest ceased not, from the fyrst houre of the nyght, tyll the nexte daye after. And yet, what was mor greveous and painful to the poore souldyers, there came suche a wynde, that blewe so colde and sharpe, and with suche vyolence, that never was there sene a more piteous nyght; for the poore souldyers, commyng out of theyr shyppes, not takynge eny stuffe with them, had not a cloth to cover them selfes, neither cappe, cloke, nor tentes to lye in. By the whiche intollerable tempest, there were so many beaten and febled, that both strength and courage feyled them together, by the reason of the greate peine and griefe, that they had endured. Durynge the whiche tyme, the see roase more then ever it had beene sene before, and in such a rage, that many of oure shyppes, losyng theyr ancres and theyr cables, were broken and beaten in peces against the see-bankes; the other, beynge fylled with water, were drouned and sonke into the depe, where was greate losse and dammage, aswel of apparel, artillary, and other provision, as also of the vytayles wherwyth they were laden. And this evell chaunce, happenyng in the nyght, was piteouslye augmented by the fortune of the daye folowynge: for a-freshe the rayne and wynde cam agayn wyth suche vehemency and vyolence, that it was impossible for eny manne lyvynge to stande on his fete; the whiche thinge knowynge oure enemyes, they perceaved well it was no tyme to let us be in rest; so that a greate nombre of theim, commyng very secretly out of their towne, came unto oure watche, and destroyed theim, and afterward drewe toward us, tyll they came to oure trenches or bullwarkes, settynge upon us with bowe-shotte. Notwithstandynge that we wer then wondrefully astonnyed, yet with all dilygence we stoode to oure defence, and, spedely armyng us, we assailed theim in suche wise, that at oure fyrst settynge on, they drewe backe; for none other purpose, then to have drawen us to theyr displeasoure into some streyght or destruction, in fallynge amonge theyr embushmentes, by pursuynge theim incircumspectly.

We were, in this metynge, more in nombre then oure enemyes, but they had the vauntage of us, aswel for the commodyte of the place beyng above us, as also of the diversite of weapons and artillary, whiche they used; for they, kepynge the higher parte of the mounteigne, so troubled us with the shotte of theyr cross-bowes, longe-bowes, and greate stones, and other kindes of artillary, that by no meanes we coulde get up to theim; for, by the reason of the contynuance of the rayne, and greatenes therof, we had altogether laide aside the use and occupienge of oure harquebusshes, so that it was impossible to finde enye meane howe to resiste theim, beyng farre of; and therfore we drewe nere unto theim, even tyl we came to their holebardes[17], and fought hande to hande, and manne with manne. But to bring this thinge to passe was veraye peinfull to us; aswell for the greate strengthe of oure enemyes, as also for the situacion of the place, beynge so difficile and harde to clyme up unto; and the greate nombre of bowe-shotte, that on us they discharged, when we enforced our selves therunto.

This maner of warre was veraye straunge to our people which had not bene accustomed with the maners and courses that oure enemyes used with us; which never woold joyne together, ner jeoparde all their strength to the aventure of one battayle; but beinge dispersed and scattered, they provoked us with their shotte, to th'entent to drawe us out of araye, and to have broken our ordre. And if it happened us to pursue theim, they wer alwayes in a redynes to flye, to th'entent to drawe us ferther of, and to seperate us one from another; and then, perceavyng us a litle nombre, they shulde retorne with greater

[16] [Uneschewable, unavoidable.]

[17] [Halberds]

compaignye upon us, and easely defeate us beyng their pursuers, and the lesser nombre: and the same day the horsse-menne (whiche turned to our great hurte) caused to come forth with theim oute of the towne a sorte of footemenne of lyke nombre; which being so well trymmed and broken in the feactes of their warre, that they could promptely and readely applye theim selfes to al poyntes and feactes therof; and ranne, when nede was, as swyftlye as the horses theim selfes. Oure people (as is aforesaide) being deceaved with this straunge maner of warre, pursued our enemyes (which so strayed abroade) even till they came almoost at the walles of the toune of Argier, into the whiche oure enemyes hasted to entre; and incontynentlye they of the toune with all spede shot of their artillary, with all other their ordinaunce upon the pursuers: wherupon folowed a greate murther and destruccion of our people, in such maner, that many of the Italyans (not exercized in warre) took their flyght, and by that meanes there was none lefte to kepe the felde, but the Knyghtes of the Rhodes, with a certen nombre of Italyans, beinge honest menne, whiche regardinge their honour dyd not flye. We then, consyderyng all thinges, dyd advyse with our selfes, that our enemyes, seyng the flyght of our people, woolde not fayle to issue forth to pursue us, lyke as it came to passe; and we tooke councell to withdrawe us betwene ii lytle hilles in suche a secrete place, where a fewe might easelye withstande a great nombre. Now then, (as I have writen unto you) all the place rounde aboute the toune was full of lytle hilles, the which are the cause, that the waye is altogether in a maner noysome, croked overtwhart, and in many places narowe, according as the hilles stand; some nere, and some ferther of, one from another.

We thus purposyng, and incontinently after our removyng, behold, our enemyes cam forth of the toune, in great nombre, earnestly intending to have pursued us sharply; but assone as they perceaved us, they began to put in use their accustomed trade, to th'entent to drawe us out of strength; who seing that we wold not come forth, dyd send ther people afore up the mounteignes, to th'entent that being above us, they might with stones, and other theyr artyllary, dryve us oute; the which caused that manye of our people, not being prepared against such sorte of warre, left their place and fled from their strength and holde, not withstanding we enforced us allwayes to dooe nothinge, that myght redounde to our reproche, and to take as lytle harme as we could; whiche thinge seing our enemyes, and havinge great spyght that so small a compaignie shulde withstand so great a nombre of people, they agreed to drawe nerer, and settinge fiercely forward, came upon us with a bonde of horssemenne, against whose commynge, our armoures stood us in good stede. Nowe then, we seinge that all hope of our lyves dyd lye in wysdome and boldnes of courage, we purposed rather honestly to dye in battayle, than in flyenge to be myserably destroyed by theim; and this to dooe, we wer greatlye incited and sturred withe the hope that we had in the nere commynge and readye succour, which we looked to have quickly of th'Emperour. And, being thus purposed and confyrmed, we withstode our enemyes by great force of speares. So that when yt chaunced enye of theim to come among us and to medle with us, we shortened their passage and slewe theim among us; which was not hard to dooe, forasmuch as they are not muche accustomed to weare herneysse[18]. And perceavynge this, they drawynge backe, beganne agayne the use of their shotte as they had done before, wher withall they did us much harme, (because we were very nygh one to another,) and that so greatly, that we were dryven to breake our ordre; and to saye the trouthe, we were sore troubled: at which tyme, beholde th'Emperour came polytikly with a compeignye of Allmaignes; whiche when our enemyes perceaved, they left of noyeng and grevyng us, and gave us a lytle leasour and space to breathe our selfes.

When th'Emperour had set his armye in the largest places that he could fynde amonge the lytle hilles (of the which, often tymes we have made mencyon), and our enemyes coulde not well perceave what was the nombre, because of the hilles which were betwene theim: wherfore, to knowe this, they approched more nearer; but seinge that it avayled nothing,

[18] [Armour.]

fearynge that if they shuld have stayd to long viewying of us, th' Emperour's men, beyng nere, woolde have medled with theim; and therfore, they drewe back, and strayte way entred the toune, blowyng the retraicte, and so saved them selfes in the toune in good ceason; lashinge oute, and shotynge of, in all the haste, theyr greate gonnes and harquebusshes; then was th' Emperour himselfe in great daunger, for in the meane while he was with the vaunt garde, gevyng courage unto theim that were in the formost brunt. The great gonnes caryed away v or vi of theim to whome he spake, and tooke councel of; howbeit, he him selfe never chaunged colour, nether shewed eny token of feare in goyng forth with his purpose, as though nothinge had chanced. These thinges thus dooen, and our enemyes gone backe and we delivered, th' Emperour, with a small losse of his Allmeignes, brought back the armye to the campe.

As concernyng the Knyghtes of the Rhodes which were in all, skase the nombre of an hundred, there was viii of theim that remayned slaine with the gonnes, and xxx that skaped being sore wounded. As for the Italyans, whiche remayned among us, I knowe not for a truthe, howe great the nombre was, nether of theim that wer slaine, ner yet of those that wer hurt and wounded; for because, that I my selfe was sore wounded, and for that the great grefe and peine of my woundes caused in me a great maladye and disease, that yt was not possible for me to go unto one that coulde tell me the nombre. In this meane while that we were thus tormented wyth the wynde, rayne, and enemyes, our shippes of warre, rydyng alongest the coste, were woondrefully turmoyled; and suche was the rage and crueltye of the storme, that there was nether ancre ner cable, the whiche coulde holde theim from breakynge and dasshynge against the earthe, or from beatynge one against another; so that the water entreynge, sanke theim in the depe. And our enemyes much more augmentynge this fortune (whiche seinge aswell our losses as also our other miseryes, bothe of our people and shippes in great nombre) went downe to our arryvage[19], to th' entent to kyll theim, whom the tempest had spared; the which thing seinge, th' Emperour dispatched ii M. Spanyardes that brought backe our enemyes, and delyvered the maryners from that perill and danger, whiche was to our smal advauntage: for the maryners, seing the great daunger of the see, and th' assurance of the lande, regarded none other thyng but the savynge of theym selfes; and therfor conveighed theim selfes oute of the daunger of the water, whiche was the cause that the oftener our shippes dyd beate against the bankes, and so were drouned in great nombre. Suche was this tempest, that xxx shippes wer lost, which chaunce was so greveous when it was tolde the army, that in maner they wer utterly put in despayre; for at their comminge foorth of the shippes, to th' entent they woolde be the more lyght and hable to journeye, they pestred not theim selfes with enye necessarye provisyon, neyther tooke they with theim vytayles, but for ii dayes onlye; the which wer gone and spent ii jorneyes before: therfore, consydering a great part of the shippes perisshed, they feared that the rest shuld peryshe in lyke maner; so that, when nede shuld come, there shuld remayne none to cary theim awaye, in such sort that they looked for nothinge more sure then presente death. And seinge that we lacked artillary, and that, on the other side, it boted not either to seke or hope for vytayles, so that they utterlye dyspayred of the wynninge of the towne; and this confusyon and despayre endured all that daye and nyght foloynge.

Thre dayes after, the see somewhat assuaged, but yet not so, that it was possible to have entreprised the goynge for enye vytayles; and th' Emperour, in this necessite, coulde none otherwise provyde for his armye, but commaunded that the horses whyche he had caused to be brought with hym in the barques, to be kylled for the sustentacion of the poore souldyers, the which by the space of iii dayes dyd eate none other meat: for the tempest, in brusyng and noyenge of the shyppes, had loste and drouned a great quantyte of meale, corn, and bysket, and othey vytayles, as peason, beanes, wyne, oyle, and poudered fleshe; with the whiche they were wel laden at their commyng foorth. And so, by this meanes, there was loste many horses, and a great nombre of artillarye; aswell of that

[19] [Or landing-place.]

which served for the safegarde and defence of shippes, as also of that whiche we tooke out, for the besegynge and assautynge of the toune; the greatest parte wherof our enemyes might have fyshed for: and the some[20] of the grayne that we loste was so muche, that skacely ther remayned ynough to serve us in our journeye homeward, although we made great hast.

The Emperour then, consyderyng all his fortunes and losses, determyned to differre this assaute tyll the next sommer foloynge, or soner, yf he could bryng hys armye; and, therfore, commaunded that every man should get him to the see-syde; which thynge was much more easyer to be done, then was their landynge. And then was sene there a pyteous and lamentable sight: for the poore souldyers, beyng so feynt, (as is aforesayde,) wette, and washed with water, from toppe to toe; beyng feble, by sufferynge so longe the great famyne; fynding the way, by which they shuld go, so slabby and slyppery, that many of them, lackyng strength, fell downe pyteously starke ded, or very nigh ded, without havyng helpe or succour of eny man in the worlde: for the earth, by the reason of the former rayne, was so wette and slyppery, that it was not possible to fynde any place once to rest in; so that, yf any wold have rested or stande styll, he was constreigned to staye him selfe upon his staffe. Nevertheles, God alwayes ayded us; for in th'ende (except it were a veray small nombre) we with good courage acheved wisely this our retraicte, in such sorte, that, for to come unto the place where we shuld go aboorde, we passed lustely thorowe thre dytches of ronnynge water, wherin we went up to the harde gyrdelles; and this retraicte, or fleying backe, endured the space of three dayes.

Nowe then, assone as we were all arryved harde by the shyppes, the Emperour commaunded, that while the Allmeignes and Italyans wente aborde, the Spanyardes (in whome he had a bettre opinion) shuld tary a-lande, for the resystence of the enemyes, yf any chaunced to folowe them, and to do asmuch as they myght, that every man were set a-borde. Howbeit, the former tempest had broken and destroyed so many of the lytle botes, by which our people shuld have bene caryed, one after another, unto the greate shippes, that it was not possible to boorde in so lytle time as ii dayes; nether might the Spanyardes come awaye before all was done; and, the third day, (then a great nombre of the Spanyardes beyng caryed and borded,) the winde beganne to blowe, and the see to swell, in such wise, that they had much a-doe to brynge the rest aborde; but yet, at the last, it was dooen. The maryners foreseyng, or perceavyng the tempest, beganne to departe; and they that fyrst were laden and gone, were moste happy; for the tempest, so encreasynge, would not suffre the other to come of the coste, but of force kept them in; to the great daunger of breakyng theyr shippes agaynste the rockes: so that a Rhodyan, havynge his cables and ancres broken, was in great daunger to be dryven in peces agaynste the stones of the bankes; but, by the great laboure of the slaves, at the laste they gate more into the see, and then the masters counceled, rather to put them selfes to the chaunce of the wether, then to remayne there in daunger: the other three, foloynge the purpose of this, dyd, in lyke maner, put them selfes to the fortune of the wether, and by this meane, at the last arryved al foure at the toune of Buge[21]; which thyng was not done without great laboure and perill; for the one of theim, losynge his rudder, escaped perysh-ynge very narowlye.

The Emperour, lookyng for the assuagynge of the tempest, dyd remayne, this mean tyme, harde by the shore; thynkynge that if the rage dyd still contynue, that he woulde, with strength of men, tolle[22] forth his shippes, with lytle botes, into the depth of the see: but forasmuche as he had proved often tymes, and myght not bryng it to passe, and also seynge the tempest contynue, he commaunded to set forward with the shippes, and to folowe the Rhodyans, leavynge behynde him, for the succoure of them that remayned, foure great gallyes; that afterwarde, as we were informed, wer, by the rygoure and force of the tempest, brosed[23] and beaten agaynst the rockes of the see-bankes, and a great nombre of

[20] [Sum.] [21] [Bugia, a sea-port town of Africa.] [22] [Or tow.] [23] [Bruised.]

oure people caste upon the same bankes; which, beyng destytute of all hope and comforte, commended them selfes to God; purposyng to go towarde the towne of Argiers, to ask mercy of our enemyes, and to put theim selfes undre raunsome: but the Numidoys, oure enemyes, without any pitie or compassion, slewe them and destroyed them, before they came nere the toune.

Such was th'ende of the Affricane warre, that what for the troublesomenes of the tymes, and the great laboure which we had endured, we were desyrous of reste: notwithstandynge we obteyned not, for the place would not suffre it; forasmuche as the haven of Buges had before it no maner of defence to kepe of the wynde and wether commyng from Europe, the which caused that we could not longe remayne there; for the see, beynge vexed and troubled with wynde, brake and brosed our shyppes in such sorte, that we were in no lesse perill then when we escaped at Argiers. Afterwarde, by good chaunce, ther was arryved a ship, laden with corne and other vytayles; the whiche, sone after she was come into the haven, by the sore tempests and furye of the winde, even before our eyes, was drouned and sonke: by the which tempeste, although we susteyned no hurte, yet I thought it mete to be spoken of, that ye may knowe what feare we were in. And after that the see had thus tormented us a great parte of the daye; at the laste came a myserable and cruel nyght, that vexed us in such sorte, that we utterly despayred: but the day foloynge, the great rage and furye beinge a lytle assuaged and appeased, it beganne to be somewhat calme. And yet ferther I had forgotten to tell you, that durynge this greate tempest, by a wondrefull vyolence of the winde, the captaynes shyppe of the gallyes was caryed; whiche, in commyng to the haven, had caste over boorde both mastes and sayles: whiche tempest used no lesse rygorousnes with the shippes of the Rhodyans; for, by a wondrefull violence, it toke up a bote oute of the shippes, lyftynge it so high, that it had lyke, in the commynge downe, to have fallen into one of the gallyes; so that it was none other lyke, but the saide tempest woolde have executed his furye even upon all the rest of the shippes, as that dyd upon theim that skaped from Argier.

And after this great tempest, the see beyng some what appeased; on the which, because we durst not sayle, we were in daunger to have perished for hungre; for, although Buges was oures, yet we had muche adoe to get enye succour of theim; for the Mores[24] (agaynst whome our people, dwellynge in the saide toune, have alwayes warre) doe occupye, and holde all the countre and regions therabout; so that we coulde have no maner of succoure ner aide of them, for lacke of corne and greyne, whiche alwayes was brought to theim out of Spayne. And for because that, a longe tyme before, ther cam no shippe out of Spayne that had brought theim enye grayne; and also, for that we arryved there, being many in nombre, therefore we coulde not be much ayded by theim.

And after that th' Emperour had consydered all these parylles and daungers, both he and all his people gave them selves to prayer unto God, and receaved the holye sacrament, to pacefye the yre and wrath of Almighty God: and after the chaungyng of the mone, the rage and fury of the wynde ceased, and the see waxed calme. In the whiche tyme of feare, and that the good occasion and convenyent tyme of oure departure shoulde not be loste, the captayne of the Knightes of the Rhodes, havyng communicacyon with th'Emperour, obteyned to have a certayne companye with him; with whome Fernand Gonzaga goyng, I my selfe also departed from the sayde place, and we arryved at the towne of Tunes[25]: but th'Emperour, by the councell of Andridore[26] (captayne of hys navye), dyd remayne tyll the tempest was more allayed. And, partyng from Tunes, we came to Dextran, which is in Sicyle; and anone, after we had made certayne oblacyons and offerynges to the blessed Vyrgyne, we went to Pavoram; in the whiche place I bethought my self of certen business of myne owne, which I had put of tyll my retourne from Affrique: and yet, for all that, I made towarde Rome as fast as I coulde, where I was constreyned to tarye, for that my sores and woundes so sore vexed and tormented me; and to the entent

[24] [Moors.] [25] [Tunis.] [26] [Andrea Doria.]

that, in the meane tyme, I woolde not be founde ydle, I was wyllynge to compile and gather this little treatyse of the jorneye made into Affrique; in the whiche, I make no mencion of the noble actes of the valyant capteynes, for that woolde conteygne to long a matre.

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The Leveller: Or, the Principles and Maxims concerning Government and Religion, which are asserted by those that are commonly called 'Levellers.'

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WHEN the sect of the Christians first arose, the tyrants wrapped them in beasts' skins, to provoke the wild beasts to rend them in pieces; and, when Christ their Lord descended to earth, the Priests and Pharisees (finding his doctrine and holiness against their interest) cast upon him all the dirt of blasphemy, drunkenness, and confederacy with the worst of sinners: and, to make sure of his life, they rendered him an enemy to government, and told Pilate, that he was no friend to Cæsar, if he let him go. It hath been the common practice of all tyrants, to cover the face of honesty with the mask of scandal and reproach, lest the people should be enamoured with its beauty: it is a master-piece in their politicks, to persuade the people that their best friends are their worst enemies, and that whosoever asserts their rights and liberties, is factious and seditious, and a disturber of their peace. Did not the Gracchi, in Rome, by such policy, perish by the people's hands, whose liberties they sought to vindicate? And do not some Englishmen now suffer deeply upon the same account, from the people's hands for whose sakes they have prodigally hazarded their estates and lives? Are not some lovers of their country defamed, and esteemed prodigious monsters, being branded with the name of 'Levellers;' whilst those that reproach and hate them, neither know their principles or opinions concerning government, nor the good they intend to their very enemies? Those that have designed to prey upon the people's estates and liberties, have put the frightful vizard of Levelling, upon those men's faces; and most people are aghast at them, (like children at raw-head and bloody-bones,) and dare not ask who they are, or peep under their vizard, to see their true faces, principles and designs. Doubtless, if the people durst but look behind them upon the bug-bear from which they fly, they would be ashamed of their own childish fear of the Levellers' designs, to make all men's estates to be equal, and to divide the land by telling noses; they would easily discern (if they durst consider it), that no number of men out of Bedlam could resolve upon a thing so impossible, that every hour would alter by the birth of some child, if it were possible once to make out equal shares; nor upon a thing so brutish and destructive to all ingenuity and industry, as to put the idle useless drone into as good condition as the laborious useful bee. Neither could the people think that any number of men, fit to be feared, rather than scorned and pitied, could gain by levelling estates: for they can never have power and interest enough to disquiet the nation, unless their estates be much greater, than they can be possible upon an equal division: and, surely, it is a bugbear fit for none but children, to fear any man's designs to reduce their own estates to little

better than nothing; for so it would be, if all the land were distributed like a three-penny dole.

But to satisfy such as desire to know what they are, who are now, for distinction-sake, though formerly, by their enemies, scandalously called 'Levellers,' and what their designs are; I shall tell you their fundamental doctrines or maxims, concerning our government: and from thence you may make a true judgment of all their plots, and either fear them, or favour them accordingly.

I. First, They assert it as fundamental, that the Government of England ought to be by laws, and not by men: they say, the laws ought to be the protectors and preservers (under God) of all our persons and estates; and that every man may challenge that protection as his right, without a ticket from a major-general; and live under that protection, and safely, without fear of a red-coat, or a pursuivant from Whitehall. They say, that Englishmen ought to fear nothing but God, and the breach of the laws; not to depend upon the will of a court and their council, for the security of themselves and their estates. They say, the laws ought to judge of all offences and offenders, and all penalties and punishments to be inflicted upon criminals; and that the pleasure of his Highness[1], or his council, ought not to make whom they please offenders, and punish and imprison whom they please, and during their pleasure.

They say also, that the laws ought to decide all controversies, and repair every man's injuries, and that the rod of the people's supreme judicature ought to be over the magistrates, to prevent their corruption, or turning aside from the laws; but that the magistrates for executing the laws should not hold their offices at the pleasure of a King, or Protector, lest the fear of displeasing him perverts justice. In their opinions, it is highly criminal, that a King, or Protector, or court, should presume to interpose by letters, threats, or promises, to obstruct the due course of the laws, or countenance and abet, or discountenance and browbeat, any man's cause whatsoever. In fine, they say the laws, that are incapable of partiality, interest, or passion, ought so to govern, as no man should be subject to the crooked will, or corrupt affections of any man.

II. The Levellers' second maxim or principle about government is, that all the laws, levies of monies, war and peace, ought to be made by the people's deputies in parliament, to be chosen by them successively at certain periods of time; and that no council-table, orders, or ordinances, or court-proclamations, ought to bind the people's persons or estates: it is the first principle of a people's liberty, that they shall not be bound but by their own consent; and this our ancestors left to England as its undoubted right, that no laws to bind our persons or estates, could be imposed upon us against our wills; and they challenged it as their native right, not to be controlled in making such laws as concerned their common right and interests; as may appear by the parliament's records in the time of Edward the Second, and Richard the Second.

The Levellers say, that those, whose interests are in all things one with the whole people's, are the only proper uninterested judges of what laws are most fit to preserve and provide for that common interest: such are the people in parliament rightly constituted and methodized, and they may be depended upon, to provide remedies for the people's grievances, because they themselves are sharers in every common grievance; and they will be naturally led to study the common good, because they shall share in it. But, if a monarch's pleasure should control the people's deputies in their parliaments, the laws must be fitted for the interest of the monarch and his family, to keep him in a condition to overtop the people, not for the common and equal good of the whole nation: and then the monarch's fears on the one hand, lest the people should be able to diminish his greatness, or that he should hold his greatness at their mercy; and the people's fears on the other hand, lest the monarch should be able to make them slaves, and they come to hold their estates and lives at his mercy: these, I say, would set two opposite interests always at contention,

[1] [Cromwell.]

in the composing of laws; and the wisdom and industry of the people's deputies, that should be spent in contriving the advancement of the people's common good in the laws, would be taken up, endeavouring to defend and preserve the people's interests, against the monarch's. Therefore (say the Levellers) it is equal, necessary, and of natural right, that the people by their deputies should choose their own laws: yet they conceive it would be of much greater good to our country, if our parliaments were moulded into a better form, and some deputies were chosen by the people, only to give their consent or dissent unto laws proposed; and other deputies were chosen for senators, that should consult and debate of the necessity and conveniency of all laws, levies of monies, war, and peace, and then propose all to the great assembly of the people's deputies, to resolve: that so the proposing and resolving power, not being in the same assembly, all faction and private interests may be avoided, which may possibly arise in a single council, vested with the sole sovereign law-making power. This second doctrine of the Levellers had been fit for all England to have asserted some years since; and then so many fatherless and widows had not now been weeping for their lost husbands and fathers in Jamaica and other foreign countries; nor had so many families been ruined, nor England impoverished by the loss of trade, occasioned by the Spanish war, begun and prosecuted upon private interests or fancies, without advice or consent of the people in parliament.

III. The Levellers assert it as another principle, that every man of what quality or condition, place or office whatsoever, ought to be equally subject to the laws. Every man, (say they,) high and low, rich and poor, must be accountable to the laws, and either obey them, or suffer the penalties ordained for the transgressors: there ought to be no more respect of persons in the execution of the laws, than is with God himself, if the law be transgressed; no regard should be had who is the offender, but of what kind, nature, and degree, is the offence: it is destructive to the end of a government by law, that any magistrate or other, should be exempt from the obedience or justice of the laws: it dissolves the government *ipso facto*, and exposeth all the people to rapine and oppression, without security of their persons and estates, for which the laws are intended: therefore (say they) great thieves, and little, must alike to the gallows; and the meanest man as readily and easily obtain justice and relief, of any injury and oppression, against the greatest, as he shall do against the lowest of the people; and therefore (say they) it ought not to be in the power of any single person, to defend himself from the impartial stroke of the laws, or to pervert justice by force: and that brings in their fourth principle, *viz.*

IV. That the people ought to be formed into such a constant military posture, by and under the commands of their parliament, that by their own strength, they may be able to compel every man to be subject to the laws, and to defend their country from foreigners, and enforce right and justice from them, upon all emergent occasions. No government can stand without force of arms, to subdue such as shall rebel against the laws, and to defend their territories from the rapine and violence of strangers; and the people must either hire mercenary soldiers, to be the guardians of their laws, and their country, or take the care upon themselves, by disposing themselves into a posture of arms, that may make them ready and able to be their own guard. Now (say the Levellers) it is neither prudent nor safe, that the people's arms should be put into mercenary soldiers' hands. What reason can induce any people to believe, that their laws, estates, liberties, and lives, shall be more secure in the hands of mercenaries, than in their own? Who can think his estate, his liberty, or his life, in safety; when he knows they are all at the mercy and will of hirelings, that are led by no other motive, than that of profit or pay, to serve them; and may be led by any proposal or temptation of greater profit or pay, to desert them?

All ages have afforded sad experiments of trusting their strength in the hands of mercenary armies; most nations who have kept them, at least in their own bowels, having been devoured by them. Did not the Egyptian king, by trusting the arms in hirelings' hands, lose both his crown and life, and brought the people to be slaves to the Mamulakes for near two-hundred years? Was not the famous commonwealth of Rome ruined and

enslaved, by their negligent permission of Julius Cæsar (upon his advantage of long continuing general) to form a mercenary army? Did not the inhabitants of Rhegium perish by the hands of the Roman legion, left to be their mercenary defenders? And were not our neighbours of Amsterdam lately very near the loss of their estates and liberties, by their own mercenary army? And (say the Levellers) the people have less reason to trust to mercenaries, to defend their country from foreigners; than they have to preserve their estates and liberties from domestic oppression. How can their valour or fidelity be depended upon, when a small stipend only obligeth them to either; and if they be conquered one day, they are ready to serve the conqueror the next day? it being their professed principle to serve where they can have best and most certain pay. But, (say the Levellers,) when the people, who are owners of a country, are disposed into a military form, they fight *pro aris et focis:* they are sensible that they have more at stake than a daily stipend; and are in no hopes to better their conditions, by division amongst themselves, or by betraying their country to foreigners. Thus (say they) is it prudent and safe for the people to be masters of their own arms, and to be commanded, in the use of them, by a part of themselves, that is, their parliaments, whose interest is the same with theirs.

These four foregoing maxims contain the sum of all the Levellers' doctrine about our government in externals, (whose principles, without naming one of them, have been rendered so prodigious, and of such dangerous consequence); but let the reader judge, whether the liberty, happiness, and security of every Englishman, be not sought in the endeavours to establish those foundations of equal justice and safety: neither can they be charged herein with novelty or inconstancy; the same fundamentals of government having been claimed by our ancestors, as their right, for many hundred years.

And the late Long Parliament proposing the same to the people, as the things to be defended by the late war; alleging, that the King had set up courtiers to govern, instead of laws, by imprisoning at pleasure, and during pleasure; and that he had attempted to make proclamations, and council-table orders, to be as binding as the laws that the people made by their parliaments; and that the King had exempted himself and others, from subjection to the laws, and pretended a right to the militia, to command the people's arms, without their consent: and, in confidence of the Parliament's real intentions and fidelity in what they proposed, the people spared neither treasure nor blood to preserve themselves, and their declared native rights. And therefore those, called 'Levellers,' do now challenge their principles of justice and freedom, as the price of their blood: and however many of the Parliament's friends and adherents, have since deserted their first pretences; yet the Levellers say, they can give no account to the righteous God, of the blood they have shed in the quarrel; nor to their own consciences, of their duty to themselves, their families, and country, to preserve their laws, rights, and liberties; if they should not persist in their demands and endeavours, to establish the government in what form soever, upon the foundation of the principles herein declared: and therein they would acquiesce; humbly praying the Father of all wisdom, so to direct their law-makers and magistrates, that all God's people might enjoy their spiritual Christian liberties, in worshipping God according to their consciences; and they heartily wish, that such a liberty may be settled, as another fundamental or corner-stone in the government.

But the designers of oppression having also thrown dirt in the faces of those, whom they have named 'Levellers,' in the matters of religion, and aspersed them sometimes as Jesuits, sometimes as notorious hereticks, and sometimes as licentious atheists, men of no religion; it is necessary that I should acquaint the reader with their principles that relate unto religion: I do not mean to give an account of their faith; for the men, branded with the name of 'Levellers,' are and may be under several dispensations of light and knowledge in spiritual things, in which they do not one judge the other; yet they are all professors of the Christian Reformed religion, and do all agree in these general opinions about religion, and the power of men over it.

First, They say, that all true religion in men is founded upon the inward consent of their understandings and hearts, to the truths revealed; and that the understanding is so free, that it is not in the power of men to compel it to, or restrain it from, a consent: nothing but the irresistible evidence of a truth can gain a consent, and when the evidence is clear to any man's understanding, he himself, much less another howsoever potent, cannot so much as suspend an assent. Therefore, no man can compel another to bereligious, or by force or terror constrain the people to be of the true religion.

Secondly, They say, that the last dictate of every man's understanding, in matters of faith and God's worship, is the last voice of God to him, and obligeth him to practise accordingly. If a man be erroneously informed, yet the misconceptions he hath of truth, bind him to practise erroneously; and should he resist that seeming light, though it should be in truth darkness, his sin would be much greater and of worse consequence, than if he follows by his actions his erroneous conceptions. Therefore, the only means to promote the true religion, under any government, is to endeavour rightly to inform the people's consciences, by whose dictates God commands them to be guided; and therefore Christ ordained the preaching of the Gospel, as the outward means for converting souls; faith coming by hearing: and he also ordained spiritual ordinances for the conviction, instruction, and punishment, of erroneous and heretical persons; the Scripture commanding the erroneous to be instructed with the spirit of meekness, and admonished privately, publicly, &c. And Christ never mentioned any penalties to be inflicted on the bodies or purses of unbelievers, because of their unbelief.

Thirdly, Levellers say, that there are two parts of true religion: the first consists in the right conceptions and receptions of God, as he is revealed by Christ, and sincere adorations of him in the heart or spirit; and the expressions or declarations of that worship outwardly, in and by the use of those ordinances that are appointed by Christ, for that purpose. The second part of it consists in works of righteousness and mercy, towards all men; done in obedience to the will of God, and in imitation of his justice and goodness to the whole world.

The first part, being wholly built upon the foundation of revealed truths, doth in its own nature absolutely exclude all possibility of man's being lord of his brother's faith; unless the understanding or faith of a magistrate could constrain the faith or understanding of others, to be obedient to his, or rather to be transformed into the likeness of his. And therefore therein every man must stand or fall to his own master; and having done his duty, rightly to inform his neighbour, must give an account to God, of himself only.

But the second part of religion falls both under the cognisance or judgment of man, and the law-makers' or magistrates' power. Christ hath taught his followers to judge of men's religion by their works: 'By their fruits (saith he) ye shall know them, for men 'do not gather grapes of thorns.' Whosoever, be it a court, or an army, or a single person, pretend to religion, and yet remain treacherous wherein they are trusted, and continue the breach of their promises, and are not conscientious to do to others, as they would that they should do to them; but can, without regard to justice, seize by force of arms upon the people's rights, due to them by God's law of nature, and their ancestors' agreement; and subject their persons and estates, to their wills or their ambition and covetousness, and make themselves great by oppressions out of the people's purses: those men's religion (men may clearly judge) being vain by the Scripture's judgment; yea, their prayers and their preaching, as abominable in God's eyes, as were the fasts, new-moons, and sabbaths of the Jews, (which were then also God's ordinances,) whilst their hands were defiled with blood and oppression, and the works of righteousness and mercy neglected.

It properly belongs to the governing powers, to restrain men from irreligion in this second part of religion; that is, from injustice, faith-breaking, cruelty, oppression, and all other evil works, that are plainly evil, without the divine light of truths that are only revealed: and it is the duty of governing powers, to compel men to this part of religon; that is, to the outward acts of justice and mercy; for the inward truth of men's religion, even in these, is beyond the magistrates' power or judgment.

Fourthly, They say, that nothing is more destructive to true religion, nor of worse consequence to human society than the quarrels of nations or persons, about their difference of faith and worship; and the use of force and punishments, each to compel the other to be of his belief. It cannot be denied, that God, in his infinite secret wisdom, is pleased to cause his Spirit to enlighten men's minds, with several degrees of light; and to suffer many to remain in darkness, which be afterwards also enlightened: and, therefore, their faith and worship, if it be sincere, must necessarily and unavoidably differ, according to the different root of light upon which it grows. Surely babes in Christ and strong men, differ much in their apprehensions and comprehensions of the objects of faith; and much more those that are not yet born in Christ, though appointed unto regeneration, and it may be, instructed like Cornelius, in some things.

And as to opinions about worship, the thoughts of men must naturally be different, as the mind of one exceeds another in clearness of light, and capacity of judging; now when the most powerful party seeks, by force and punishments, to constrain the governed or conquered, to subscribe to their faith and opinions, without regard to their own light or understandings: doth it not, as much as is in man's power, banish all dependence upon the Spirit of God for light, out of men's minds, and constrain them to put out the candle of God within them; that is, the light of their own understandings; and induce them, for their worldly respects and safety, to profess a faith and practise a worship, which they neither do nor dare understand? And by continuance, to contract a blindness of mind and hardness of heart; and is it possible to practise a design more opposite to true religion, and the propagation of it? And it is evident that those of false religions, under a pretence of honouring God, by forcing men to be religious, have blinded millions of thousands with false worships. And also, that such as have professed the true religion, in substance, have wickedly opposed the further enlightening work of the Spirit of God; and caused thousands, for fear of punishment, to rest satisfied in the profession of a faith and worship, which they understand not, and therefore can have no true religion in them. And histories will tell plentifully, how pernicious the quarrels, grounded only upon difference in matters of faith, have been to mankind: an honest pen would tremble to relate the murders and massacres, the dreadful wars and confusions, and the ruins and desolations of countries, that have been upon this account; and the same must be to the world's end, if difference in opinions about religious worship and matters of faith, should be admitted to be a sufficient ground of quarrels. Errors and differences in men's understandings are from natural, unavoidable infirmity, which ought not to be the objects of punishments, or men's angers: it is not more likely, that God should make all men's understandings equal in their capacity of judging; or give to all, an equal means or measure of knowledge; than that he should make all men's faces alike. Why then (say the Levellers) should any man quarrel at another, whose opinion or faith is not like to his, more than at him, whose nose is not like to his? Therefore (say they) let us be unanimous in seeking an establishment of equal freedom and security to the whole people; of the best provisions for commutative and distributive justice, without partiality; and of the best means of instructing the whole people in the spirit of love and meekness: and then true religion will increase and flourish.

I have now faithfully related the sum of their principles about government and religion, who have been usually called 'Levellers,' and scandalized with designs against government, and religion, and plots, to bring the nation into anarchy and confusion. Let the reader jugde, what colour there is to suspect those, that are thus principled, of such ill designs: or rather, whether freedom, justice, peace, and happiness, can be expected in our nation, if these fundamentals of government be not asserted, vindicated, and practised; and made as known and familiar to the people, as our ancestors intended the great charter of the liberties of England should have been; when they provided, that it should be sent to every city and every cathedral church, and that it should be read and published in every county, four times in the year, in full county.

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I have only mentioned the fundamentals, because they claim these as their right; and humbly submit the circumstantials, as to the number whereof parliaments should consist, and the manner of their elections, and the order of their debating and resolving of laws, &c. to the wisdom of the parliaments. But the reader may well enquire, how those that have asserted these principles, came to be called 'Levellers;' the people believing generally otherwise of them, than these principles deserve? Truly the story is too tedious to relate at large; but the sum of it is, that in the year 1648, &c. the Army having been in contest with some members of the Long Parliament, they constituted a general council of officers and agitators for the soldiers; and then fell into debate, of proposals to be made to the Parliament for a settlement, and then some of that council asserted these principles; and the reason of them quickly gained the assent of the major part: but being contrary to the designs of some that were then grandees, in the Parliament and Army, (but most of them since dead,) and had resolved of other things, at that time, (even with the King, who was then at Hampton-court,) it fell into a debate in a private cabinet-council, how to suppress or avoid those that maintained these principles; and it was resolved, that some ill name was fit to be given to the asserters of them, as persons of some dangerous design; and that their reputations being blasted, they would come to nothing, especially if that general council were dissolved. Then was that council dissolved; and an occasion taken from that maxim, that 'every man ought to be equally subject to the laws,' to invent the name of 'Levellers;' and the King, who was to be frighted into the Isle of Wight from Hampton-court, with pretences, that the men of these principles in the army would suddenly seize upon his person, if he staid there; he was acquainted with those men, by the name of 'Levellers,' and was the first that ever so called them in print, in his declaration left on the table at Hampton-court, when he secretly (as was thought) stole away from thence; and thence it was suddenly blown abroad, with as much confidence, as if they had believed it that first reported it, that a party of Levellers designed to level all men's estates: and, since then, the late Lord-Protector (knowing these foundations of freedom to be inconsistent with his designs) hath often mentioned the Levellers' plots, with malice, scorn, and scandal; and now of late, generally, whosoever asserts the people's liberties, and right of government by law and not by will, is branded as a Leveller by the flatterers.

Now I heartily wish, that my countrymen may not be mistaken in my candid intentions, in giving them this account. I mean not to court them, as Absalom did his father's subjects, to make them believe, that those called 'Levellers,' would use them better than others, if power was trusted in their hands: for our age hath given me experience, that power to enslave the people ought not to be entrusted in any men's hands, upon the fairest pretences and most solemn oaths, that that power shall be used to establish their freedom. And it is the Levellers' doctrine, that the government ought to be settled upon such equal foundations of common right and freedom, that no man, or number of men, in the nation, should have the power to invade or disturb the common freedom, or the common course of impartial justice; and, therefore, that every authority ought to be of small continuance, and the several authorities, to be so balanced each by other, that (without such an agreement of men, against their own interest, as human prudence cannot think possible,) the people cannot suffer any common injury. But my meaning in this is, only to prevent the division of my countrymen into parties, with animosities each against others, by the cozenage of names or scandals; when, it may be, they would otherwise join hands and hearts, for their common rights and liberties, if they understood each others' minds, and could converse each with other, without prejudice, because of the names whereby each hath usually called the others. It is a thread-bare plot of tyrants, to divide the people into parties, that they may the more easily master them: but I wish, that my countrymen would unite in the equal principles of common right, and hearken to reason, with clearness of mind, whosoever offers it; not regarding whether *he that speaks* it, is called a Leveller, or a Sectary, or an Anabaptist, or a Presbyter, or a Cavalier, but considering *what he says;* and then the number of hands, to defend our liberties and properties, would be so numerous, that the ambition of one, or a few, could not hope for success

in attempting a tyranny over us. And if this poor paper may have such an effect, that my countrymen be not deluded with the idle scandal of Levelling, cast upon honest men, into an opposition of their own welfare; I, and many that agree in the publication of this, shall have our ends.

Consider, therefore, what you here read; and the Lord make you understand the things, that conduce to your peace and freedom, and the glorifying his Name in righteousness, in this nation.

Admiral Russel's Letter to the Earl of Nottingham: Containing an exact and particular Relation of the late happy Victory and Success against the French Fleet[1]. Published by Authority.

In the Savoy, printed by Edward Jones, 1692.

[Folio, containing Eight Pages.]

My Lord, Portsmouth, June 2, 1692.

SINCE your Lordship seems to think, that an account, in general, of the fleet's good success is not so satisfactory, as one setting forth the particulars; I here send it, with as much brevity as the matter will admit of. I must confess I was not much inclined to trouble you in this nature, not being ambitious to see my name in print on any occasion: but since it is your Lordship's commands, I am the more inclined to give you the best information, I am able, of the action; having seen several printed relations not very sincere.

Wednesday, in the evening, being the eighteenth of May, standing over for Cape de Hogue; I ordered Captain Gillam, in the Chester, and the Charles galley, to lie at such a distance to the westward of the fleet, that they might discover any signals made from me.

Thursday the nineteenth, standing with a small gale S. S. W. the wind at W. and W. and by S. hazy weather, (Cape Barfleur bearing then S. W. and by S. from me distant about seven leagues,) between three and four in the morning, we heard several guns to the westward, and in a short time, I saw the two frigates making the signal of seeing the enemy, with their heads lying to the northward; which gave me reason to think the enemy lay with their heads that way: upon which, I ordered the signal to be made for the fleet's drawing into a line of battle; after which, I made the signal for the rear of the fleet to tack, that if the enemy stood to the northward, we might the sooner come to engage; but soon after four o'clock, the sun had a little cleared the weather, and I saw the French fleet standing to the southward, forming their line on the same tack that I was upon: I then ordered that signal for the rear to tack to be taken in, and at the same time, bore away with my own ship so far to leeward, as I judged each ship in the fleet might fetch my

[1] [This fleet was fitted out for the purpose of restoring James II. to his abdicated throne: but that prince, with the Duke of Berwick and several great officers, both of his own court and the court of France, beheld the destruction of the French ships from an eminence on the shore. Admiral Russel was afterwards created Viscount Barfleur and Earl of Orford by King William: and a well-known ballad was made on occasion of this important victory, called 'The famous *Ninety-two*.' See Ritson's Eng. Songs.]

wake or grain; then brought-to again; lying by with my fore-top-sail to the mast, to give the ships, in the fleet, the better opportunity of placing themselves, as they had been before directed. By eight o'clock, we had formed an indifferent line, stretching from the S. S. W. to the N. N. E. the Dutch in the van, the Red in the centre, and the Blue in the rear. By nine o'clock, the enemy's van-guard had stretched almost as far to the southward as ours; their admiral and rear-admiral of the Blue, that were in the rear, closing the line; and their vice-admiral of the same division stretching to the rear of our fleet; but never coming within gun-shot of them. About ten, they bore down upon us; I still lying with my fore-top-sail to the mast. I then observed Monsieur Tourville, the French admiral, put out his signal for battle. I gave order that mine should not be hoisted, till the fleets began to engage, that he might have the fairer opportunity of coming as near me, as he thought convenient: and, at the same time, I sent orders to Admiral Almonde, that as soon as any of his squadron could weather the enemy's fleet, they should tack, and get to the westward of them; as also to the Blue, to make sail and close the line, they being at some distance a-stern: but as soon as the fleet began to engage, it fell calm, which prevented their so doing. About half an hour after eleven, Monsieur Tourville, in the Royal Sun[2] (being within three quarters musquet-shot) brought-to; lying by me, at that distance, about an hour and a half, plying his guns very warmly; though I must observe to you, that our men fired their guns faster: after which time, I did not find his guns were fired with that vigour as before, and I could see him in great disorder, his rigging, sails, and top-sail yards being shot, and nobody endeavouring to make them serviceable; and his boats towing of him to windward, gave me reason to think he was much galled. About two, the wind shifted to the N. W. and by W. and some little time after that, five fresh ships of the enemy's Blue squadron came and posted themselves, three a-head of Monsieur Tourville, and two a-stern of him, and fired with great fury; which continued till after three. About four in the evening, there came so thick a fog, that we could not see a ship of the enemy's, which occasioned our leaving off firing for a little time; and then it cleared up, and we could see Monsieur Tourville towing away with his boats to the northward from us; upon which I did the same, and ordered all my division to do the like; and about half an hour after five, we had a small breeze of wind easterly. I then made the signal for the fleet to chase; sending notice to all the ships about me, that the enemy were running. About this time I heard several broad-sides to the westward; and though I could not see the ships that fired, I concluded them to be our Blue, that by the shift of wind, had weathered the enemy: but it proved to be the rear-admiral of the Red, who had weathered Tourville's squadron, and got between them and their admiral of the Blue, where they lay firing some time; and then Tourville anchored with some ships of his own division, as also the rear-admiral of the Red with some of his. This was the time that Captain Hastings, in the Sandwich, was killed; he driving through those ships, by reason of his anchors not being clear. I could not see this part, because of the great smoke and fog, but have received this information from Sir Cloudesley Shovel since. I sent to all the ships, that I could think were near me, to chase to the westward all night; telling them, I designed to follow the enemy to Brest: and sometimes we could see a French ship, two, or three, standing away with all the sail they could make to the westward. About eight, I heard firing to the westward, which lasted about half an hour; it being some of our Blue fallen in with some of the ships of the enemy in the fog. It was foggy, and very little wind all night.

Friday the twentieth, it was so thick in the morning, that I could see none of the enemy's ships, and but very few of our own. About eight it began to clear up: the Dutch, who were to the southward of me, made the signal of seeing the enemy; and, as it cleared, I saw about thirty-two or thirty-four sail, distant from us between two and three leagues, the wind at E. N. E. and they bearing from us W. S. W. our fleet chasing with all the sail they could make; having taken in the signal for the line of battle, that each ship might make the best of her way after the enemy. Between eleven and twelve, the wind came to the S. W.

[2] [Le Soleil Royal.]

The French plied to the westward with all the sail they could, and we after them. About four, the tide of ebb being done, the French anchored, as also we, in forty-three fathom water; Cape Barfleur bearing S. and by W. About ten in the evening, we weighed with the tide of ebb, the wind at S. W. and plied to the westward. About twelve, my fore-top-mast came by the board, having received several shot.

Saturday the twenty-first, we continued still plying after the enemy, till four in the morning. The tide of ebb being done, I anchored in forty-six fathom water, Cape de Hogue bearing S. and by W. and the island of Alderney S. S. W. By my topmast's going away, the Dutch squadron, and the admiral of the Blue, with several of his squadron, had got a great way to windward of me. About seven in the morning, several of the enemy's ships, being far advanced towards the Race, I perceived driving to the eastward with the tide of flood. Between eight and nine, when they were driven so far to the eastward that I could fetch them, I made the signal for the fleet to cut and follow the enemy; which they all did, except the aforementioned weathermost ships, which rid fast, to observe the motion of the rest of the enemy's ships that continued in the Race of Alderney. About eleven, I saw three great ships fair under the shore, tack and stand to the westward; but, after making two or three short boards, the biggest of them run a-shore, who presently cut his masts away; the other two, being to leeward of him, plied up to him. The reason, as I judge, of their doing this was, that they could not weather our sternmost ships to the westward, nor get out a-head of us to the eastward. I observing that many of our ships hovered about those, I sent to Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral of the Red, (who was in the rear of our fleet,) to keep such a number of ships and fireships with him, as might be sufficient to destroy those of the enemy; and to order the others to follow me, I being then in pursuit of the rest of the enemy. An account of the performing that service I do not trouble your Lordship with, he having given it you already. About four in the afternoon, eighteen sail of the enemy's ships got to the eastward of Cape Barfleur; after which, I observed they hauled in for Le Hogue: the rear-admiral of the Red, vice-admiral of the Blue, and some other ships, were a-head of me. About ten at night, I anchored in the bay of Le Hogue, and lay till four the next morning, being

Sunday the twenty-second; and then I weighed, and stood in near the land of Le Hogue; but, when we found the flood came, we anchored in good sandy ground. At two in the afternoon we weighed again, and plied close in with Le Hogue, where we saw thirteen sail of the enemy's men of war hauled close in with the shore. The rear-admiral of the Red tells me, that the night before he saw the other five (which made up the eighteen I first chased) stand to the eastward.

Monday, the twenty-third, I sent in Vice-admiral Rooke, with several men of war and fireships, as also the boats of the fleet, to destroy those ships; but the enemy had gotten them so near the shore, that not any of our men of war, except the small frigates, could do any service; but that night Vice-admiral Rooke, with the boats, burnt six of them.

Tuesday the twenty-fourth, about eight in the morning, he went in again with the boats, and burnt the other seven; together with several transport-ships, and some vessels with ammunition; the names of which ships I am not yet able to give your Lordship any other account of, than what I formerly sent you, which are as follow:

		Guns.
Soleil Royal, - -	Count de Tourville, - - - - - - - - - -	104
L'Ambitieux, - -	Chev. de la Vilette, Vice-admiral of the Blue, -	104
L'Admirable, - -	Monsieur Beaujeau, - - - - - - - - - -	90
La Magnifique, -	Monsieur Cottologon, Rear-admiral of the Blue,	76
Le St. Philipp, -	Monsieur Infreville, - - - - - - - - - -	76
Le Conquerant, -	Du Magnon, - - - - - - - - - - - -	76
Le Triumphant, -	Monsieur Bellemont, - - - - - - - - -	74
L'Etonant, - - -	Monsieur de Septime, - - - - - - - - -	80
Le Terrible, - -	Monsieur Septvilla, - - - - - - - - - -	80
L'Aimable - - -	Monsieur de Raal, - - - - - - - - - -	68

Le Fier, - - -	Monsieur Larsethoir, - - - - - - - - -	68
Le Glorieux, - -	Le Ch. de Chateaumoorant, - - - - - - -	60
Le Serieux, - -	Monsieur Bernier, - - - - - - - - - -	60
Le Trident, - -	Monsieur Monteaud, - - - - - - - - - -	56

As the prisoners report, a three-deck ship burnt by accident, and the following sunk; how true I do not know.

Le Prince, - - - -	Monsieur Bagneuz, - - - - - - - - - - -	60
Le St. Paril, - -	Monsieur Ferille, - - - - - - - - - - -	60

Though these be all the names that I have been able to learn, yet I am sure there are sixteen ships of consequence burnt.

Wednesday the twenty-fifth, I sailed from Le Hogue, ordering the admiral of the Blue, with a squadron of English and Dutch ships under his command, to run along the enemy's coast as far as Havre-de-Grace; in hopes that some of the before-mentioned five ships, that stood to the eastward, might have been got thither; but he informs me, that upon his appearing before that place, he could perceive but one or two small vessels. The number of the enemy's ships did not exceed fifty men of war, by the best information, from fifty-six to one-hundred-and-four guns; and though it must be confessed, that our number was superior to theirs, which probably at first might startle them; yet, by their coming down with that resolution, I cannot think it had any great effect upon them. And this I may affirm for a truth, (not with any intention to value our own action, or to lessen the bravery of the enemy,) that they were beaten by a number considerably less than theirs; the calmness and thickness of the weather giving very few of the Dutch, or the Blue, the opportunity of engaging; which, I am sure, they look upon as a great misfortune: and had the weather proved otherwise, I do not see how it was possible for any of them to have escaped us.

This is the exactest account that I am able to give you; which, I hope, will prove to your Lordship's satisfaction. Vice-admiral Rooke has given me a very good character of several men employed in the boats, and I have ordered him to give me a list of the names of such persons whose behaviour was remarkable, in order to their reward. I am,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most faithful
Humble Servant,
E. RUSSELL.

The Power of the Laws of a Kingdom over the Will of a misled King.

Leyden, printed by William Christienne. 1643.

[Quarto, containing Eight Pages.]

A KINGDOM is above a tyrant, or a king, when he breaks the laws. I must here wonder, with Buchanan, 'That law which concerns the kings themselves, what is 'it, and by whom enacted, neither can the lawyers themselves resolve: the Roman kings

'never had that power; from them there was an appeal to the people.' *Seneca, Epist.* 19, *scribit se ex Cicerone de Repub. libris didicisse, provocationem ad populum, et etiam à regibus fuisse.* We will examine what the French story can afford us, since that government is so much affected: I conceive it is *lex talionis*, to be judged by their examples, which hath been but of late times within this one-hundred, two-hundred, or three-hundred years; for, since these times, I am persuaded their parliaments are so far short of their ancient authority, that they are not equal with those liberties they have had, by reason of the incroachment of their kings: for, by the French story, it will easily appear, that they are inferior unto their parliaments. John de Rubra, in those times, 1371, a famous lawyer, *sub finem tractatûs, scribit his verbis: Si alicui regi superiorem non recognoscendi dandus esset coadjutor, illius adsumtio et institutio pertinent ad tres status regni, quod superiorem non habet, ut est regnum Franciæ.* 'Did not the nobility rise against Lewis the 'Eleventh of France, for the public good, that they might demonstrate perforce unto the 'king the miserable estate of the commonwealth? The sum of their request was, that 'the three estates might meet: and, when they did meet, there were chosen twelve out of 'every state by the parliament, so that there were thirty-six chosen in all to reform the 'grievances of that kingdom; and the king promised his faith, that he would ratify what-'soever those thirty-six should present to him; but Lewis the Eleventh broke his faith, 'which was the cause of the war that continued thirteen years afterwards: and so the 'perjury of the king, with his own infamy, and the destruction of the people, was expi-'ated.' The historians, that this history is gathered out of, are *Philip. de Com. Lib. cap.* 2. *N. Gillius, Lib. fol.* 152. *Guagninus in Vitâ ejusdem Ludov. Monstrolettus Oliverius Lamarcius Belga. Hist. cap.* 35. I must tell you, this king was neither weak in body or mind; for he was about forty, and for his natural parts, surpassed all the kings of France. To make the controversy more plain, 'There was a difference between this Lewis 'and Charles his brother, in 1468; upon which the parliament did decree the king should 'give some duchy which did not belong to the crown: besides, they did decree that the 'king should pay him yearly, out of his own treasure, a great sum of money.' *Britan. Amor commemorat. lib.* iv. *fol.* 200.

Gasco de Beirna, in 1275, was besieged by Edward king of England; Gasco appeals to the parliament, and Edward would not detract it, but did commit it to his officers, lest he should, if he had detracted it, make the French king, to whom he had lately done homage for some land he held there, a party against him: but that which makes this case most perspicuous, is that of Edward the Third and Philip of France, in 1328. The contention arising betwixt them two for the kingdom of France, they both of them submitted to the censure of the parliament of that kingdom: the parliament judged the kingdom to Philip; neither did King Edward detract that judgment, he paying of him homage for Aquitain a few years after. *Thomas Walsingham.* In this all the French historians agree as well as England. *Polydor. Virgil. lib.* xix. *Thomas Walsingham, sub Edwardo tertio.*

But of all the institutions of countries, there is none so memorable as that of the Spaniards; who, when they create kings in the council of Arragon, (and that it may be the better remembered,) they present a man upon whom they place this inscription, *Jus Arragonicum*, whom they do publicly decree to be greater and more powerful than the king. When that is done, they speak to their king (being created upon certain laws and conditions) in these words; which we will produce, because they will shew a notable and singular stoutness of that nation, in curbing their kings; *Nos que valemos tanto come vos y podemos mas que vos elegimos rei, con estas y estas condiciones, intra vos y nos, un que mandamos que vos:* 'We that are as great as you are, and are of more power than you, have chosen you 'our king, upon these and these conditions, betwixt you and us, there is one that is of 'more power than you.' The examples are infinite that the French have made of their kings, and their kings' children; so that I will instance no more than I have done: for these testimonies are the more to be noted and observed, because they do clearly demonstrate, that the chief right and arbitrement hath been of the people, not only of choosing

kings, but also of refusing, and repulsing the sons of their dead king, and choosing others in their rooms.

The lawyers now expecting the day, there starts up one, and puts into the court a *Quare impedit:* for which his reason was, that though these things have been done thus and thus, yet the fact doth not prove the consequence, that they ought to be done. The lawyer presently replied, that this *caveat* of his might not be approved of, being most ridiculous, which conceives, that a whole kingdom should not judge better of that which they have made so often trial of, than this man or that man. If the reason of many might be brought into question by this or that man's opinion, I would put this question to any man to prove by reason; being no more indemonstrable than the other question, 'that man is reasonable.' If he would give me an answer, I think that he could have no other proof that this is, or that is to be reason, than the general consent and approvement of this and that society. But, since the beginning of the world, there hath nothing been so absurd, but it hath found one patron. I do wonder what government the objector would have in the world, if most voices might not pevail. Doth not the divine think his controversy the strongest, when he hath most fathers with him; or the civil lawyer when he pleads, doth not he carry it when he quotes the most authors? All that can be said by them is, the king will not admit of it for reason: and perhaps they will say, the kingdom is a party as well as the king, and therefore a by-stander may see more. If a by-stander may see more, I will bring him in, and he shall be no other than a king (mistake me not, I mean a king of reason), it is Aristotle, who was greatest with the greatest monarch. 'The king must neither kill nor banish, no not for a time, nor in any one part must he domineer: for it is 'not fit the part should be above the whole.' Neither hath wise Aristotle, who dipped his pen in reason, left the king without a commanding strength over his disobedient subjects, nor the kingdom unfortified from incroaching kings; he writes thus: 'There remains one question concerning his strength, whether a king ought to have any, whereby 'he may compel his disobedient subjects to him, ruling according to the law; or after 'what manner he shall execute his office, although he be a just prince, and doth not prefer his will above the law; yet it is necessary that he have power whereby he may protect the laws: it is quickly resolved of, and not difficult to determine what power such 'a king should have; his power ought to be more than any one private man's or more, 'yet less than the kingdom's.' So that, if Aristotle speak truth, upon whom all human knowledge is built on, no man can deny this conclusion, That the King out of his courts hath a superior, which is the Law, the king in the court. So that I wonder more and more, that any man can maintain there can be long any government so long as this tenet is maintained, that a king is not answerable for his misgovernment, and that we must wait God's justice and providence; and we must, in the mean time, stand like the man in Æsop, who, when his cart stuck fast in the dirt, did nothing but pray to Jupiter, that he would pull his cart out of the dirt for him. But he had answer made; Jupiter would not help him, unless he would help himself: and, after he had put to his helping hand, then he had his prayer granted. Nor must we think so of Providence, that we must think ourselves nothing. *Plotinus in Theod. de Providentiâ Dei, fol.* 98. O that men would seriously consider, that a more pernicious tenet to the kings themselves cannot be hatched; for the subjects will continually be suspicious of their princes, and so will never love them truly, so long as kings nourish their basilisks. *Arist. Rhet. lib.* vii. For what more hopes can we have of kings than of popes, unless God would by his extraordinary means enlighten them? We have read into what exorbitances popes (though grave and learned men) have run into, by reason they bolstered up themselves by this tenet, of being answerable to none but God; till at last they were reduced to censure by the council of Basil. All that can be pretended in reason, why we should not resist evil princes is, because that civil wars will follow, and so there will be greater bloodshed. I answer, we do usually remember evils better than benefits; for the one is written in marble, the other in sand. It happens so sometimes: but sure I am, that after their removals, the next three or four successors will be more cautelous, and so will their friends be that shall take their parts. Caligula and

Nero died without revenge, and in good time, or else, I think, they would not have left a senator. Observe but the princes that succeeded Nero, until you come to Domitian; and you shall find the Romans were not weary of them; and likewise after Domitian again.

But here my pen shall stop, and we will leave the lawyer, in good hopes to get the cause against the tyrant; for, if the council will not judge, yet the tyrant will judge himself; for when he judged by the law, he is judged by his own word; for, by his word and will, it was made when he was king: but if this will not serve, his law-books the lawyer will burn, and he will never study more, unless in the court. *Tyrannicarum Crudelitatum exempla. Astulphus in Officina. Hist. lib.* iii. *cap.* 6.

Belvoir: Being a Pindarick Ode upon Belvoir-Castle[1], the Seat of the Earls of Rutland; made in the Year 1679. (MS.)

"Sacred Muse, the queen of wit,
Born and belov'd of mighty Jove,
Take thy harp, and touch the strings,
While melting airs and numbers move;
Sing godlike words for godlike things.
Call thy Sisters all, that sit
By flow'ry banks of Helicon;
All their stores and treasures get,
And their artful garbs put on;
All from ecstasies do flow,
Or slumbers on Parnassus' hill;
All that raptures can bestow,
All lofty fancy and deep judgment know.
Learned rage, poetic fire,
Such as the Sibyl doth inspire,
And her distorted limbs doth fill,
When the furious god doth come:
Make ready the Pindarick steed,
The fiery headstrong horse:
Hot and fiery though he be,
And, in his unbridled course,
Over rocks and mounts doth roam,
And th' unskilful rider throws,
That cannot sit his headlong steed;
Belvoir's height will tame his rage;
Belvoir's hill his pace assuage;
Belvoir! neighbour to the sky,
That with light doth deck its brows,
All his proudest force will need,
Though he be with ambrosia fed,
And of Helicon drinks high.
Belvoir's a subject high and great;
Not such as mighty Pindar chose;
An Isthmian, or a Pythian game,
A charioteer, or wrestler's fame:
Bolder flights and fiercer heat
Are requir'd to reach that seat,
Than his Olympian victors could beget;
'Twill task ev'n Pindar's rapid soul to match the lofty head.
Haste, Belvoir calls; my Muse, away,
If fear doth not thy footsteps stay,
And, conscious of th' amazing height, thou, trembling, dost delay."

2.

Th' invoked Muse with comely state drew nigh;
And, with a ravishing look,
Half-anger'd, and half-pleas'd, thus spoke:
"No more, fond youth, such needless helps invoke;
For barren subjects only fit,
Where fiction must the room of truth supply,
And, what it wants in worth, make out in wit.
Belvoir hath glory of its own,
A genuine worth, not borrow'd from
The daub of rhetorick, or scum
Of heated brain and lavish tongue;
But his own glory from's own worth hath sprung,
And, like the sun, he's his own praise alone.
And, since most other places owe their name,
Not to their own, but to the poet's fame;
From them, while other seats their glory take,
This shall the poet make:
The very sight shall thee inspire
With generous thoughts and active fire,
Till thy deep admiration break

[1] [Belvoir-castle, in Lincolnshire, came into possession of the Rutland family by the marriage of Sir Robert Manners with Eleanor eldest daughter and coheir of Thomas Lord Roos. It was built by Robert de Todenci, a noble Norman, on a stately ascent overlooking a beautiful valley, whence he called it Belvoir or Bella-vuë. See Leland's Itiner. vol. i.]

Into the rage of a divine and a resistless flame.
Truth is thy guide; the subject needs not art,
Nor the weak helps, that learning can impart."
This said; there fell upon my soul a dew,
Like that prophetic slumbers doth compile;
And my ecstatic soul in raptures flew
In regions far remov'd, and took a view
Of all the glories of the wondrous isle.
Thrice walk'd my guide and I the fairy-round,
Which from th' exalted height did show,
Curiously drawn in miniature below,
The sacred graces of the famous land;
Till, near Trent's crystal stream on hallow'd ground,
The airy guest did make her stand.

3.

" See there, (cries out my beauteous guide,
And then new joy did o'er her visage glide,)
BELVOIR, Art's master-piece, and Nature's pride!
High in the regions of ethereal air,
Above the troubled atmosphere,
Above the magazines of hail and snow;
Above the place that meteors breeds,
Above the seat where lie the seeds
Whence raging storms and tempests grow,
That do infest the troubled world below.
See with what comely state
It, unconcern'd, o'erlooks the humble plains;
And, from its eminence, commands
The fruitful vale, and far out-stretched lands:
As blessed souls, from a bright star, do deign
To take a view of mortal woe,
The scene of miseries below,
And see men hurl'd
By sportive fate about the busy world.
See with what beauty 'tis o'erspread;
How the exalted head
Looks down with scorn on hills below,
So high and fair, that it a piece of heav'n doth show:
So looks the Sun, when from his eastern bed
New ris'n from Tethys blushing-red.
Attired in his best array,
Such as he dances with on Easter-day;
He peeps above a distant hill,
And doth the waking world with glory fill:
Such, blessed place, art thou, but fairer still.

4.

" Now art thou alone for pleasure fit;
Soft ease and melting charms,
Th' enjoyments o' th' luxuriant land;
Thy stately head was destin'd to command.
Mars oft from hence hath sounded his alarms;
Safety and joy together meet,
Soft peace and rougher war do greet;
Thou'rt charming to thy friends and awful to thy foes.
'Twas here the Roman eagle chose to rest;
'Twas on this rock she built her nest;
Hence could her conquer'd realm survey;
Here ruled with unbounded sway,
And, when she pleas'd, flew down, and took her prey.
Here Margidunum's stately castle stood:
The sinking Romans' lasting stay,
Glutted so oft with British blood.
Oft they attempted it in vain,
As oft they back again were driven:
Unhappy people! that not only fought
With Romans, that the world did gain,
But with a rock more strong than they:
And justly vain th' attempt was thought,
As was the giants', that design'd at heaven.

5.

" The early seeds of war, thus sown,
Mixed even with its first foundation,
Up into glorious deeds have grown;
Deeds not unworthy the great founder's name;
Deeds writ in bloody characters i'th' book of fame.
Not all the sweets that there conspire,
Not the unbounded floods of joy,
Streams of delight and luxury,
Which all the fruitful subject lands supply,
Could ever damp the fire
Of martial rage and generous gallantry.
When this sad land did swarm with monsters more,
Than ever Libyan deserts bore,
Or sprung from Africk's parched shore,
By' unnatural conjunctions, like them, bred;
When rage and black rebellion
Had, like a fatal inundation,
The miserable land o'erflown;
When th' many-headed Hydra did command,
And Majesty profaned was by every common hand.
How did this, fenc'd with generous rage and sacred loyalty,
Exalt th' illustrio ushead
Above the foaming sea!
Unmov'd it dar'd the raging flood;
Bore the impetuous shock;
Like an eternal rock it stood,
And all the waves on its unmoved basis broke."

6.

With such discourse she did beguile the way;
Words that I ever could have listen'd to;
Words, that like refreshing dew,
O'er all my thirsty soul were spread,
Till she beneath the Castle's stately head
Our pleasing course did stay.
When, lifting up my eyes to take a view,
A sudden dread upon my soul did fall,
My startled senses did enthrall;
Such as within the soul doth rise,
When the immortal beings do surprize,
With their unlook'd-for presence, human eyes.
Amaz'd, aloud I cried:
" Tell me, O tell me, lovely, beauteous guide,
To what bless'd soul is giv'n
That nearest place of all the world to heav'n?

Do blessed spirits there reside?
Do there inferior deities abide,
When they with heav'nly joys are cloy'd?
Or is't the court of the Almighty powers,
Where they can see, from the exalted towers,
A mixed scene of human misery?
Where they debate
The fall of realms, and kingdoms' fate;
And whence are order'd all
The various accidents, that men befall?"
Smiling, the Muse replied:
"A mighty Prince here makes abode,
Born of illustrious blood;
So great, so generous, so good,
All but a god."
"Happy (cried I) those blessed men, that do
To those celestial mansions rise!
Where, like the birds of paradise,
They feed on heavenly dew.

7.

"Exalted place! How must quick wit,
With nimble course, through all thy members run,
That under th' influence dost sit
Of brother angel, and of neighbour sun!
What benign aspect, and what gentle ray,
Each constellation will display!
What influence will each planet give
To those that on their confines live!
While the same beams, on others cast, do grow
Languid and weak i' th' journey down below.
On such stupendous heights 'tis prophets sleep,
When they a commerce with kind angels keep:
Throw, Galilæo, throw thy tubes away:
Here, as we pass,
The naked eye can all the heaven survey,
Without the help of thy imperfect glass.
See the satellites that circle Jove,
Red Mars's belt, and Vulcan's horned love;
See meteors, while they breeding are,
And sullen stars, ere they to th' world appear:
And cannot only read,
But see the very influence the stars do shed.

8.

"Bless'd place! that on the confines stands
Of the two kingdoms, earth and heaven,
In doubt to whom the just right should be given.
So, 'twixt two potent lands,
Some stately fort, in former ages built,
Equally beautiful and strong,
Claimed by both, by both denied,
Unknown to whom it doth belong.
The even balance slides to neither side,
But stands the fatal cause why floods of blood are spilt.
Doubtful to which thou ow'st thy birth,
Doubtful of which thou art a part,
This, we are sure, thou art
The lowest place of heaven, or highest place of earth.

Would those bless'd times return again,
When gods descended to converse with men;
When humble swains could entertain
The deities on every flow'ry plain;
This for their intercourse a place was fit,
Where men half-way the gods might meet;
The pleasures of both regions gain,
Taste of heaven, yet be on earth;
And, joining, t' a mix'd nature give a birth,
A race of men like gods, or gods like men."

9.

"Go on then (smiling, cried my guide;)
'Tis a just heat that doth thy breast inspire;
And, while it warms with active fire,
Up to the hill's proud top aspire,
And bless thy sight with the world's chiefest pride:
My blessing with thee go."
This said, insensibly the hill we round;
A spiral line up to the summit led,
And with a pleasing cheat
Beguil'd th' ascent, and unknown pleasure bred.
We climb'd the hill, yet went on even ground.
Each step, as circling round we went,
A prospect of new pleasures did present;
Now, o'er the fruitful Vale we wondering stood,
Strait hanging o'er the neighbouring wood.
The softness of the Vale doth now delight,
When at next step we chang'd the scene,
And a new scene of joys did intervene;
The neighbouring hills do entertain our sight,
And, in their shady, rural dress,
Do represent a civil wilderness.
All objects from below now lessen'd show,
Fields shrink to acres, towns to houses grow;
The vast extended plain is a small compass now.
So some bless'd soul, by angels borne above,
Sees the dear native land he once did love,
And other mighty realms below,
Into narrow limits grow:
And, as in maps we find,
Small space unto large kingdoms is assign'd,
But realms by spots, rivers by lines design'd;
So still, as higher up he flies,
Kingdoms shrink into little spots of ground,
And straight those too are flown;
The whole earth then but a small point is found,
And that soon disappears too, and is gone.

10.

The stately fabrick near,
Whose look our souls with vast desires supplied,
With hasty zeal, we trod the circling way,
When my obliging guide
My mind from the deep admiration took,
And thus, in mournful accents, the long silence broke:
"'Tis not long since, (and then there fell a tear,)
This stately fabrick in its ruins lay.
Not many lustres past, in those black times,
When, to be great and excellent, were crimes;
When, to be good, was cause enough to fall,

And to be eminent, was capital:
When Charles, because he was a King, must die,
Guilty of no one crime, but Majesty.
When brutish fury did ascend the throne,
And all the marks of greatness tumbled down,
This look'd too kingly to be let alone.
It fell; but none e'er in a nobler cause,
For its religion, for its prince and laws:
Glorious its stately head in ruins lay,
That the same fate with Royal Greatness shar'd:
'T had been disgrace not to have been a prey,
T' have been by such destructive villains spar'd.

11.

As some commander, compass'd by his foes,
A stranger both to fear and flight,
Himself and army doth maintain the fight,
And zeal against their numbers doth oppose;
Fearless doth see his limbs before him fall,
His mangled members strow the ground;
He, the great oak, unmov'd is found,
Though robbed of his graceful branches all.
Till the sad news doth circle round;
'His prince, for whom he fought, is slain!'
Then scorning life, which he did just maintain,
Upon his enemies' swords he flies,
And bravely, in the bed of honour, dies.
This seat, for loyalty, a bulwark stood,
Did see its beauteous towers in pieces torn[2],
Now this, now that part into ruin borne:
But when the killing message did arrive,
And did through all the hollow ruins sound,
That Charles the just, the great, the good,
Fell, to inhuman rage, a sacrifice!
Disdaining to survive
Its much-lov'd Prince's obsequies,
It gave a groan, that shook the hill around,
It groan'd, and fell, and down in ruins lay,
Filling the sad solemnities of such a woeful day.

12.

Unpitied, long in dust its glorious head,
With murdered Majesty, lay dead;
Till virtue in a female breast did glow,
(Virtue that from our bloody shore was fled)
And tender pity in her soul did grow.
To Mountagu's great stem she owes her birth,
Than which, no tree, in all Dodona's grove,
Wider its branches doth extend,
More noble boughs doth lend,
To beautify the land and sea,
The powerful sword, and the wise gown:
None of more high renown,
For wisdom, justice, or for loyalty.
None doth more beauteous cyons send,
More eminent for faith or love,
T' enrich each corner of the British earth.
Sprung from this glorious stem, with generous scorn,
Disdaining borrow'd fame,
And glory that came from a father's name:
With her own acts she did her ancestors adorn.
She view'd the ruins with a pitying eye,
Saw grisly horror o'er the chaos lie,
Brooding upon deformity.
She saw it, and her soul took fire,
And swell'd with just revengeful ire;
The mighty monster's death she vow'd,
And the deliverance of the captive crowd;
And straight the vast design laid in her noble breast.
Belvoir's great genius the just work allow'd,
And of the foundress proud,
His low-laid head, in his deep caverns, bow'd;
And from's dark grave, where long he had been chain'd,
Arose, and the auspicious omen bless'd,
While stranger Joy did on the ruins rest:
As the creation smil'd,
When light sprung up, Heaven's eldest child.
Meanwhile, she leave from her great lord obtain'd,
(And who could such a pious boon deny?)
The mighty labour undertook,
The weighty bars in sunder broke,
And adamantine chains in pieces shook.
Thebes once, from the musicians' lyre,
A wondrous building did acquire;
They with their lutes did charm, and she,
With an enlivening and creating look,
The jarring parts to harmony and due proportio struck:
As once the all-powerful Deity
Made him an heaven, where he himself might be.
Women, for foundresses, two seats do own,
Of modern times the glory one,
Of ancient days th' other the crown,
Belvoir and Babylon.

13.

With smiling pleasure led,
Which, with fresh joys, our footsteps did entice;
We circled round the wondrous hill, till we,
Like an enchanted vision, see
The hanging-gardens, Nature's paradise;
Where she doth lavish out her store,
As if, grown prodigally careless, she,
To furnish this, had left the whole world poor.
Each step, with new-hatch'd joys, was spread,
In various shapes, and habits drest;
Each bough a new-fledg'd pleasure bore,
Hopp'd lately from the spicy nest.

14.

Here all things whisper'd out delight,
By heaven's near neighbourhood made bright,

[2] [John, eighth earl of Rutland, being attached to the royal cause, and having sought retirement during the despotism of democracy, his castle of Belvoir was by the parliament ordered to be demolished, in 1649: for which no reparation appears to have been made.]

With fiercer beams, darting ethereal light.
From hence the sweetest prospect lies,
That e'er entangled wand'ring eyes;
A scene, or civiliz'd or rude,
For business or for solitude:
A silent hill and shady grove;
A flow'ry mead and fertile field,
For business one, and one for love.
But every step such joys doth yield,
Such thick-sown pleasures crowding come,
And enter the possessed mind,
Th' astonish'd eyes no leisure find
On foreign sights abroad to roam.
Lost thus in admiration and joys,
Our thoughts o'erpower'd with the distracting beams,
Behold——With pleasant fury, streams break out[3],
And wander in meanders round about;
Calling the soul home, in a sweet surprise.
Amaz'd, we see the sportive streams
In thousand gayful postures move,
Unbid, with active motion rise,
And, with a new ambition, court the skies;
In various numbers gently rove,
Dance to the musick of the spheres;
Wanton, and play their short-liv'd date,
Aspire at heaven, but fall in tears,
And imitate the general dance of fate.

15.

Water! th'unruly tyrant, to whose rage
Th' Almighty only sets a bound:
Whose restless waves do never sleep,
But storm the rocks that overlook the deep,
Which knows no pity, whom no prayers assuage;
Whose deaf'ning noise forbids the gods to hear,
When sucking wretches their petitions rear,
But sees them and their useless prayers together drown'd.
Water! the headstrong element, whose force
The mighty bars of nature own,
And yield to his unresisted course:
At whose stern strokes, when rocks and mountains groan,
And prostrate fall to his dominion:
Like a tame lion here 'tis learn'd to play;
And, all the former fierceness gone,
Another nature doth put on,
Crouches submissively below his port,
Fawns, and, in lowly postures, seems to pray;
And what our terror was, becomes our sport.
The active streams in antick figures rise,
Now mildly play, then fiercely rage,
Now they with hostile waves engage;
Now, reconcil'd, more gently move,
Meet and embrace, and melt in love;
Now journey upward to the skies,
A path unknown to all that race,
And now, grown wise,
Contented with an humbler place:
Now cease, as though bound up with rigid frost,
And now again with usual vigour reign;
Now their fluidity seems lost,
And now a fury in each drop again:
Now anger'd, and now pleased be,
And, by sweet interchange, make bless'd variety.

16.

Delighted with the murmuring noise,
That from the purling springs did rise,
Inviting to soft ease;
The fountains all at once to torrents grow,
And rapid streams from secret caverns flow.
As through some river, from the mother-seas,
Its devious wand'ring course had led,
In gloomy paths below the ground,
Under vast rocks, and weighty mountains bound;
Till tired with long night,
Struggling from the dark-loathed bed,
And searching for the wish'd-for light,
Had here a passage found,
And, with unbridled rage and force, from the confinement fled.
Th' embattled streams to heaven aspire,
As though they storm'd its adamantine bound;
Or that they meant once more to fight
Their ancient foe, the element of fire.
With winged speed they thither fly,
And fill the dry
And thirsty regions with streams, that ne'er
Before did dangerous inundations fear;
Not when the sin-bred deluge flow'd,
That all before it strow'd:
When th' ocean tore its bounds and forc'd its way,
In spite of struggling nature's power;
And all the world was but one sea;
Secure, they never peril knew before.
Th' amaz'd inhabitants, with just affright,
Th' aerial beings took their flight,
And left the uninhabitable coast,
In dreaded streams and torrents lost.
Trembling, they to heaven's arched roof aspir'd,
And from earth's dangerous neighbourhood retir'd.

17.

Bless'd engine, made for general good,
For great and glorious acts design'd,
That with thy swift impetuous flood,
Ill-boding meteors canst disperse;
That threaten ruin to the universe,
And, with ill-pointed beams, do rage on human kind.
Thy aid shall tott'ring states desire,
Thy help declining monarchs shall require,
To quench the next malevolent star,
Or scar-fire comet; that, from far,
With flaming beard or tail appears,
Prognosticating famine, plague, or war,

[3] The Water-works.

Unto succeeding years;
Thy streams can the prophetic fires put out,
And scatter all the poison'd beams, the spacious heaven throughout.

18.

With curious eyes surveying all about,
Whence such a wonder should arise,
A fountain I espy'd,
By art and nature beautified;
And straight I thought,
Some young Leviathan was there, that spouted rivers out.
When, drawing nearer, with surprise,
I saw the liquid crystal stor'd
With numbers of the finny race,
That with ambitious eyes did gaze
Upon their kindred, shining in the skies;
The sportful dolphin, and the kingly whale,
The backward crab, and southern fish,
To whom learn'd ages did afford
A mansion in the starry plain.
While these with new desires inflam'd, do wish
Their shining scales, deck'd with ethereal beams,
That envied honour to obtain,
Which their no more deserving kindred gain:
Heaven's mighty cataracts with joy they see,
And all the scaly progeny
Of wide Eridanus; whose streams
Down all heaven's arched vault with fury fall.
The neighbouring heaven they think a sea,
The expanded æther a wide ocean;
And, scorning th' narrow compass where they're pent,
Design to leap to th' seas above the firmament.
Ambition is a heavenly ray,
That works the soul to mighty deeds;
A beam of the eternal day,
That great acts in exalted tempers breeds:
Ne'er did it stoop before so low,
To actuate that heavy kind;
That cold dull offspring ne'er till now,
Such an enlivening warmth did find.
Aspiring fish! to you will sure be given,
Among the constellations place;
Since you're the first, of all the wat'ry race,
Of that dull unambitious kind, e'er climb'd so near to heaven.

19.

From hence our eyes, with pleasing joys beguil'd,
Do upon various objects rove,
Breeding delight and love;
Till a surprizing wonder did them stay:
Statues that did such charms display,
A mixture they appear'd of death and life;
As though these enemies had been at strife,
Which should the empire sway,
Which most its nature should to them bequeath;
But equal power, conferr'd in equal beams,
The statues seem'd the *copula*,
To tie two wide extremes;
Unite in one two mortal foes,
And the vast gulph 'twixt life and death to close:
And, as of both compil'd,
Shew'd a dead life, or living death.
The stately mien and features grace,
The charms of an inviting face,
A swelling breast, and lively eye,
Proportion, shape, and symmetry;
The graceful postures, such as may
Persuade the eye to be deceiv'd;
Convincing symptoms all of life do give;
Bestow but motion, and you'll say they live.
So near to life they all its sweets obtain,
Yet are secured from its pain.
So well life's imitated there,
Children of art, they greater value bear,
Than if they nature's real offspring were.
Such sweetness in their being couch'd doth lie,
That, to give life, would do them injury,
And they would curse th' officious hand, that them of death bereav'd.

20.

With a bewitching visage, one
Spectators with soft love inspires;
And, from the cold and rigid stone,
Break raging uncontrouled fires:
A look, so ravishing and sweet,
Doth tender passions hide within;
And, could it soften into flesh and skin,
With equal flame 'twould ardent passions meet.
Another, with a look severe,
Doth a more rigid virtue bear;
The rash beholder bids withdraw,
And on wild love doth strike an awe,
Doth seem to speak, but a vast gulph's between,
And the sound's lost i' th' distant air,
And never reaches our deluded ear:
Nature is personated here so well
In every lovely feature's grace,
A good physiognomist could tell
Their fortune, by the lines drawn in their face.
Such passions from the rocks' cold offspring move,
It doth no wonder now appear,
That once Pygmalion did a statue love.

21.

Deucalion once, as stories tell,
Lost mankind did, by stones, restore;
They, backward cast, groan'd as they fell,
And did to shape and to proportion swell;
And, influenc'd by th' enlivening heat,
Each limb did its due form and virtue get:
Such statues did they once appear,
Their looks such beauty gilded o'er,
The moment just before they breath'd,
Ere life had motion to each part bequeath'd.
Such statues did Medusa make,
Such natural postures did they wear,

When Gorgon's look condens'd them into stone;
When they the same shape kept, their former nature gone.
And, if old fame may be believ'd,
(Promiscuous mint of truth and lyes,)
These statues once with fame and beauty liv'd,
Did furious passion in each bosom move,
Themselves averse from love,
Soft flesh without, but stone within:
Until by Love's enraged queen,
The rebels, that her empire did despise,
Her just avengement bore,
Changed to stone, the same with their obdurate hearts before.

22.

Hence circling up the maze, that did beguile
The steepness of the hill;
As men, that up a mountain crawl,
Look back with joy and see the subject vale,
And secure pleasures of the humbler ground;
With busy eyes we view'd the prospect round.
When the long-pondering Muse at last thus cried:
"Cast down thine eyes, and see
Botesford [4]; a lovely scene of beauteous woe,
Sorrow so sweetly drest,
That Death, the ghastly prince of terrors, there
Doth a majestic grandeur show,
And through his blacks doth beautiful appear.
Botesford! the great retiring room of fate,
Where, Belvoir, thy great masters lie,
In tuneful praise they rest,
Embalm'd with fame to long eternity.
Tir'd with the honourable weight
Of princely grandeur, and majestic state,
From their bright orb to thee
Like falling stars they glide,
And in thy vaults their wearied glories hide.
Botesford! where Death triumphantly doth sit,
And, grinning with a smile, doth joy to see
The glorious spoils of his great victory.
The common crowd, as he walks by,
Turning away his scornful eye,
He unconcern'd mows down;
Wretches for dark oblivion fit,
That are undistinguish'd thrown
Among the worthless heap of destiny.
But as an hero, that some noble foe
Doth by auspicious valour overthrow,
O'er his fall'n trunk doth proudly stride:
So Death with comely pride,
Not able his exulting joy to hide,
With gloomy wings broods o'er the princely bust;
Jealously guards the noble dust,
And with inflamed eyes doth his resentment show.

23.

Seed-plot of worthies! from thy womb
What crouding troops of gallant souls will come?
At the last shining day, when all
From sleepy graves creep at the call,
Thy active heroes first shall rise,
Stretch their stiff limbs, and rub their drowsy eyes:
And, at th' enlivening trumpet's noise,
Start up, and think a battle nigh,
Cry, 'Iö, Iö, victory!'
Grasp their keen swords, and lead the trembling legions on.
Others annihilation seem to bear,
And doubly dead their dull ingredients are
Changed to common earth:
A new influx of being must
Enliven their unactive dust,
And give't a second birth.
These, such fierce vigour do retain
The seeds of life within remain,
Waiting the resurrection.
Struggling, the fatal bounds they beat
Impatient of so long a stay,
Ready to rise before the final day;
Ferment and swell with unextinguish'd heat.
Bound by th' immutable decree,
Unwillingly they yield to its eternal tie;
And, that once broke, they of themselvs would rise to life again.

24.

Was there an art that could display
The different shapes of bad and just,
The colours they are varied by,
With reason's intellectual eye;
Was there a balance that could weigh,
Which princely, which plebeian dust:
What hidden glories had this seat disclos'd,
To our dull thoughts and grosser senses lost?
Unseen here numerous treasures lie;
For who can qualities of bodies see,
Or th' effluviums that from them are thrown,
The subtle chains with which the loadstone draws,
Or th' influences heavenly motions cause,
Not known till tried, and scarce believ'd when known?
How would a lighten'd mind, or well-purg'd eye,
See fame and glory hovering here,
Beauteous and fair,
As virtue's offspring i'th' idea are.
How would it spy
Beauty and honour in each atom roll:
Each particle transcendant bright;
Each fiery atom like a soul:
Each dust as pure as common souls appear,
Such quintessential parts compose the purest orbs of light.

[4] [Botsford, near Belvoir-castle, has been the burial-place of the Manners's for many generations.]

25.

All the long line of British Albiny;
Renown'd and ancient as the Isle,
Ancient beyond imperfect history:
Whose ancestors its treasure first possess'd,
First ransacked her virgin-breast,
When, 'midst the waves, she rose the Ocean's pride;
Ere her disorder'd briny locks were dried.
All martial Roose's stem could lend,
Loaded with flame and warlike spoil:
All that from greater Mannors did descend;
In whose bright line united grow
The scatter'd glories of the other two,
That with new deeds doth their old fame outdo.
Here the related heroes meet,
And in dumb show each other greet:
Never a braver number did
Proud mausoleums deck, or pyramid.
To you shall future ages bow,
Your urns shall veneration find,
By wise Apollo's counsel led,
Here future ages shall consult the dead,
While Cæsar's mighty dust each wind
Doth round the world in wild disorder throw.
Sleep on, bless'd heroes, in your quiet bed,
While your eternal flame doth live;
Though time your monumental marbles eat,
Time that even tyrannizes o'er the dead:
Your lasting honour shall survive,
While worth and valour merits fame,
While virtue something is besides a name.
In ease alive let others buried be,
Their time in vice ignobly wear,
And pass forgot, as though they never were,
Or known for nothing but for infamy:
You in your tombs a glorious life enjoy,
If we may call that life, which is eternity.

26.

Rutland! a title never borne
But by a prince of kingly blood;
Plantagenet's great name did it adorn,
The branches of that spreading tree
By civil wars cut down.
Edward, York's mighty Duke, the title grac'd [5],
Who swell'd with fire and martial gallantry,
To trembling France with conquering Henry pass'd,
At Agincourt the shouting troops led on;
With warlike acts help'd on that victory,
Which rigid fate ne'er suffer'd him to see:
With's royal blood the fatal field he dy'd,
And that in something worthy it might pride,
He mix'd his with the French degenerate flood.
Richard, his nephew, the bright honour bore:
The scourge of France, and easy Henry's doom;
No king a monarch could o'ercome,
And kept the power, the title did restore.
At Wakefield's bloody battle slain,
Cut off in his just hopes of reign,
His sons revengers of his blood remain.
Offspring and father he of kings,
Himself uncrown'd; and from his daughter springs
No less a glory; that fam'd race,
That Rutland's title now do grace,
Succeeding him in blood and in exalted place.
But who sweet Edmond with dry eyes,
Rutland's young Earl, can see thy fate,
The dire effects of curs'd intestine hate?
Thy father's crimes fell heavy on thy head:
By giddy chance become the victor's prize,
Thou prostrate fell'st at the proud conqueror's feet,
With suppliant hands, and bended knees, didst pray
Thy tender years might mercy meet;
Unmov'd the cruel Clifford stood,
With barbarous rage threw all thy tears away,
And with an unrelenting look
Thy sobbing, begging, bosom strook;
While his keen sword drank deep of thy heart's blood,
Backward thou fell'st, cover'd with thine own flood:
Thy trembling tongue, yet muttering prayers,
And thy swell'd eyes drowned in death and tears.

27.

From these deriv'd, heir to their fame and blood,
Mannors' illustrious family succeeds.
Thomas renown'd for skill and warlike deeds,
Quartering the English arms with's own:
He, Belvoir, thy proud head in ruins thrown,
Did with resplendent glory rear,
To be again tore down
In future times, by a more unnatural war.
Thou and thy masters destin'd all to be
Scourge of rebellion and villainy,
And worst effects of their curs'd rage to bear.
Twice rose th'unquiet North, as often he
A bulwark 'gainst the rebels stood,
And from their hands their impious arms did tear.
Henry, his son, heir to his father's fame,
Made rebel Scotland tremble at his name,
And the affrighted crowds with terror fly:
Did like a guardian angel stand,
With prudent valour hover'd o'er,
Secur'd the undisturbed land
From all the barbarous rage and power
Of Scotch perfidious villainy.
Edward, his son, did early valour show,
Adorn'd the stem whence he did grow,
And was in tender years thought fit
Two great rebellious earls to meet,

[5] [Edward Plantagenet, son of Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, was created the first Earl of Rutland, by Richard II. See Bolton's Extinct Peerage; and for the family descent of Manners, see Collins's Modern Peerage.]

And from their foil eternal fame to get:
Born to great acts which envious death oppos'd
And immaturely the bright scene of warlike actions clos'd.
His brother John succeeding, the same fate
With the same glory did upon him rest:
Scarce could he round him take a view,
While honour boiled in his breast,
And his high soul to gallant deeds address'd;
When death, the foe of all that's brave and great,
O'er his designed fame a gloomy curtain drew.

28.

Roger, his son, succeeded, who well knew
The riches, policy, and store,
The arts, and customs, that each country bore:
With curious eyes th' intrigues of state did view;
With diving policy did find
What gave Spain thought, and giddy France design'd:
Unlock'd their secrets, buried in deep night,
And brought the struggling new-hatch'd plots to light.
Ireland his wisdom and his valour sung,
And Denmark in his ambassy did pride:
Immortal Sidney's daughter was his bride[6],
And the world griev'd, because he childless died;
For wonders had from such a bless'd conjunction sprung.
Heir to his wit his brother Francis rose,
Who Europe's famous courts had pass'd
With worthy honour by all princes grac'd:
France, Italy, and Spain had made his own,
And had new wit to th' heavy German shown.
Him peaceful James for trusty actions chose,
To's care his precious jewel did repose,
He princely Charles did from Spain's long enchantment loose.
The honour George his brother bore,
When peaceful times had bridled fury's rage,
And round our land reign'd a pacific shore,
Under a blessed king.
In hospitality he spent his age,
And him to's quiet grave did shouting praises bring.
John, Haddon's lord, the honour did possess,
Bulwark of the declining state,
The rebels' furious hate:
Who when they found they could not move
Him with their rage, or with their love;
On's stately castle did their fury rate,
And to dead stones their malice did express.
Th' illustrious John[7] succeeds; on whom do fall
Th' united glories of them all;
Which yet, like accents of a smaller sound,
I' th' greater noise of his loud fame are drown'd.
Tell me, Apollo, god of Wit,
Upon whose head doth more in triumph sit
The glories virtuous acts do bring,
Or from long series of worthies spring.

29.

As those that search the head of flowing Nile,
With tedious, fruitless toil,
As it through spacious realms doth flow,
Blessing the smiling soil;
Still find it fam'd, renown'd, and great,
Until their curious search doth terminate
In boundless lakes, or mountains of the moon:
So, glorious Mannors, they
That seek the godlike head from whence you sprung,
As through the ages back they pass along,
Discern the shining path and sparkling way,
As far as maimed history leads,
Crowned with fame and honourable deeds:
Until at last
Searching the gloomy shades of ages past;
The glorious tract doth th' enquirer bring
To th' offspring of some god or godlike king:
Proud of th' relation, other families
Bring their additional supplies:
All the entrancing grace
Of Totney and Albiny's race;
All it from Roose's glory could receive,
Or kingly bold Plantagenet could give;
All Lovel and all Paston could bestow,
Could from great Nevil or from Holcroft flow;
All it from learn'd, lamented Sidney got,
Or was from Knevet, or from Tufton brought:
All excellencies, that combine
In Mountague's and Noel's loyal line,
The beauteous boughs here all in one entwine.
So some fam'd river through vast regions flows,
And, as it cuts its noted way,
The lesser streams their joyful tribute pay,
And, in its waves, their name and nature lose;
Till, grown with their accession great,
Meeting some crystal virgin-bride,
The banks too small its swelling waves to hide,
In several channels doth its streams divide,
And, with majestic state,
Empties its numerous waves into the boundless sea.

30.

Up to the top with various pleasures led,
While on the seat we fix our greedy eyes,
That ravishing pleasure in our bosoms bred,
With swelling joy Jove's pleased daughter cries:
" 'Tis not alone for show and empty state,
As stars, that fair and beauteous shine,
But yet have no inhabitants within:
A mighty Lord dwells here, worthy of such a seat,
Worthy a mansion next the deities,
As high, renown'd, and fair as this;
As gallant souls brave bodies actuate,
This in its neighbourhood to heaven doth pride;
But he's to heaven's inhabitants allied:
Kings are to gods a-kin;
And he from kingly blood derives his sparkling line.

[6] [See Dr. Zouch's Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Sir Philip Sidney, p. 353.]

[7] [Created by Queen Anne, Marquis of Granby and Duke of Rutland. He died in January 1710-11: this adulatory poem must therefore have been previously written.]

The glorious patron he of arts and arms,
Of silent learning and war's loud alarms;
Attended on by both in comely state:
Learning doth flourish at his smile,
Who to scorn'd arts new value doth create;
Who with rewards doth sweeten artful toil,
And, like a god, what's due to virtue pay:
So the bright Sun, after a fruitful shower,
Looks down with an enlivening ray,
Smiles on a clod, and there grows up a flower.
The gown and sword both own his power;
Arts from his generous favour thrive, and arms his nod obey.

31.

" A soul he hath as bright and fair
As e'er th' Almighty's breath did make;
As deeply stamp'd doth the great image bear:
As largely doth partake
Of Heaven's perfections, that he
Seems but a ray of the Divinity:
Goodness doth in his essence dwell;
He's in himself, and in his being brave.
Rewards on some their virtues do bestow,
And some their loyalty from interest have;
Like heavenly justice he doth flow,
Not influenc'd from accidents below;
Not made by changeable occurrents so;
Ever the same, fix'd and unchangeable,
Leaves not a gallant prince for popular noise,
(A prince, that merits well of all are good;
Of all, where worth and valour's understood;)
Not mov'd with fears and groundless jealousies.
He doth what honour says is just,
And wiser Heaven with the event doth trust.
Above rewards, fear and designs above,
He virtue doth for virtue love.

32.

" A steady loyalty doth poise his soul,
Immoveable, as is th' eternal pole,
That undisturb'd doth see
The heaven and earth about it roll;
' Fix'd, as th' immutable decree,
' Whom no united force can shake,
' Nor the strong chain of rigid fate can break,'
From changes and mutations free;
Changes, that signs of imperfections be.
Weak individuals here below do change,
Where discord and confusion range.
But, like to heaven's eternal frame,
The purest essences are still the same.
Nature, by settled laws, her course doth lead;
Nature and he
In the same even, steady path do tread;
Alike in peaceful order twine,
Motions alike, just, quiet, and divine;
Should either change, all would confusion be.
The fixed stars thus the same distance keep,
And watch the drowsy world, while mortals sleep:
Without whose influence, the learn'd believe,
No individual could one moment live;
For, from th' irregular planets' motions grow
All the mutations, that infest the troubled world below.

33.

" Thy steps, great Prince, thy brother-angels tread,
Loyal to their Eternal Head;
Heaven is a monarchy.
They pride in truth and loyalty,
In loyalty and truth, the tie
And knot of perpetuity,
That binds in one the distant parts of wide eternity:
They ever serve, and ever praise,
With glory crown'd and endless days.
Faction once into heaven did creep;
Its watchful eyes, that never sleep,
Did not the restless monster from its mansions keep.
Rebellion once rag'd i' th' ethereal plain,
When Lucifer led on the armed train,
When listed angels did with angels fight,
With lightning cloth'd, and fiercest beams of light:
But what dire vengeance did pursue
The rebel troops, that, scatter'd, flew
Through all the orbs, to seek for aid in vain!
When flaming thunderbolts were at them thrown,
And they from heaven to hell, unpitied, tumbled down.
Ever, just Heaven! ever bestow
Such a reward on curs'd rebellion.
Rebellion! that even hell will not admit,
But rule doth in that gloomy region sit:
Rebellion! from whose poison hell was bred;
And well its curs'd effects doth know;
That first in Lucifer's proud breast did grow,
And which he doth in factious bosoms shed.
Obedience is the angels' fame,
From thence they've their exalted name.
'Tis kingly rule 's the crown of heaven's bright head,
And order, that preserves the world's great frame;
For anarchy and chaos are the same.

34.

" He saw the monster, giddy Faction, rise,
Bred of reports and whisper'd lyes,
And fed with clamour'd fears and jealousies;
Teeming black broods, which one another tear,
And down their forward elder brethren bear,
And undermine what they but now did rear,
Sucking corrupted blood from fester'd sore:
With meagre look, deform'd and thin,
Hiding dark plots and dismal thoughts within;
Foaming religion out, and property,
The trumpet of successful villainy;
Odious and filthy to discerning eyes,
Though gilded all with fair pretences o'er:

An heterogeneous mass
Of different interests and designs combin'd,
By an enchanted bond together join'd.
One, malice and revenge spurs on;
Another, conscience and preposterous zeal;
And this, unlimited ambition:
Some, folly and temerity do move;
Some, rage; some, fear; some, curiosity;
And some, the party's love;
And some, desire of change, they knew not why:
Some, friends; some, interest engag'd;
Some, democratic principles enrag'd;
All curs'd, yet differently vile,
As various vices do one hell compile.
Some a new-modell'd government would have,
And some the wounds o' th' old would heal;
Some their beloved commonwealth do crave;
Some, popular sway; some, anarchy:
And some would not root up the tree,
But would the boughs cut down.
Some would their prince lead bound in iron bands:
Some would not kill, but would cut off his hands;
Would have his riches, power, and strength engross'd,
And jointure him i' th' people's love:
All would his royal brother and his friends remove,
And, as th' Philistines did to Samson do,
Deride him, when his eyes were out, and when his strength was lost.

35.

" Monster, whom disagreeing parties glue,
In looks, designs, and interests different still,
Yet sure to their first principle of ill,
Like jarring devils, mischievously true:
From various seeds and projects sown,
A many-headed monster grown;
The very shape of anarchy,
Of despicable compounds made,
The scorned common crowd,
Of brutish rage and heady fury proud;
The dregs and lees of all that 's bad.
Thunder, thus, doth from weak ingredients grow,
From vapours hatched in the world below;
So earthquakes do from compounds swell,
Unseen and unaccountable,
That shake the world, and cities overthrow.

36.

" Fearless, the dreaded monster he oppos'd,
With rancour'd malice swell'd;
With thousand hands, and thousand arms upheld;
That, through him, struck at Majesty,
As witches murder *in effigie:*
A loathsome spawn, as e'er
Th' Egyptian shore disclos'd,
Or Pharaoh's table did with slimy traces smear;
As black, as numerous, and bold as they,
And with more deadly poison fill'd;
Sworn enemies to all that 's good and great,
And doubly foes to him,
Whose loyalty and virtue was a crime,
And subject of their endless hate,
When he stood candidate:
Never desert did suffer more, nor malice more did sway.
Like brave Coriolanus, he
Look'd down with scorn on their low villainy,
Too good for their esteem.
Traitors and fools their favourites grow;
Degenerate slaves, that crouch and fawn,
With base submission prostrate low
To sweaty boor and sordid clown.
Proud of their hate, and glorying in their rage,
He spurn'd the hell-bred brood:
Spite of their force dar'd to be good;
Alone did with their crowds engage,
Champion for heaven, his prince, and for religion.

37.

" His beauteous half adds glory to the seat,
Which more its keeping such a gem doth prize,
Than the vain praise of being great,
Or the next neighbour to the skies.
High in her birth, but in her soul more high;
Highly from her illustrious lineage nam'd,
But more for virtue and for beauty fam'd.
Much she of goodness hath, and much of wit,
Her look at once doth ravish and surprize,
Where modesty and gallantry do sit,
Greatness of mind and pleasing candour meet,
Humble, yet great; obliging good, yet wise;
Wit doth dart from her tongue, and charms fly from her eyes.
Did you but this seraphic vision see,
You'd think a star had lost its way,
A star of all the heaven most bright,
And on that elevated mount did stray,
The nearest mansion to the sphere of light:
Or that an angel of the highest degree,
In all the heavenly hierarchy,
This for its pleasure-house had chose:
Condens'd a body of the purest air,
With æther mix'd, unsullied and fair,
And heav'nly dew that doth bright gems produce;
Materials as fine as those,
That common souls compose.
If drawn by pencil, and by hand divine,
Upon the soul of new-made man did shine,
His glorious Maker's portraiture;
Sure 'twas more exquisitely drawn in her;
In her fair soul, where great and good do meet,
And all that doth a virtuous soul, or deity, befit.
So extremely like th' original,
That they would pardonable be,
That should to their devotion fall,
And offer at her altar as a deity.
Heaven's treasures sure exhausted are,
That hath so great a jewel lost;
Or else of wond'rous plenty boast,
That could so bright a beauty spare.

38.

" Learning she gets at one survey;
The stubborn sciences, which we
With sharp assaults, and tedious sieges gain,
(A mighty Cæsar's victory,)
At one look yield to her unbounded reign.
What cannot wit and beauty sway?
And all their treasures to her power submit,
In splendid triumph borne.
She th' conquest of one rebel-art doth scorn;
An army she doth captive hold,
Enrich'd with all their ransack'd worth:
Like Heaven doth, at one sight, behold
All fruitful Time e'er did or shall bring forth.

39.

" See but her draughts, and you'd believe
She painting's art from the Almighty stole:
Others do bodies paint, and she the soul;
Vigour and life in each doth live.
Nature, whose shop the universe doth store
With all the mass and crowd of things;
From whose unbounded treasure springs
The beauteous metal, fin'd from rugged ore.
Where models of all creatures lie,
The different moulds where they are cast,
The patterns they are forged by,
And native forms each species hath embrac'd:
Not wond'rous nature, that hath grac'd
The world with all its beauteous state,
E'er from her hand more lively figures sent:
Not when, on some uncommon fabrick bent,
She tasks her art and diligence to create
Some monarch that the universe must sway.
Rugged, uneven, do her draughts appear,
Distorted and deform'd they be,
Few that a just proportion bear,
Or glory in due symmetry:
Hence her next models she may take,
Fresh patterns for her's worn away;
And beauties for succeeding ages make;
Beauties that shall engage
To due acknowledgment the future age,
And in high ecstasies the artist's still display.
Her worth 's the fatal *rubicon;*
In her perfection
The terminating pillar lies,
To which e'er human worth can rise,
As far as earth can journey to the skies,
As near as mortals can be to the deities.

40.

" Sister to her, another glorious star;
Sister in all that 's good,
In virtue, beauty, and in blood,
With welcome rays, doth beautify that sphere:
Like those that to the wond'ring world appear,
At some auspicious monarch's birth,
Scattering thick joys on the exulting earth:
As fair, as good, and as benign as they;
The admiration of all eyes, and flame of every heart.
Th' astonish'd crowds, with just surprise,
Homage at humble distance pay,
Admire but dare not love.
See a bright world, with conquering beauty rise,
In sublime regions move,
And dare not hope to reach her high desert:
But a-far off, as Persians pray,
Prostrate on earth, adore the sun above.
Unhappy state
Of those, are eminently good and great!
None can deserve them here below,
They must to heaven for a fit lover go:
So, among all the winged choir,
Th' unequall'd phœnix doth no object find,
That may her heart to passion fire,
To her own spicy nest, and her own sweets confin'd.

41.

" Sprung from brave Noel's loyal line[8],
Noel that rebels rage defied,
Did in allegiance pride;
In his great Master's service liv'd, and in his service
died:
She Heaven's best gift was sent to be
A just reward of loyalty,
A present worthy of a deity.
Such treasures do in her combine,
Her beauty, that doth charm all eyes,
Is th' least accomplishment that she enjoys:
She that retrieves our nation's ancient fame,
And proves that th' English had from angels' looks
their name.
In her all wide perfections greet,
Virtue would look so ravishing and sweet,
Should she an human shape put on:
And, if the soul doth (as the learned tell);
The body form, where it must after dwell:
Never a fitter pair did meet:
Never did soul a fairer body find,
And never body had a fairer mind:
So sweet a concord reigns, that they can give
Solution of the wond'rous tie,
The unaccountable connexion,
That doth the fiery soul to th' earthly body bind.
So sweet the bond, so soft the chain,
So free from raging passions' reign,
The world will easily now believe,
The soul is harmony.

42.

" Care of the gods! their highest favourite;
In whom the scatter'd rays of light
And beams dispersed through the world unite.
The true Pandora she,
On whom each deity
A gift conferr'd, and every gift a grace:
One deck'd the mind, the other deck'd the face.

[8] [The third wife of John first Duke of Rutland, was Catharine daughter of Baptist Noel, Viscount Campden.]

One wit, another beauty did bestow;
This wisdom, and that gallantry;
This virtue mix'd with candid clemency,
And this diffusive goodness that, with skill, doth flow.
What every god excels in, she hath found:
All excellencies join'd in one,
That were to past, or present ages known,
Her glorious essence do compound:
Thus, ere the infant world was grown,
The wide dispersed rays of light
O'er the confused mass were tost,
In gloomy clouds, and pitchy darkness lost;
But, when the rallied troops did meet,
From their united forces rose the sun."

43.

This said, thrice bowing low, she led me in,
And open'd all the boundless stores,
Brought thither from far distant shores;
All that each different realm can show.
Extremes there meet, the East and West combine,
Remotest nations neighbours grow,
And the far distant poles do in one point conjoin.
All that comes from the frozen North,
Or parched Southern mines bring forth:
All that the Eastern treasure pays,
Where the Sun lends his early rays;
Or farthest coasts where he's undrest,
And lays his weary head on Thetis' breast.
The rarities rich China send,
Fair Bantham, Goa, and Japan;
The treasure Western caverns lend,
Dug by the miserable American:
All the black Negro dives for in the deep;
Gems, that from heavenly dew condens'd are got:
All that luxurious Asia doth keep,
All rarities that come
From Turkish or from Persian loom,
From Taurus, and old Bagdat, upon camels brought.
Not the loose poet[9], when he did describe
The shining palace where the Sun doth rest;
Though with the richest furniture 'twas drest,
That e'er was weaved in the fruitful brain
And rich conceit of all th' inspired tribe;
Could such a pitch of tow'ring fancy gain,
To reach the wonders that this doth contain,
Though art and fiction he to's help did call,
Though 'twas but an idea, and invention all.

44.

How oft my unprepared eyes
Did at th' unlook'd-for brightness close!
As men, that from dark dungeons rise,
Grow, with the sun's unusual glory, blind.
How oft did my surprized mind
Itself i' th' labyrinth of wonders lose!
Sometimes I thought 'twas but a dream,
And all the treasure that I saw,
Was but the scheme
That my distracted mind did draw:
Bred from the vapours of the night,
That did a while my wand'ring thoughts delight,
But far away, with sleep, would take their flight.
As feverish eyes paint beauteous objects near,
Which, when we grow ourselves, do disappear:
So a poor peasant, that did never know
More treasures than the fruitful field doth show;
That ne'er saw pearls, or gems, but those
The morning dew doth upon flowers repose:
Such would his admiration be,
Should he be brought to see
Th' unutterable store,
Unseen, unthought, unheard of him before,
Of some rich eastern prince's treasury,
Dread and surprise upon his soul would fall,
And he would think 't deceit, and an imposture all:

45.

Each room hath all perfections got,
That widest wishes could create
Order, proportion, riches, greatness, state:
Nor is conveniency justled out;
Conveniency, that's first by prudence sought,
To whom all else should be subordinate.
Nor do reiterated pleasures cloy;
Variety, that gives a taste to joy,
And relishing sweetness doth dispense,
Around doth in agreeing discord fall:
Each room hath a peculiar excellence;
All beauteous, yet of different beauties all.
One with earth's purest metals shines,
The precious entrails of deep-hidden mines;
The fatal cause of blood and war:
The ghastly dæmons, that in battles stalk,
Such as i' th' mines, from whence they're dug, do walk.
Treasure! the deadly heat that brings,
The fiery thirst, that nothing can assuage;
Hydropic drought! the lasting plague that haunts ambitious kings:
Here it hath the right use, and serves for show;
For show, that hath no real worth, but what
It hath from our depraved fancy got.
Such plenty every where is spread,
You'd think the hill was all one mine,
Or that 'twas Peru's magazine,
Or that the Indies there were brought to bed.
Not Israel's peaceful mighty king,
That made his land o'erflow with store,
That flow'd with honey, and with milk before:
Though he did gold from distant Ophir bring;
Though all that his unskilled times did know,
Egypt's beloved daughter's house could show;
Could for its treasure this contemn,
Though he made silver, like the stones, in mountainous Jerusalem.

[9] [Ovid. Vide Metamorph. lib. ii.]

46.

This next is rich in art, as that in store:
Art, that doth varnish nature o'er,
And whate'er doth unformed come
From nature's fruitful womb,
Doth in mysterious clothing lap,
And licks the formless embryo to shape.
Here curious art in every place doth reign,
Runs, like the soul, through every part:
Surprizing wit doth here divert,
Here's subtle fancy in a pleasing vein,
And there's the wild invention of a fruitful brain.
In thousand shapes it doth appear;
Now this, now that disguise it doth put on,
Now visible it doth draw near,
Now, in meänders lost, 'tis gone;
Now in its matchless beauty seen,
Then hides itself, yet sets transparent shades between.
All arts, in colder regions bred,
Where solid judgment bears a sway,
And down light frothy wit doth weigh:
Or those from hotter climates led;
Where the near sun, with kindly heat,
Doth warm the brain, and active wit beget;
Ripens the thoughts, th' invention doth sublime,
Concocted in their warmer clime:
All that from learned Greece do come,
From ancient or from modern Rome.
All soft delights that do comply
With ease, with state, and luxury,
The lovely strangers here are all with comely order met:
That, should a barbarous inundation reign,
Worse than the plague the north did once display,
And learning under desolate ruins lay,
From hence the circle of the arts might be retriev'd again.

47.

That deck'd with china, and rich porcelain;
China in former ages made,
And low in earth's deep caverns laid,
Where 't doth transparency and hardness gain,
And value above richest metals hold:
As, under weighty mountains, gold,
Concocted by the sun's enlivening heat,
In secret mansions doth its virtue get.
China, by provident parents, buried low,
Where it, unvisited, doth sleeping lie,
Until some ages are slid by,
Then dug, it treasure doth for great-grandchildren grow.

48.

Here's tapestry so lively made,
In such due shades, and living colours laid,
In the beholder's breast they move
The passions that they represent.
Sometimes a bloody battle strikes the eye,
And death in thousand shapes doth rove;
You'd think the living men, on slaughter bent,
Did join, and fight, and fall, and die:
While streams of blood from wounds do seem to fall,
And cast a dread and horror upon all.
When landscapes soon of soft delight,
Such as the innocent country yields,
Compose, and smooth the soul from the affright,
And then we're in the flow'ry fields,
And taste the undisturbed joy
Did o'er the world i' th' golden ages fly.
The lively actions, there are shown,
Make deep impression on the breast;
The same the sympathizing soul doth own:
In the same garb and passions drest,
They wind up the soul, or let it down.

49.

This doth the quintessence of Painting shew:
Painting! that first in Paradise began,
When the Almighty Being drew
His image on the soul of man.
Painting! the wondrous art,
That can eternity impart,
Beyond the power of history:
History, where they a being have,
But one degree removed from the grave.
In some few letters they are seen,
The poor mausoleum where they lie,
As fading as their compound is, the air.
Here, in proportion, features, and in mien
They live; are ever young, and ever fair,
Entire; not sublimated to a name.
Physick can underprop life's sinking frame,
And make the shaking fabrick live:
History can patch a broken fame,
And undeserv'd applauses give:
'Tis only Painting that can truly save
From the abyss that swallows all, the grave;
Where, undistinguish'd, all are thrown
I' th' gloomy shades of dark oblivion,
Whither past times, and once-brave men, are gone.

50.

If it to learned souls permitted be,
The actions of succeeding times to see;
What joy would it impart?
How would it Zeuxis and Apelles please,
And the learn'd soul of fam'd Praxiteles,
To see th' improvement of their once-lov'd art:
By Titian, Angelo, and Rubens' name,
And Lilly, last in time, but first in fame.
Zeuxis, with grapes, the silly birds deceiv'd,
That, fearless, to the boy ill-drawn did fly:
Here Painting doth deceive man's curious eye,
And draughts are real, living men believ'd.
Such life in every well-shap'd limb doth play,
An awful dread doth on beholders fall,
And reverend fear their doubtful hearts doth sway,
That know them noble, think them living all:
How would Apelles his fam'd Venus slight,
Should he be bless'd with such a sight,
Each one far more than was his Venus bright?

Unfit was he to portray beauty's queen,
That ne'er had English beauties seen:
This seat in nine successive Earls doth pride,
To England's greatest families allied;
Painting here gives them life, and they
Do it with immortality repay,
And give a value to the art, that nothing can decay.

51.

"This is the happy room, (cry'd out my guide,)
Where the bright angel doth repose,
That all the glory on this state bestows,
Shines through, and gilds the fabrick that doth her inclose:
Here she doth hide
Her sacred beauty from the shades of night:
The greatest gift indulgent Heaven could give,
Or the admiring earth receive.
All things around do with her beauty shine,
And glorious from reflexion grow;
She, with a dazzling splendour, makes all fine,
A worth no earthly treasure can bestow.
Heaven, by the presence of the gods, grows fair,
From thence doth gain its fam'd felicity;
And would a despis'd mansion be,
Were not that glorious consort there."

52.

Hence to another sphere we pass'd,
With richest treasures grac'd;
The lovely offspring of that happy lord,
The brightest gems heaven can afford,
The richest can be given
To his best-loved favourite.
Trifles before did my sick eyes invite,
The gifts of earth; these of indulgent Heaven:
Heaven, by its impress, claims them for his own;
Seal'd with Heaven's signet, each doth bear,
In starry letters writ,
The image the Eternal Mind doth wear:
A blooming glory in their looks appears,
Sweetly becoming infant years;
Like flowers half ripe, that show
The future glories that in them will grow,
Then sweeter, than when wider blown.
A lovely dawning, not so bright,
But yet more pleasing than the furious light;
Such as Aurora doth display,
When she foreshews a glorious day.

53.

Epitomes of worth! How soon
Will noble blood in gallant actions shine?
Break out in rays divine;
And, like an actuating soul,
With divine lustre through each motion run;
A charming wit, and mien unfold,
Quite different from the common mould,
And every infant act with infus'd grace controul?
Stupidity and dulness once did rule
In the world's tender years, ere she
Was crept out of her infancy,
Divided 'twixt the innocent and fool.
When wit a monster was, and knowledge thought
The dangerous path that first destruction brought,
Shunn'd for Eve's fatal curiosity:
When ignorance, secur'd from cares and fears
Long-bearded boys, and children of an hundred years.
Here natural wit and gallantry appears,
Born with the soul; the seeds, sown there,
A native inbred worth do bear,
Not from long custom grown,
Or tedious experience known;
Not borrow'd, not acquir'd, but their own.
Wonders do through each look and action run;
Yet, since such parents them their being gave,
Nature a prodigy hath done,
Had they not been so fair and brave.
Heaven, to great souls, peculiar love doth own,
And hath a nearer way to knowledge shown;
Stamps something great upon the mind,
That is for gallant deeds and for high place design'd.
For princes must have eagle's eyes,
And boundless judgment, every act to poise:
To them indulgent gods have shown
The principles, heaven's monarchy doth own,
For they are friends of heaven, and they're the gods' allies.

54.

Low at thy foot my humble muse doth flow,
Illustrious Roose, that doth inherit
Thy mother's beauty, and thy father's spirit:
In thy wide soul embracing grow
Entrancing sweetness, and commanding merit.
Thou leap'st o'er childhood; nor dost know
The innocent follies others do,
But manly wit through all thy acts doth flow:
In every thing, but years, a man.
Angels, at once, up to perfection grow,
Nor by time's tedious steps their knowledge gain:
Thou, like them, fair, and, like them, wise,
At once to th' top of knowledge dost attain,
Leaving th' ignoble crowds, struggling behind in vain.
A ray of heaven in thy high blood doth dwell,
And doth thy soul to mighty actions swell,
A secret god in every particle.
Who fair ideas in thy soul doth sow,
Doth virtuous maxims i' th' composure strow,
That to an harvest of great deeds will grow.
Virtue 's entail'd on thee by long descent,
From heaven, with thy due honours, sent;
Th' inheritance thy ancestors impart:
Virtue in thee is nature, but in others art.

55.

Methinks I see,
When thy bright soul was sent below,
How Heaven upon the beauteous product smil'd;
With divine worth and splendour fill'd;
And an unusual essence lent,
A nearer nature to his own.

And, as through shining orbs it pass'd
To lofty BELVOIR down,
Each constellation blessings sent,
Met and embrac'd the heavenly guest.
Nature herself, with such a treasure grac'd,
In smiling joys her thanks express'd:
And BELVOIR's Genius his white locks with flow'ry chaplets dress'd.
Live, noble youth, thy parents' joy,
And thy proud country's fame;
And, with thy own, eclipse thy ancestors' great name;
And if Parnassus' sleeps inspire
The poet with prophetic fire,
My enlighten'd eyes do see
Thy acts all ancient fame outdo;
To untrod paths aspire,
And a new shining path to honour strew;
Till to the top of excellence attain'd,
The utmost point of human glory gain'd:
Thy active soul scorning the tie
Of dull mortality,
The world too small a compass for thy heart;
From subject earth thou 'lt change thy course,
Aspire above, and take even heaven by force.

56.

Hence to the Chapel did our footsteps slide;
From Heaven's great favourites to his court:
Deck'd with the gems immaculate vows do bear,
With sacred incense, and unspotted prayer;
Where Heaven's great King disdains not to reside.
The service so divine, and votaries so fair,
To the eternal seat so near,
Angels do think themselves in heaven when there.
Prayers thence with winged speed do pass,
(No need of Lucian's whispering-place,)
A chorus of bless'd souls the place did crown,
And blessings, in full streams, descended down:
Such beauteous suppliants there resort,
You'd think one god did to another pray.
Go on, bless'd souls, success your vows repay,
While guardian angels round you stay,
And steal the spoken word away;
And patterns from the accents take,
To sweeten the new song that they must make:
And, oh! how they rejoice
To be the bearer of the voice,
And echo'd back again, with a melodious noise.
While Heaven with strict attention hears,
And turns his crowd of eyes to ears:
For what can he deny
To th' nearest patterns of his deity?

57.

Hence to a stately room we came,
That did the fairest prospect yield
Of any place beneath a star;
O'erlook'd the glories of th' enamell'd field,
And stately towns, that distant countries bear.
From hence the greedy eye
O'er the extended Vale did glide,
The Vale, that in a crowd of towns did pride,
That interspers'd, like beds of flowers in gardens, lie,
At once can see the frame
Of lofty Lincoln, and fair Nottingham.
The spacious scene and sight for conquest vie:
The prospect is as boundless as the eye.
"From hence (my fair instructress cry'd)
The bright Intelligence that moves this sphere,
And all the beauteous Nymphs that here reside,
Can, from the windows, feed the roused deer,
Affrighted at the fatal noise
Of his pursuing enemies;
Swift as the wind
With subtle course his eager foes avoid;
Wander in curious labyrinths about,
In secret mazes strive to lose
That fate, which ever sticketh close,
Nor will be left behind.
See all the artifice and wiles,
The open speed and hidden guiles,
With which his art a-while beguiles
Death, that his footsteps doth pursue,
And in his hidden mazes finds him out.
Where-e'er he goes, he still is in their view,
And equally, in vain, his speed doth try,
From certain death or from their sight to fly:
As guilty men, by terrors driven,
Wander about, but cannot go out of the sight of Heaven."

58.

Scarce had she spoke,
When, from a neighbouring shade,
A joyful cry of busy hounds there broke,
That rous'd a stag, in a dark thicket laid,
With secure shades and silence compass'd round,
By 's treacherous footsteps found.
Unhappy creature! that 's betray'd by those,
In whom he did his only trust repose.
His foes approaching, from his rest he starts,
Shakes, and lifts up his lofty head;
His head with dreadful weapons garnished,
And awful look, that strikes a dread,
The outward show of gallant hearts.
What contradictions nature doth entwine?
What ill-mix'd contrarieties combine?
Courage without, and trembling fear within.
Attentive to the cry,
Sometimes of war he thinks, sometimes of flight,
Of swiftness now, and now of fight;
And now he, undiscover'd, hopes to lie
In the dark mansions of the silent grove.
A thousand schemes his terror doth compose:
Now this design, and now a new doth rise,
Dress'd up in pleasing probabilities,
Till a more moving one the room supplies.
At last, the chilling noise approaching nigh
And, fear increasing, all are flown,
The fabricks all are tumbled down,
And terror every thing doth disapprove.
Fear, ghastly fear, the long dispute doth end,
And all his force and courage he to speedy flight doth bend.

59.

The eager dogs their unseen foe pursue;
Led by strange magic force,
Where th' curious sight is lost, and where
No tracks or footsteps do appear,
No marks left on the yielding ground, or in the parted air;
By a magnetic influence, they find
A stream of subtile atoms left behind,
Invisible, as are th' ingredients that compose the wind.
And running up th' aërial clue,
Conducted by that fine-wrought thread,
Through all the mazes of his wand'ring course,
Through all the winding labyrinths they 're led.
The charms of mighty love are known,
And powerful force of sympathy;
But here ev'n enemies are drawn,
By unaccountable antipathy.

60.

Next following these, a gallant troop is seen
Of men all cloth'd in green,
The new-made livery of the verdant field:
Mounted on steeds that do devour the way,
With course as swift as quickest thoughts do yield,
When they to farthest regions stray.
The splendid train an hero led,
With such a port, and such a mien,
You'd think divinity was couch'd within.
Unusual excellence his form o'erspread,
Through every well-shap'd member ran,
And promis'd something more than man.
His fiery horse, proud of the glorious weight,
With winged speed, and comely state,
Through all the spacious plain did fly,
With all the symptoms of exulting joy.
Struck with deep reverence, cry'd I,
" What divine form doth there that consort grace,
That looks like one of the celestial race?
Such sure the ancient hero was;
Such were the demigods of old,
By eloquent Greece, in lasting stories told;
Ere they for worth, like his,
Left the unworthy world, and commenc'd deities."
" 'Tis (cry'd my guide) the far-fam'd lord
That doth this stately fabrick own;
By his presence equal to a god, but greater in 's renown:
Who, stooping from his height, doth deign
Sometimes to taste the pleasures of the plain;
As gods from heaven come down,
And change for joys that lower seats afford."

61.

Meanwhile, the lofty stag, in vain,
His wand'ring course doth steer through all the plain.
In vain he strives to break fate's rigid laws,
In vain with subtle course t' avoid
Those foes, which after him he draws,
By chains invisible unto him tied.
Restless, through untrod paths he 's borne,
Death ever sounding in his ear:
As guilty men, by ill conscience torn,
Are driven on, headlong, by unruly fear;
Sometimes, by speedy flight, his foes outrun,
Beneath a thicket's shade he list'ning stays,
And hopes his foes and all ill fate are gone.
But they, through all the winding ways,
By characters inexplicable read
The secret course his wary feet did tread;
And drawing nearer, do renew affright,
And scatter his abortive hopes in flight.
Sometimes he flies for shelter to the groves,
The conscious mansions of his secret loves:
But every shade echoes the chilling noise,
Augments his fear, and doubles his surprise.
Now his old friends, the herd of deer, he tries,
Hopes in their number he unknown may 'scape;
But they, his former fame forgot, and gone
Their adoration once, and fear,
With threat'ning horns forbid him to draw near.
Now to the civilized plain
His wandering course doth rove;
But all alike do treacherous prove:
Death in each different place is bred,
Swift as his course it flies, and hovers o'er his head.
At last decreasing strength to rage doth grow,
Courage from his despair doth rise,
And swell'd with fury, he doth wish for now
Th' approach of his insulting enemies:
Standing at bay, his much-sought life he guards,
And 's foremost eager foes with death rewards:
Till tir'd with slaughter'd crowds, sunk with their weight,
Yielding to inexorable fate,
In comely state he dies;
Encircled round with heaps of enemies.

62.

Through numerous stately rooms we pass'd,
And each so beauteous did appear,
Such deep amazement on the soul did cast,
'Twas thought none other could like that be fair:
Till the next did with equal worth surprize,
As full of wonders and entrancing rarities.
Each did the soul with admiration fill,
And ere the heighten'd spirits had leave to fall,
New wonders from new objects did distil,
All beauteous, and inflaming beauties all.
So a poor anchoret, that his days hath spent
In the recluses of a lonely cave,
That never knew what pride or riches meant;
But th' earth his food, his drink a fountain gave:
As he, by angels borne above,
Through all the glorious orbs doth move,
With the astonishing glory rent,
His wide-distended soul doth fly,
And break in admiration, love, and joy.
Of such sights sure 'tis holy men rehearse,
When their prophetic spirits borne above,

Of saints and angels; how they did converse
With seraphims and all the choir of love.
Such did th' inspir'd Apostle[10] find,
When he among the orbs was caught:
Visions above a mortal's thought,
Too bright for human eyes, and high for earthly mind.

63.

Distracted with the sight,
With numberless variety
That made a confus'd light;
As crowds of stars do make the Galaxy.
"What words, (cry'd I,) bless'd Muse, are fit?
(If any can describe an Infinite,)
What new-found eloquence is requisite?
Since art and learning is too poor,
Nor can in all its boundless store;
Its curious wardrobe, whence are brought,
In wondrous hieroglyphic letters wrought,
The garbs, that do all objects fit, and every wand'ring thought.
Not art with all's improved skill can spin
Expressions, fit to clothe these wonders in."
"Admire, and silent be,
(The prudent Muse reply'd;)
Attempt no impossibility.
Not all my Sisters' skill the task could do,
In that untrodden path could go,
Not though Apollo's self should be the guide."

64.

This said, up to the roof my guide me led,
And with bold feet its lofty top we tread:
While divine ardour in our souls was bred,
And breathings of celestial influence fir'd;
The soul, with neighbourhood of heaven inspir'd,
Restless, it scarcely in our breasts would stay,
But fain would journey that short way,
To the bless'd coasts of everlasting day.
Divine ideas from th' pure æther rise,
So pure, untainted, and so high,
An angel would not blush to own them his.
Another soul seem'd in our breast to move,
A ray from the bright sun of light and love.
If souls, as learned men suppose,
When from the bodies' fetters loose:
Tainted with matter that they hugg'd below;
Unfit as yet to heaven to fly,
In higher regions of the air do stay,
And purge their dross and earthy parts away;
Thence to some neighbour star ascend;
And still, as purer they do grow,
To higher orbs of light their course do bend;
Till they, like fire, unbound, active, and free,
With winged speed do rise,
Sublim'd and fitly purified to reach the skies,
The blessed souls, that here their dwelling make,
Need not such tedious gradations take;
Unsullied with the mists that fall below,
From their pure air they may untainted go:
With highest rank of angels stay,
And be no more allied to earth than they.

65.

From hence, with sacred pride,
Our eyes o'er all the humble Vale did glide:
Now on the paradise below
Our pleased eyes do dwell:
The hanging-gardens, that do show
Those joys, soft Greece and Rome's delights excel,
And all luxurious Babylon did know.
Sometimes on the rude mountains' tops we rove,
The scene of innocence and untaught love,
Whose brows with wild inhabitants abound,
Under whose shades, their heads with ivy bound,
Pan and his hairy Sylvans dance the round.
Straight when we turn our eye,
The cultivated Vale new sweets displays,
Its head with corn and flow'ry meads arrays,
Th' effects of toil and artful industry.
The one doth nature's naked form impart,
The other doth express't improv'd by art:
Hence, the bold eye doth distant countries trace;
With daring unconfined race,
Contracts the way, and visits every place:
Until at last
(Objects still lessening as they're farther plac'd)
Towns springing up in crowds,
Appearing from afar,
On some far-distant coast,
Its bold and daring flight
Is with a pleasing error lost,
In mists and blueish clouds,
On hills that such appear,
Where the descending heaven on earth doth seem to light.

66.

Phœbus, god of heavenly fire,
Father of the tuneful lyre;
God of Light, and god of Wit,
Head of the inspired Quire:
Say, if in all thy glorious way,
(And round the world thou circlest every day,)
In all the journeys thou dost go,
A seat like this thy unwearied course doth know;
Where, all that constituteth fair and great,
Order, conveniency, and state;
All the world's scatter'd excellencies greet,
And all the different lines as in a centre meet.
And, when thou dost confess the world too poor,
I dare thy wit's unbounded store,
The room of bankrupt nature to supply,
And fancied worth to make, as rich and high,
As thy eternal mind can fly,
That gilds with everlasting rays the highest sky.
Then, god of Wit, how wilt thou find
Thy proudest flights left far behind,
And of Belvoir unworthy be?
All wonders past, or present times can tell,
Bless'd place, in thee do lie:
And thou art left of all the world the only miracle.

[10] [St. Paul.]

The Accusation and Impeachment of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, by the House of Commons, in Maintenance of the Accusations, whereby he standeth charged with High-Treason.

Printed Anno Dom. 1641.[1]

[Quarto, containing Eight Pages.]

I.

IMPRIMIS, That he, the said Archbishop of Canterbury, hath endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws of this kingdom, by giving his Majesty advice, both private and public, at the council-table, and high-commission, and other places, and so would have them governed by the civil law; and said, "he would make the proudest subject in the kingdom give way to him:" and, being told it was against law, he replied, "he would make it law; and that the King might, at his pleasure, take away without law, and make it warrantable by God's law."

II.

Item, His countenancing of books for the maintenance of his unlimited power; wherein the power of the Parliament is denied, and the Bishop's power set up.

III.

Item, That he traitorously went about to interrupt the judges, by his threatenings, and other means, to constrain them to give false judgment in the case of ship-money; as will appear by writings under his own hand, and by the testimonies of divers persons of good worth and quality.

IV.

Item, That he hath taken bribes, and sold justice in the High-commission court, as archbishop; and hath not only corrupted the judges there, but hath also sold judicial places to be corrupted.

V.

Item, That he hath traitorously endeavoured the encroachment of jurisdiction, institution of canons, and they are not only against law, but prejudicial, and against the liberties of the subjects; that he hath enlarged his jurisdictions by making these canons; and that he hath exercised his authority very cruelly, both as counsellor, as a commissioner, and as a judge; and this authority is derived from his own order, and not from the King.

VI.

Item, That he hath traitorously assumed to himself a capital power over his Majesty's subjects, denying his power of prelacy from the King.

VII.

Item, That by false erroneous doctrines, and other sinister ways and means, he went about to subvert the religion, established in this kingdom; and to set up popery and superstition in the church.

VIII.

Item, That, by divers undue means and practices, he hath gotten into his hands the power and nominating of ministers to spiritual promotions, and hath presented none but slanderous men thereunto; and that he hath presented corrupt chaplains to his Majesty.

[1] [Another copy of the articles of impeachment against Archbishop Laud, was printed in the same year, for Ralph Mabb, and contains several variations from the present charges.]

IX.

Item, That his own ministers, as Heywood, Layfield, and others, are notoriously disaffected to religion; and he hath given power of licensing of books to them.

X.

Item, That he hath traitorously endeavoured to reconcile us to the church of Rome; and to that end hath employed a Jesuit, a papist, and hath wrought with the pope's agents in several points.

XI.

Item, That, to suppress preaching, he hath suspended divers good and honest ministers, and hath used unlawful means, by letters, and otherwise, to set all bishops to suppress them.

XII.

Item, That he hath traitorously endeavoured to suppress the French religion here with us, (being the same religion we are of,) and also the Dutch church; and to set division between them and us.

XIII.

Item, That he hath traitorously endeavoured to set a division between the King and his subjects, and hath gone about to bring in innovations into the church, (as by the remonstrances may appear,) and hath induced the King to this war with the Scots; and many men, upon their death-beds, to give money towards the maintenance of this war; and hath caused the clergy to give freely towards the same, and hath brought in many superstitions and innovations into the church of Scotland; and that he procured the King to break the pacification, and thereby to bring in a bloody war between the two kingdoms.

XIV.

Item, That, to save and preserve himself from being questioned and sentenced from these and other his traitorous designs, from the first year of his now Majesty's reign, until now; he hath laboured to subvert the rights of parliamentary proceedings, and to incense his Majesty against parliaments; and so that, at Oxford, he gave forth many such words against it, and so hath continued ever since.

By all which words, counsels, and actions, he hath traitorously laboured to alienate the hearts of the King's liege people from his Majesty, (and hath set a division between them,) and to ruin and destroy his Majesty's kingdoms: for which they impeach him of high-treason, against our sovereign lord the King, his crown and dignity.

And the said Commons by protestation, saving to themselves the liberty of exhibiting, at any time hereafter, any other accusation[2] or impeachment against the said William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, and also to the replying to the answers, that he the said Archbishop shall make unto the said articles, or to any of them; and of offering proof also of the premisses, or any part of them, or any other impeachment or accusation that shall be exhibited by them, as the case shall, according to the course of parliament, require; do pray, that he the said William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, be put speedily to answer for all, and every the premisses; that such proceedings, examinations, trials, and judgments may be, upon every of them, had and used, as is agreeable to law and justice.

[2] [Ten additional articles were afterwards exhibited against him by the Commons.]

Leicester's Commonwealth fully epitomised: conceived, spoken, and published, with most earnest Protestation of all dutiful Good-will and Affection towards this Realm, for whose Good only it is made common to many. Contracted in a most brief, exact, and compendious Way; with the full Sense and whole Meaning of the former Book, every Fragment of Sense being interposed. With a pleasant Description of the first Original of the Controversies betwixt the two Houses of York and Lancaster.

Printed in the Year 1641[1].

[Quarto, containing Sixteen Pages.]

A SCHOLAR, Lawyer, and Gentleman being convened together in Christmas-time, retired themselves after dinner, into a large gallery, for their recreation. The Lawyer having in his hand a little book, then newly put forth, containing, 'A defence of the 'public justice done, of late, in England, upon divers priests, and other papists, for trea-'son.' Which book the Lawyer having read before, the Gentleman asked his judgment thereon?

Lawyer. "It is not evil penned," in my opinion, to shew the guiltiness of some persons therein named in particular; yet not so far forth, I believe, and in so deep a degree of treason, as in this book, generally is enforced without indifferency.

Gent. For my part, I protest that I bear the honest Papist (if there be any) no malice for his deceived conscience: but since you grant the Papist, both in general, abroad and at home, and, in particular, such as are condemned, executed, and named in this book, to be guilty; how can you insinuate, as you do, that there is more enforced upon them, by this book, than there is just cause so to do?

Lawyer. Good Sir, I stand not here to examine the doings of superiors, or to defend the guilty; but wish heartily rather their punishment, that deserve the same. But not only those, whom you call busy Papists, in England; but also those, whom we call hot Puritans, among you; may be as well called traitors, in my opinion: for that every one of these, indeed, doth labour indirectly (if not more) against the state; seeing each one endeavoureth to increase his party or faction, that desireth a governor of his own religion. And, in this case, are the Protestants in France and Flanders, under Catholic princes; the Calvinists, under the Duke of Saxony; the Lutherans, under Casinere; the Grecians, and other Christians, under the Emperor of Constantinople, under the Sophy and Cham of Tartary; and under other princes, that are not with them in religion. All which subjects

[1] [This celebrated tract was first printed abroad, under the title of "A Dialogue between a Scholar, a Gentleman, and a Lawyer," &c. From the colour of its leaves, it was called "Father Parsons's *green*-coat." In 1585 it was translated into French, and also printed abroad with this title, "La Vie abominable, Ruses, Trahisons, Meurtres, Impostures," &c. It was afterwards more known by the name of "Leicester's Commonwealth." The reputed author, Father Parsons, a Jesuit, who is said to have disowned the book, was of a rough, turbulent, and seditious disposition, and his whole life was spent in various attempts to impede the reformation in England.

The tract was reprinted by Dr. Drake, *an.* 1706, with an additional preface by himself, designed to give an ill impression of the government of Charles I. See Wood's Athenæ, Biog. Brit. and Zouch's Life of Sir P. Sidney.]

do wish, no doubt, in their hearts, that they had a prince and state of their own religion, instead of that which now governeth them; and, consequently, in this sense they may be called traitors. And so, (to apply this to my purpose,) I think, Sir, in good sooth, that in the first kind of treason, as well the zealous Papist, as also the Puritan in England, may well be called, and proved traitors.

Gent. I grant your distinction of treasons to be true; but your application thereof to the Papists and Puritans, as you call them, be rather divers degrees, than divers kinds: and the one is but a step to the other; not differing in nature, but in time, ability, or opportunity. For if the Grecians, under the Turk, and other Christians under other princes of a different religion; as also the Papists and Puritans in England, have such alienation of mind from the present regimen, and do covet so much a governor and state of their own religion: then, no doubt, but they are also resolved to employ their forces, for accomplishing and bringing to pass their desires, if they had opportunity; and so being now in the first degree, or kind of treason, do want but occasion or ability to break into the second.

Lawyer. True, Sir; if there be no other cause or circumstance that may withhold them.

Gent. And what cause or circumstance may stay them, when they shall have ability, or opportunity, to do a thing which they so much desire?

Lawyer. Divers causes, but especially the fear of servitude under foreign nations, may restrain them such attempts; as, in Germany, both Catholicks and Protestants joined together against strangers, that offered danger to their liberties. So that, by this example, you see, that fear of external subjection may stay men in all states; and, consequently, both Papists and Puritans in the state of England, from passing to the second degree of treason, although they were never so deep in the first; and had both ability, time, will, and opportunity, for the other.

Schol. It seems to be most clear; and now I understand what the Lawyer meant before, when he affirmed, that although the most part of Papists, in general, might be said to deal against England, in regard of their religion, and so incur some kind of treason, yet not so far forth as in this book is enforced; though, for my part, I do not see that the book enforceth all Papists in general to be properly traitors, but such as only in particular are therein named; or that are by law attainted, or condemned, or executed. And what will you say to those in particular?

Lawyer. That some, here named in this book, are openly known to have been in the second degree of treason, as Westmoreland, Norton, Sanders, &c. but divers others (namely, the priests and seminaries) I conceive, that to the wise of our state, who had the doing of this business, the first degree of treason was sufficient to dispatch them, especially in such suspicious times as these are; to the end that, being hanged for the first, they should never be in danger to fall into the second, nor yet to draw other men to the same, which, perhaps, was most of all misdoubted.

Gent. It appertaineth not to us to judge what the state pleaseth to do; for it must as well prevent inconveniences, as remedy the same, when they are happened. But, my good friends, I must tell you plain, that I could wish, with all my heart, that either these differences were not amongst us at all, or else that they were so temperately, on all parts, pursued; as the common state of our country, the blessed reign of her Majesty, and the common cause of true religion, were not endangered thereby.

Lawyer. But many participate the black Moors' humour that dwell in Guiney, whose exercise, at home, is (as some write) the one to hunt, catch, and sell the other; and always the stronger to make money of the weaker. But now, if in England, we should live in peace and unity, as they do in Germany, and one should not prey upon the other; then should the great falcons for the field (I mean the favourites of the time) fail of their great prey.

Gent. Truly, Sir, I think you rove nearer the mark than you think; for, if I be not deceived, the very ground of these broils is but a very prey, in the greedy imaginations of him who tyrannizeth the state; and being himself of no religion, feedeth not yet upon our differences in religion, to the fatting of himself, and ruin of the realm: for whereas, by the common distinction, there are three notable differences of religion in this land;

(the two extremes whereof are the Papist and Puritan, and the religious Protestant obtaining the mean;) this fellow, being of neither, maketh his gain of all, and as he seeketh a kingdom by the one extreme, and spoil by the other; so he useth the authority of the third, to compass the first two, and to countermine each one, to the overthrow of all three.

Schol. In good sooth, I see now, Sir, where you are; you are fallen into the common place of all our ordinary talk and conference in the university; for I know you mean my Lord of Leicester, who is the subject of all pleasant discourse, at this day, throughout this realm.

Gent. Not so pleasant, as pitiful; if all matters and circumstances were well considered, except any man take pleasure to jest at our own miseries, which are like to be the greater by his iniquity (if God avert it not) than by all the wickedness of England besides: he being the man, by all probability, that is like to be the bane and fatal destiny of our state, with the eversion of true religion; whereof, by indirect means, he is the greatest enemy that the land doth nourish: a man of so base a spirit as is known to be, of so extreme ambition, pride, falsehood, and treachery; so born, so bred up, so nursed in treason from his infancy; descended of a tribe of traitors, and fleshed in conspiracy against the royal blood of King Henry's children in his tender years, and exercised in drifts ever since against the same, by the blood and ruin of divers others; and finally, a man so well known to bear secret malice against her Majesty, for causes irreconcileable. Wherefore, I do assure myself, it would be most pleasant to the realm, and profitable to her Majesty, to wit, that this man's actions might be called publicly to trial; and liberty given to good subjects, to say what they know against the same; as it was permitted in the first year of King Henry the Eighth against his grandfather, and in the first of Queen Mary against his father: and then I would not doubt, but if these two, his ancestors, were found worthy to lose their heads for treason; this man would not be found unworthy to make the third in kindred, whose treacheries do far surpass them both.

Lawyer. My masters, have you not heard of the proviso made in the last parliament, for punishment of all those, who speak so broad of such men as my Lord of Leicester is?

Gent. Yes, I have heard, that my Lord of Leicester, being ashamed of his actions, desired a restraint; that he might lie the more securely in harbour from the tempest of men's tongues, which tattled busily at that time, of divers of his Lordship's deeds, which he would not have divulged: as, of his preparation to rebellion upon Monsieur's commission into the land; of his disgrace and checks received at court; of the fresh death of the noble Earl of Essex, and of his hasty snatching up of his widow, whom he sent up and down the country by privy ways, thereby to avoid the sight and knowledge of the Queen's Majesty; and although he had not only satisfied his own lust on her, but also married and remarried her contentation of her friends; yet denied he the same by solemn oaths to her Majesty, and received the communion thereupon; so good a conscience he hath. No marvel, therefore, if he, not desiring to have these and other actions known publicly, was so diligent a procurer of that law for silence.

Schol. It is very probable, that his Lordship was in great distress about that time, when Monsieur's matters were in hand, whereof he desired less speech among the people. But when my Lord of Warwick said openly, at his table in Greenwich, "That the marriage was not to be suffered;" he caused an insurrection against the Queen's own Majesty: and when her Royal Majesty should have married to the brother and heir-apparent of France[2], being judged by the best, wisest, and faithfullest Protestants of the realm, to be both convenient, profitable, and honourable; this tyrant, for his own private lucre, endeavoured to alienate for ever, and make this great Prince our mortal enemy, who sought the love of her Majesty with so much honour and confidence, as never prince did.

Gent. For the present I must advertise you in this case, that you may not take hold so exactly of all my Lord's doings, for they are too many to be recited; especially in women's affairs, in touching their marriages, and their husbands: for first, his Lordship

[2] [The Duke of Anjou.]

hath a special fortune, that when he desireth any woman's favour, then what person soever standeth in his way, hath the luck to die quickly, for the finishing of his desires. As for example; when his Lordship was in full hope to marry her Majesty, and his own wife stood in his way, as he supposed, she was slain to make way for him[3].

Long after this he fell in love with the Lady Sheffield, and then had he also the same fortune to have her husband die quickly by an artificial catarrh, that stopped his breath. The like good chance had he in the death of my Lord of Essex[4], and that at a time most fortunate for his purpose.

He poisoned also one Mrs. Alice Draykot, a goodly gentlewoman, whom he affected much himself; and, hearing that she was dead, lamented her case greatly, and said, in the presence of his servants, "Ah! poor Alice, the cup was not prepared for thee, although it was thy hard destiny to taste of it."

Also Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, whom my Lord of Leicester invited to a supper at his house in London, was there poisoned with a sallad, by an incurable vomit.

The late Lady Lenox also, who came of the royal blood by Scotland, who never could affect her, took the pains to visit her with extraordinary kindness; but, after some private discourse with her, at his departure, she fell into an extraordinary flux, which many did avouch to come by his means.

But this is not all, touching his marriage and contracts with women, changing wives and minions; by killing the one, denying the other, using the third for a time, and fawning on the fourth. Wherefore he had terms and pretences of contracts, precontract, post-contracts, protracts, and retracts: as for example, after he had killed his wife, and so broken that contract, then forsooth would he needs make himself husband to the Queen's Majesty, and so defeat all other princes by virtue of his precontract. And, after this, his lust compelling him to another place, he would needs make a post-contract with the Lady Sheffield: but yet, after his concupiscence, changing again, he resolved to make a retract of this protract, and to make a certain new protract; which is a continuation for using her for a time, with the widow of Essex.

Schol. I have read much in my time of the carnality and licentiousness of many outrageous persons in this kind; but I never read, nor heard the like of him in my life, whose concupiscence and violence run jointly together: neither holdeth he any rule in his lust, besides only the motion and suggestion of his own sensuality. For there are not, by report, two noble gentlemen about her Majesty, (I speak upon some account of them that know much,) whom he hath not solicited by potent ways. And, seeking pasture among the waiting-gentlewomen of her Majesty's chamber, he hath offered three-hundred pounds for a night; and, if that would not make up the sum, he would otherwise; having reported himself, so little shame he hath, that he offered to another of higher place a hundred pound lands a-year, with many more jewels to do the act.

Gent. Nay, he is so libidinous, that he hath given to procure love in others, by conjuring sorcery, and other such means. But I am ashamed to make any more mention of his filthiness.

Schol. To draw you from the further stirring of this unsavoury puddle and foul dung-hill, I will recount a pretty story concerning his daughter born of the Lady Sheffield in Dudley-castle. I was acquainted, three months past, with a certain minister (that now is dead) living at Dudley-castle; for compliment of some sacred ceremonies, at the birth of my Lord of Leicester's daughter in that place; and the matter was so ordered by the wily wit of him that had sowed the seed, that for the better covering of the harvest, and secret

[3] [A chamber is still shewn in the ruined mansion which adjoins the church-yard at Cumner, Berks, called 'the Dudley-chamber,' where the Countess of Leicester is said to have been murdered, and afterwards thrown down stairs, to make it appear that her death was accidental. See Lysons' Magna Britannia, vol. i. p. 270.]

[4] [The suspicion of Lord Essex's having been poisoned, says Dr. Kippis, can only be regarded as one of the many groundless surmises which were long entertained as to the deaths of eminent persons, especially if their deaths were sudden. Different accounts have been given of the Earl's death, but Ludlow, who was probably well informed, ascribes it to his having over-heated himself in the chase of a stag. See Biog. Brit. v. 167.]

delivery of the Lady Sheffield, the good wife of the castle also, (whereby Leicester's appointed gossips might without suspicion have access to the place,) should feign herself to be with child; and after long and sore travail, (God knows,) to be delivered of a cushion; as she was indeed: and a little after a fair coffin was buried with a bundle of clouts in show of a child; and the minister caused to use all accustomed prayers and ceremonies, for the solemnizing thereof. For which thing afterward the minister (before his death) had great grief and remorse of conscience; with no small detestation of the most irreligious device of my Lord Leicester, in such a case.

Gent. This was a most atheistical designment, and withal so unworthy, that it did, alone, deserve a correspondent punishment; and no doubt but that God, who hath an impartial eye in viewing such voluntary iniquities, will one day render unto him, according to his demerits; to whose supreme justice, I leave him. Yet, Gentlemen, if you please, I will relate most apparently unto you his intended murder against the Earl of Ormond. Leicester did offer five-hundred pounds, to have him privately murdered: but when that device took no effect, he appointed the field with him; but, secretly suborning his servant William Killegre to lie in the way, where Ormond should pass; and so massacre him with a caliver, before he came to the place appointed. Which matter, though it took no effect, (for that the matter was taken up, before the day of meeting,) yet was Killegre placed afterwards in her Majesty's privy-chamber by Leicester, for shewing his ready mind to do for his master so faithful a service.

Schol. So faithful a service indeed: in my opinion, it was but an unfit preferment, for so facinorous[5] a fact. Yet, I hear withal, that he is a man of great impatience, fury, rage, and ire; and whatsoever thing it be that he conceives, either justly or unjustly, he prosecuteth the same with such implacable cruelty, that there is no abiding his fury.

His treacheries towards the noble Earl of Sussex, in their many breaches, is notorious to all England, as also the bloody practices against divers others.

But, among many, none were more odious, and misliked of all men, than those against Monsieur Simiers, a stranger, and ambassador; whom first he practised to have poisoned; but when that device took no place, then he would have slain him at the Blackfriars at Greenwich, as he went forth at the garden-gate; but, missing of that purpose too, he dealt with certain Flushiners, and other pirates, to sink him at sea, with the English gentlemen his favourers, that accompanied him, at his return into France[6].

Lawyer. Now verily, Sir, you paint unto me a strange pattern of a perfect potentate in the court; for the common speech of many wanteth not reason I perceive, which call him the heart and life of the court.

Gent. They which call him the heart, upon a little occasion more would call him the head: and then, I marvel what would be left for her Majesty, when they take from her both life, heart, and headship in her own realm.

Lawyer. Yet durst no subject presume to contradict his hellish opinions, but rather gave their assertion unto, for fear of the damage of their lives.

Schol. But he hath ammunition, to what intent I know not; for in Killingworth-castle, he hath ready armour to furnish ten-thousand soldiers, of all things necessary, both for horse and man; besides the great abundance of ready coin there laid up, sufficient for any great exploit to be done within the realm.

Gent. He hath many lands, possessions, seigniories, and rich offices of his own; favour and authority with his prince; the part and portion in all suits, that pass by grace, or are ended by law. He doth chop and change what lands he listeth with her Majesty; possesseth many licences to himself, as of wine, oils, currants, cloth, velvets, with his new office of alienation, which might enrich towns, corporations, countries, and commonwealths. He disposeth at his will ecclesiastical livings of the realm, in making bishops, &c. of whom he pleaseth; he sweepeth away the glebe from many benefices throughout

[5] [Wicked, flagitious. The word is used by Shakspeare and Heywood.]
[6] [Camden, in his Annals, gives an account of this transaction, much to the same purport.]

this land; he scoureth the university, and colleges, where he is chancellor; and selleth both head-ships, and scholar-places, and all other offices and dignities, that by art and violence may yield money. He driveth the parties out of their possessions, and maketh title to what land he pleaseth. He taketh in whole forests, commons, woods, and pastures to himself: these, and in all these he doth insult[7], notwithstanding his former impiety.

He released Calais to the French, most traitorously; as his father, before him, sold Bulloign to the French, by like treachery.

What should I speak of his other actions, whereof there would be no end? As of his dealing with Master Robinson of Staffordshire, with false arraignment; with Master Richard Lee, for his manor of Hockenorton; with Master Ludwick Grivell, by seeking to bereave him of all his living at once, if the drift had taken place; with George Whitney, in the behalf of Sir Henry Leigh, for enforcing him to forego the comptrollership of Woodstock, which he held by patent from King Henry the Seventh; with my Lord Barkeley, whom he enforced to yield up his lands to his brother Warwick, which his ancestors had held quietly before, two-hundred years. What shall I speak of his intolerable tyranny upon Sir John Throgmorton, whom he brought to his grave, by perpetual vexations; and upon all the line of King Henry against this man's father, in King Edward and Queen Mary's days? Upon divers of the Lanes, for one man's sake of that name before-mentioned, that offered to take Killingworth-castle? Upon some of the Giffords, and others, for Throgmorton's sake; in his endless persecuting Sir Drew Drewry, and many other courtiers, both men and women: but especially Leicester was supposed to use this practice, for bringing the sceptre finally to his own head; and that he would not only employ himself to defeat Scotland, and Arbeda to defeat Huntingdon; but also would use the marriage of the Queen imprisoned, to defeat them both if he could. Which marriage he being frustrated of, was not ashamed to threaten a treacherous vindication against her Majesty's royal person. But I hope her Majesty will set out a fair proclamation, with a bundle of halters for all such traitors.

Lawyer. I applaud your well-wishings to the state; yet I do observe much by reading over our country's affairs: and, among other things, I do abhor the memory of that time, and do dread all occasion, that may lead us to the like in time to come; seeing that, in my judgment, neither the civil wars of Marius and Sylla, or of Pompey and Cæsar, among the Romans; nor yet the Guelphians and Gibbelines, among the Italians; did ever work so much woe as this did, to our poor country: wherein, by the contention of York and Lancaster, were fought fifteen or sixteen pitched fields, in less than an hundred years: that is, from the eleventh or twelfth year of King Richard the Second's reign, unto the thirteenth year of King Henry the Seventh. At what time, by cutting off the chief titler of Huntingdon's house, (to wit, young Edward Plantaget, Earl of Warwick, son and heir to George, Duke of Clarence,) the contention was most happily quenched and ended, wherein so many fields were fought between brethren and inhabitants of our own nation. And therein, about the same quarrel, were slain, murdered, and made away, about nine or ten kings, and kings' sons, besides above forty earls, marquisses, and dukes of name; but many more lords, knights, great gentlemen, and captains; and of the common people without number, and by particular conjecture very near two-hundred thousand. For that, in one battle fought by King Edward the Fourth, there are recorded to be slain, on both parts, five-and-thirty-thousand seven-hundred and eleven persons; besides other wounded persons to be put to death afterwards, at the pleasure of the conqueror: at divers battles after, ten-thousand slain at a battle; as in those of Barnet and Tewksbury fought in one year.

Schol. I pray, Sir, open unto me the ground of these controversies between York and Lancaster: I have heard a large relation thereof, but no original.

Law. The controversy between the houses of York and Lancaster took its actual beginning in the issue of King Edward the Third, and Edmond, Earl of Lancaster, whose in-

[7] [Qu. exult?]

heritance fell upon a daughter named Blanch, who was married to the fourth son of King Edward the Third, named John of Gaunt; born in the city of Gaunt, in Flanders, and so by his wife became Duke of Lancaster, and heir of that house. And for that his son Henry of Bullingbrook, pretended among other things, that Edmond Crookback was the elder son of King Henry the Third, and unjustly put by the inheritance of the crown, for that he was crook-backed and deformed: he took by force the kingdom from Richard the Second, nephew to King Edward the Third, by his first son, and placed the same in the house of Lancaster, where it remained for three whole descents; until afterwards Edward Duke of York, descended of John of Gaunt's younger brother, making claim to the crown by title of his grandmother (that was heir to Lionel Duke of Clarence, John of Gaunt's elder brother), took the same from Henry the Sixth by force, out of the house of Lancaster, and brought it back again to the house of York. This therefore, was the original of all those discords between them.

Gent. But let us not digress from our former discourse concerning Leicester's treacherous actions. I have a friend yet living, that was toward the old Earl of Arundel in good credit, and by that means had occasion to deal with the late Duke of Norfolk in his chiefest affairs before his troubles; who did often report strange things from the Duke's own mouth, of my Lord of Leicester's most treacherous dealing towards him, for gaining of his blood, as after appeared true. This Leicester hath also deceived her Majesty divers times, in forging of letters as if they came from some prince, when they were his own forgery. He had likewise a hellish device to entrap his well-deserving friend Sir Christopher Hatton, in matter of Hall his priest, whom he would have had Sir Christopher to hide, and send away; being touched and detected in the case of Ardent, thereby to have drawn in Sir Christopher himself, and made him accessary to this plot. What mean all these pernicious late dealings against the Earl of Shrewsbury, a man of the most ancient and worthiest nobility of our realm? It is only Leicester's ambitious mind, that causes all this.

But it is very strange to see what a contemner of the prerogatives of England he is, and how little account he makes of all the ancient nobility of our realm, how he contemneth, derideth, and debaseth them: which is the fashion of all such, as mean to usurp; to the end, that they may have none, who shall not acknowledge their first beginning and advancement from themselves.

His base and abject behaviour, in his last disgrace about his marriage, well declared what he would do, in a matter of more importance, by deceiving of Sir Christopher Hatton; and by abusing my Lord-Treasurer in a letter, for which her Highness did much rebuke him.

It was affirmed by many, that all the broils, troubles, dangers, and disturbances, in Scotland, did proceed from his complot, and conspiracy.

His unworthy scandal, which he cast on the Earl of Shrewsbury, was perfidious. Wherefore, in regard of these innumerable treacheries, for prevention of succeeding calamities, to tell you plainly my opinion, and therewith to draw to an end of this our conference; I should think it the most necessary point of all, for her Majesty to call his Lordship to an account among others, and to see what other men could say against him, at length, after so many years of his sole accusing and pursuing of others. I know, and am very well assured, that no act which her Majesty hath done, since the coming to the crown, nor any that lightly her Majesty may do hereafter, can be of more utility to herself, and to the realm, or more grateful unto her faithful and zealous subjects, than this noble act of justice will be, for trial of this man's deserts towards his country.

And so, likewise, now to speak in our particular case; if there be any grudge or grief at this day, any mislike, repining, complaint, or murmur, against her Majesty's government, in the hearts of her true and faithful subjects, (who wish amendment of that which is amiss, and not the overthrow of that which is well,) I dare avouch, upon conscience, that either all, or the greatest part thereof, proceedeth from this man. And if her Highness do permit and command the laws, daily to pass upon thieves and murderers, without

exception, and that for one fact only, (as by experience we see;) how then can it be denied in this man, who in both kinds hath committed more enormous acts, than may be well recounted?

As in the *first*, of theft: not only by spoiling and oppressing almost infinite private men, but also whole towns, villages, corporations, and countries; by robbing the realm with inor[illegible]te licences; by deceiving the crown, with racking, changing, and embezzling the lands; by abusing his prince and sovereign, in selling his favour, both at home and abroad; with taking bribes for matter of justice, grace, request, supplication, or whatsoever suit else may depend upon the court, or on the prince's authority.

In which sort of traffick, he committeth more theft oftentimes in one day, than all the way-keepers, cut-purses, cozeners, pirates, burglars, or others of that art, in a whole year within this realm.

As for the *second*, which is murder, you have heard before, somewhat said and proved; but yet nothing to that which is thought to have been in secret committed upon divers occasions, at divers times, in sundry persons, of different calling in both sexes; by most variable means of killing, poisoning, charming, enchanting, conjuring, and the like: according to the diversity of men, places, opportunities, and instruments for the same. By all which means, I think, he hath more blood lying upon his head at this day, crying vengeance against him at God's hands and her Majesty, than ever had private man in our country before, were he never so wicked.

Whereto if we add all his intolerable licentiousness, in all filthy kind and manner of carnality, with all his sorts of wives, friends, and kinswomen: if we add his injuries, and dishonours done, hereby, to infinite: if we add his treasons, treacheries, and conspiracies about the crown; his disloyal hatred against her Majesty; his perjury, his rapes, and most violent extortions upon the poor; his abusing of the parliament, and other places of justice, with the nobility, and whole commonality besides: if we add also his open injuries, which he offered daily to religion, and the ministers thereof, by turning all to his own gain: if, I say, we should lay together all those enormities before her Majesty, (and thousand more in particular, which might and would be gathered, if his day of trial were but in hope to be granted;) I do not see, in equity and reason, how her Highness sitting on the throne, and at the royal stern, as she doth, could deny her subjects this most lawful request; considering that every one of these crimes, a-part, requireth justice of its own nature; and much more altogether ought to obtain the same, at the hand of any good and godly magistrate in the world."

Before this discourse was fully ended, the night came on a-pace, and (it being supper-time) the mistress came to call them to supper; wherefore their further speech was intercepted[8].

[8] [To remove the impression this bitter performance was sure to make upon the vulgar, Queen Elizabeth resorted to the singular method of issuing letters from the privy-council to Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange; William Chaderton, Bishop of Chester; and others the justices of Lancashire and Cheshire; requiring them to be more diligent in suppressing libels, and particularly in taking care of "Leicester's Commonwealth," and declaring the aspersions therein contained to be absolutely false. See Peck's Desiderata Curiosa. Nevertheless this book was universally read, and the contents of it generally received for truth.

A very imperfect answer to this work was penned by the Earl's nephew, Sir Philip Sidney, which remained in MS. for many years. It first appeared in the Sidney Papers, edited in 1746. A full and more circumstantial defence was published in a tract intitled, "Father Parsons's Green-coat well dusted, or short and pithy Animadversions on that infamous fardle of abuse and falsities, intitled 'Leicester's Commonwealth.'"]

A Dialogue between Francisco and Aurelia, two unfortunate Orphans of the City of London. Licensed, November 4, 1690.

London, printed for Randal Taylor, near Stationers-Hall, 1690.

[Quarto, containing Eight Pages.]

Guildhall, Nov. 3, 1690.

Francisco. A GOOD morning to you, Madam:——You are an early riser, I see; though I as little suspected to meet you here, as to find a Quaker behind the scenes in the play-house.

Aurelia. Why, Sir, think you that young women have no business in Guildhall?

Franc. Yes, Madam, but hardly so early in a morning. Had it been the fourteenth of February, I should have suspected you came hither to select one of the aldermen for your Valentine.

Aurel. You are pleased to be merry, Sir:—What merits have I to deserve an alderman?

Franc. You cloud your own worth by your singular modesty: it is well known, that some, who have worn the purple, have taken their cook-maids into the bed with them; and, I hope, Madam, their deserts ought not to be named with yours.

Aurel. You seem to be better acquainted with me, than I am with myself: but, Sir, I hope you have not so ill an opinion of our sex in general, or of me in particular, to think that in affairs of that nature, women are used to make the first advances.

Franc. Yes; in a little foolish gallantry, like this, a lady may go a great way, before she treads upon the heels of modesty.

Aurel. Yes, and that little foolish gallantry (as you are pleased to name it) shall be called fondness on our part; for it is the admirable temper of most of your sex, if you observe any thing in a woman's conversation which you can interpret to your advantage, the nearer you find her approaches, the farther you fly from her, and tell it in company over a bottle——"The truth of it is, Jack; I could love Mrs. such an one, but she is so coming, that——"

Franc. No more, no more, good Madam.

Aurel. Yes, one word more; and then as silent as you please. Modesty on our part serves to whet and heighten your desires; for it is a virtue of such reputation, that where you cannot find the original, you dote upon the copy. Witness the truth of what I say, in the conduct of the lewdest women of the town, whose counterfeit virtue allures you to an intrigue; whereas an open declaration of their infamous way of living would frighten you from an amour.

Franc. But, in this discourse of modesty and intrigue, we have lost our alderman.

Aurel. What have I done, that I should be haunted with aldermen? You are not so ill a philosopher, as not to know, that content and happiness are not always the attendants on a plentiful fortune; which I am neither so vain to wish, nor have merits to deserve; however some of my sex may be pleased with the titleof an alderman's lady.

Franc. Now, by this aversion of yours to an alderman, I humbly conceive, Madam, you are one of the orphans of the city of London.

Aurel. You are much in the right, Sir; and, if I mistake not, by meeting you here so often, I suppose you are one of the same unhappy number.

Franc. It is certainly so, Madam: for, like the Widow Blackacre, in the 'Plain Dealer,' I am forced to solicit my own cause.

Aurel. I come hither upon the same melancholy account, but have as much luck in the attempt, as a poor fellow that sues for an estate *in formâ pauperis*.

Franc. Well! there is certainly a pleasure in rehearsing one's misfortunes, especially if the person, to whom they are told, can oblige one with a like relation: please you, therefore, Madam, to repose yourself upon this seat; and allow one, that is not a perfect stranger to you, a quarter of an hour's conversation; since we are fallen upon a subject that equally concerns us both.

Aurel. The pleasure of that conversation will be wholly on my part, Sir.

Franc. Good Madam, let us not talk as if we were in a dancing-school, but lay all compliments aside as superfluous, as fine clothes at a funeral.

Aurel. The subject, I confess, is almost as melancholy: for, were our bodies in as desperate a condition as our fortunes, I fear 'Jesuit's Powder' would do us but little good.

Franc. The truth of it is, we have lived upon hope a long time.—A fine, thin, cooling diet; and as necessary, in our circumstances, as water-gruel to a man troubled with an over-heated liver.

Aurel. I think we may, not improperly, call this place 'the Land of Promise,' where we are treated with all the civility possible. "Indeed, Madam, I think of your petition. Truly, Sir, you will not fail next court-day. I profess, Madam, I do not neglect your business." And all this is nothing but ceremony and compliment, acted with so much gravity; that on a court-day, I have satisfied myself to have seen Mr. Bays's grand dance in the 'Rehearsal.'

Franc. Indeed, our daily attendance is somewhat like the story of the fellow, that made love to an invisible mistress.

Aurel. But, pray, Sir, give me leave to enquire of you the reasons, or occasions of the practice of putting the orphans' money into the chamber of London; by what authority demanded; and whether our deceased parents were not influenced by custom, and had a wrong notion of the matter? For, could they have foreseen what has since happened, they would as soon have ordered their executors to have laid out their money in ruffs and farthingals, as to have put it into that bottomless pit, the Chamber.

Franc. A place somewhat resembling Michael Angelo's picture of hell, from whence the Pope himself could not redeem a cardinal there painted. But (not to run too far from your question) the reasons of the practice were, at first, intentionally good and pious: for ———

Aurel. So were religious houses in the times of the primitive persecutions; but posterity improved the matter into monasteries and nunneries, though, since, nurseries of luxury and idleness.

Franc. Your digression is pithy enough, Madam; but pray give me leave to proceed. As to the authority, by which it is demanded, it is well known, that the city of London being (by virtue of *Magna Charta*) a body corporate; they have a power or commission to enact petty laws and customs among themselves, as they shall see most fit, for the better government of the city.——

Aurel. Yes, Sir; such as ordering the assize of bread, or penny-loaves for the use of school-boys and journeymen taylors.

Franc. Still you will be facetious. But to proceed: Amongst other customs, this was enacted by common-council, no doubt, that every freeman dying, and leaving a widow and children behind him, for the better security of what he left them (lest, having their fortunes in their own power, they might embezzle it, or else be betrayed to very unequal, if not scandalous matches), the money, I say, was paid into the chamberlain's office, the sum registered, and his note given for security; the lord-mayor (for the time being) and the court of aldermen, becoming guardians, or trustees to the said widow and orphans; either of which were not to marry, without their consent first had and obtained.

Aurel. With submission to their authority, I shall never trouble them with the question.

Franc. Heaven be praised, at present the condition of that obligation is void: I Tho-

mas, may take thee Abigail, without that licence; nay, invite the aldermen to dinner, and they never be offended at it.

Aurel. But, granting the intention was good and pious; did it ever answer the end proposed?

Franc. Yes, unquestionably, for several scores of years: for I love to do justice to the memory of the dead.

Aurel. I wish my thoughts would allow me that liberty to the living. But how comes it to pass, Sir, that the Bank is not in that reputation as formerly; the City being much more rich and populous?

Franc. Now, Madam, you ask a very knotty question; but (to the best of my memory) the Exchequer, being shut up some time before the Bank you speak of, languished in esteem about the year 1681; yet, with submission, I believe we may go higher, even as far as the year 1641; London being esteemed by some at Westminster, what was said of England formerly at Rome, that it was *puteus inexhaustus*, 'a well never to be drawn dry.' Something went to the maintaining that unnatural war, besides bodkins and thimbles: the prosecuting of the then miscalled 'godly cause,' calling for vast sums from the Chamber, which all the since-received money could not repay again; they being oftentimes forced to pay one man's interest with another's principal. And, though the fatal consequences were not known till of late, yet some observators about Guildhall discovered, that a late chamberlain (famous for his skill in military discipline), finding a cloud gathering at court, and that he was like to fall under the displeasure of a great man at Whitehall, gave private notice to some of his own party to draw out their money; and those who wanted that kind intelligence are the chief, if not the only sufferers now: for, you know, it is like the practice of bankers, who being blemished in their repute, their creditors coming in so thick upon them to call in their money, they are forced to stop their payments, in order to a composition.

Aurel. But, Sir, I have been told, that those who come a little nearer to our memories, tell us, they have observed a tall building[1] upon Fish-street Hill, a ditch[2] not far from Ludgate, and several conduits, to be built with mortar tempered with a sort of brackish water, known to the virtuosi, by the name of 'Widows' and Orphans' Tears.'

Franc. No, Madam, that was not so; your judgment has been misinformed: those public structures being wholly built at the City-charge, by money raised by a tax upon coals, &c.

Aurel. I could have wished the wisdom of the City would have converted those funds into other uses. For the payment of the orphans would have eternized their memories more, than if they had erected monuments and mum-glasses in every street of the city.

Franc. For my part, though I would have the second[3] day of September never to be forgotten; yet I have wondered what that monument was intended for, except by day for a land-mark for travellers, that lost their way upon Shooter's Hill; and it is pity that some invention is not found out to make a lanthorn of that flaming ball at top; for poor people cannot go to the price of Hemmings's new lights; and coals, they say, will be very dear this winter.

Aurel. I heard, Sir, that a gentleman the other day, asking his friend, what that straight-bodied thing might cost building; was told, about eighteen-thousand pounds. "Did it so? (says the other;) I know a gentleman of my acquaintance has lent the City just such a sum; I think they had best make a mortgage of it to him for security."

Franc. And very good security too. Well, let the Monument stand till a country-fellow wants two-pence to see it, I care not: and what a pretty account that ditch you speak of comes to, after so many thousand pounds expended in the building it; when the vaults and cellarage belonging to it, are now offered to be rented for one-hundred pounds *per annum?* A very pretty interest for so large a principal. Nay, I am told, that a certain

[1] [The Monument.] [2] [Fleet-Ditch.] [3] [The day on which the fire of London began, in 1666.]

conduit, near Foster-lane, has already gotten a rheumatism, for want of a night-cap. There have been some fine treats at Guildhall, and supposing there wanted a little sum to buy shrimps and oysters for a dish of fish, I hope it was no such great crime for the caterer to put his hand into the orphans' bag to purchase them.

Aurel. But, methinks, it would have been civil, to have invited us to eat part of the fish, when our money paid for the sauce.

Franc. No, no; there are meaner provisions suitable to our condition. Lord! Madam, I smile to think how we laugh till our hearts ake, and divert ourselves with our very misfortunes: as prosperity never exalted our thoughts, neither does adversity depress them. It is a practice of philosophy, which few attain to; and the little proficiency, I have made in it, is wholly owing to your generous and sprightly conversation.

Aurel. Sir, I would return your compliment, but at present I am out of stock.——For my part, I know no divine nor human law forbids innocent raillery: if the worst come to the worst, it is but reasonable, losers should have leave to speak, though it is dear jesting at the rate of eight-thousand pounds. But, to be serious; is it not deplorable, that a gentleman, well born and educated, should for want of that money of his, which lies in the chamber of London; be exposed to all the indignities of fortune, accept of some mean office, to keep him from starving; list himself a common centinel, to stave off his importunate creditors; or, perhaps, take the highway, and make his life as desperate as his fortune. Whereas, if he enjoyed what was justly his own, he might make no contemptible figure in the world, where he now lies wind-bound for want of money.

Franc. To shew you the reverse of the medal. Is it not pity that a young gentlewoman (whom nature and education have made a finished piece), for want of those bags which lie sleeping in the Chamber, betake herself to some mean employ; or at best to wait upon some finical lady, who (excepting her fortune) is not worthy to be named with her for accomplishments; or, at last, it may be she is married to some inferior fellow; or (if I durst be familiar with female virtue) perhaps, by reason of her poverty, exposed to the solicitations of unlawful love, from which attempts the possession of her fortune would secure her.

Aurel. I have wanted neither lawful nor unlawful offers: for the first, I am resolved never to disgrace my father's ashes by a sorry marriage; and from the latter, Heaven will, I hope, defend me.

Franc. As despicable as my fortune may be at present, I am resolved not to be despicable in my own thoughts. And I will for once, Madam, make you so far my confessor, as to assure you, I loved a mistress, fair, rich, and virtuous; nor was I (pardon my vanity) treated with contempt; and we had certainly married, had not fortune, on my side, forbid the banns.

Aurel. But is there no hopes of recovering our fortunes?

Franc. Much such hopes as a dying patient has, when he sees his physician shake his head; but, however, we do not absolutely despair.

Aurel. I heard, the City were about selling some of their lands, in order to raise a fund for the payment of their debts; did that come to any thing?

Franc. Sell their lands! they would as soon sell their charter. No, Madam, all the hopes we have is from the present parliament.

Aurel. Pray, heaven! they prove not as tedious in their votes, as the last sessions.

Franc. The greater concerns of the nation (as the wars with France and Ireland) took up so much of their time, that smaller matters were put by; all private interest being to veil to the public good: but my prophetic hopes tell me, that the present parliament will have the matter under consideration, and I doubt not, but those worthy members of the city will be powerful solicitors in our almost sinking cause.

Aurel. Then, I think, my stay here needless; for the judges' pictures are able to afford me as much consolation as I am to expect from any here. I wait with some impatience the motions of the parliament; but must, Sir, (after my humble thanks to you for your extraordinary company,) be so rude as to leave you.

Franc. Pray, Madam, let me wait on you home.

Aurel. Sir, I am not often attended; but I should be uncivil to deny my hand to a person of such engaging civility.

Franc. Madam, your servant. You do me too much honour.

A short Historical Collection, touching the Succession of the Crown.

[Folio, containing Two Pages.]

WHETHER the history of the Succession of the Crown will allow so good and clear an hereditary right, *jure humano*, the reader will best judge, by the short historical collection, touching the Succession, hereto subjoined.

In the Heptarchy, there was no fixed hereditary right; one king tripping up the heels of another, as he had power, till one got all.

After no fixed hereditary right, for Athelstan, the great king, was a bastard, and so were several others; who, by their courage and policy, got the crown; so that a law was made, under the Saxon monarchy, *De Ordinatione Regum*, that directed the election of kings, prohibiting bastards to be elected.

Edward the Confessor was not king *jure hæreditario.*

William the First, called the Conqueror, had no right but from the people's election.

William Rufus was elected against the right of his elder brother.

Henry the First came in by the same way.

King Stephen was elected *à clero et populo*, and confirmed by the pope.

Henry the Second came in by consent; yet he had no hereditary right, for his mother was living.

Richard the First was charged before God and man, by the archbishop, upon his coronation, that he should not presume to take the crown, unless he resolved faithfully to observe the laws.

King John, his brother, because his elder brother's son was a foreigner, was elected *à clero et populo*, and being divorced from his wife, by his new queen had Henry the Third.

Henry the Third was confirmed and settled in the kingdom, by the general election of the people; and, in his life-time, the nation was sworn to the succession of Edward the First, before he went to the Holy-land.

Edward the First, being out of England, by the consent of lords and commons, was declared king.

Edward the Second, being misled, and relying too much upon his favourites, was deposed, and his son was declared king in his life-time.

Richard the Second, for his evil government, had the fate of the second Edward.

Henry the Fourth came in by election of the people, to whom succeeded Henry the Fifth, and Henry the Sixth; in whose time, Richard Duke of York claimed the crown, and an act of parliament was made, 'That Henry the Sixth should enjoy the crown for 'his life, and the said Duke after him:' after which, King Henry raised an army, by assistance of the Queen and Prince, and, at Wakefield, in battle kills the Duke; for which, in parliament, 1 Edw. IV. they were all by act of parliament attainted of treason: and one principal reason thereof was, for that the Duke being declared heir to the crown after Henry, by act of parliament; they had killed him.

Edward the Fourth enters the stage, and leaves Edward the Fifth to succeed; to whom succeeds Richard the Third, confirmed king by act of parliament, upon two reasons: first, That, by reason of a pre-contract of Edward the Fourth, Edward the Fifth, his eldest son, and all his other children, were bastards: secondly, For that the son of the Duke of Clarence, second brother to Edward the Fourth, had no right; because the Duke was attainted of treason, by a parliament of Edward the Fourth.

Henry the Seventh comes in, but had no title: first, Because Edward the Fourth's daughter was then living: secondly, His own mother, the Countess of Richmond, was then living.

After him Henry the Eighth wore the crown, who could have no title by the father. In his time, the succession of the crown was limited three several times, and the whole nation sworn to the observance.

Sir Thomas Moore declared, that the Parliament had a power to bind the succession, and would subscribe thereto.

Edward the Sixth succeeded; but his mother was married to King Henry, while Catharine of Spain, his wife, was living.

Queen Mary was declared a bastard, and, by virtue of an act of parliament of Henry the Eighth, she succeeded; which act being repealed in the first of her reign, and the crown being limited otherwise by parliament, all the limitations of the crown in Henry the Eighth's reign were avoided: so that

Queen Elizabeth (who was declared a bastard, by act of parliament, in Henry the Eighth's time; and limited to succeed, in another act in his time; and that act repealed by Queen Mary,) became queen in the force of her own act of parliament, which declared her lawful queen.

The crown was entailed in Richard the Second's time; again, in the time of Henry the Fourth; again, in the time of Henry the Sixth; again, in the time of Edward the Fourth; again, in the time of Richard the Third; again, in the time of Henry the Seventh; thrice in the time of Henry the Eighth.

And, upon the marriage of Queen Mary to Philip of Spain, both the crowns of England and Spain were entailed; whereby it was provided, that, of the several children to be begotten upon the Queen, one was to have the crown of England, another Spain, another the Low-countries: the articles of marriage, to this purpose, were confirmed by act of parliament, and the Pope's bull.

So that it was agreed, by the states of both kingdoms, and the Low-countries, (and, therefore, probably, the universal opinion of the great men of that age,) That kings and sovereign princes, with the consent of their states, had a power to alter and bind the succession of the crown.

A true Relation, from Germany, of a Protestant Shepherd's Killing a counterfeit Devil, that would have perverted him to Popery; July the Twenty-ninth, N. S. 1676. Being a Contrivance of two Monks, that dressed themselves, one in the Likeness of an Angel, the other of a Devil; and so, in the Night, came to this poor Shepherd, to affright and seduce him. With an Account of what passed between them; how the Shepherd killed him that acted the Devil, and buried him; and the Trouble he has been like to come into since, for the same.

'They compass Sea and Land to make one Proselyte;' &c.

Licensed, August the Seventh, 1676. Roger L'Estrange.

London, printed for D. M. 1676.

[Quarto, containing Eight Pages.]

The Lutheran Shepherd killing the Devil, &c.

THAT there have been feigned miracles set on foot, and pious frauds not only tolerated, but justified, by divers religious pretenders; can be unknown to, or doubted of by none, but such as are utterly unacquainted with history. What this sheet is to set forth, comes attested from good hands, and has already been published in print in Holland, August 7, N. S. 1676. Yet shall we not oblige the faith of any to receive it farther than it appears upon enquiry to be confirmed, and not unsuitable to other plots and intrigues contrived not unfrequently, to amuse and seduce the ignorant.

The account is dated from Ummendorf, July 29, N. S. 1676, and is thus:—In the Bishoprick of Halberstadt, near Iseburgh, there lives a poor Shepherd bred up in the Protestant religion, but of that kind, which, from Martin Luther, are called Lutherans; differing in many points from the Romish church, and holding consubstantiation, &c. Not far from the plains where he kept his sheep, was situated a monastery or convent of monks, who had frequently laboured with all the arguments they could use, to withdraw this Shepherd from his profession, and bring him over to the Romish religion. Certainly, there needs no mighty learning, or extraordinary parts, to contemn such a motion; and triumph over a cause, so continually baffled whenever it dares venture a trial in the presence of Scripture or reason. How our Shepherd was furnished with logick, I cannot say; but it appears he wanted not a settled resolution, which remained proof against all their attempts. Wherefore, finding neither persuasions nor flatteries would prevail, they proceeded to threatenings; telling him that if he persisted in heresy after so many ghostly admonitions, he should immediately be plagued with the devil, who should carry him away quick into hell. But he, not regarding such their ridiculous menaces, persevered still in his religion. Wherefore, perceiving themselves unable to vanquish him by open force, they applied themselves to stratagem. For carrying on of which, two monks dressed up themselves in strange and wonderful shapes; the one very gay and beautiful, with a brave pair of wings, and other accoutrements, fit to represent him as a good angel; the other in a horrid and frightful habit, personating the devil. And being thus prepared, they came one night

to the Shepherd, as he was sleeping in the fields in his karr (a small hut going upon wheels), commonly used by men of his profession. The counterfeit angel first approached him, and with fair words and insinuations, tempted him to embrace the Romish religion. But the good Shepherd (possibly remembering that text, 'If an angel from heaven should 'teach you any other doctrine, than what you have received, let him be accursed,') would in no wise hearken unto him, so as to turn to popery. Whereupon, the seeming angel told him, if he would not obey his message, he must forthwith deliver him over to the devil; and finding his threatenings make no impression, did retreat a little: and then presently came up his confederate, representing the devil's own proper person, with a dreadful noise and muttering, which put the Shepherd into no small perplexity; for now he knew not what to think of it. But just as the mock-devil made an offer to seize on him, the Shepherd's dog, (not being afraid, when he saw his master in danger,) fell upon the feigned fiend; which the Shepherd perceiving, and that the devil could not keep off the dog, he began to take courage, and leaped out of his car, with his crook in his hand, and therewith knocked down the supposed devil dead upon the place; which his confederate angel seeing, went away: and as soon as day-light appeared, the Shepherd perceived that the devil he had slain, was only one of the monks of the neighbouring cloister; however, thought it his safest way to bury him in his devil's dress as he was, that no more words might be made of it.

But the monks, next day, came to him, to demand their brother, who at first would acknowledge nothing of it; whereupon, they complained to the magistrate, where being examined, he declared, "That as for the monk, he could give no account of him; but true it is, that the other night he did indeed kill the devil, and buried him in such a place, relating the occasion and whole story as you have heard." He was much threatened, it may be conceived, with punishment for this fact: but probably the innocency of the man, the likelihood of the thing, and the strange habit the monk's body was found in, might very much contribute to the clearing of him; but still he is much discoursed of for this thing.

That these and the like stratagems are no new devices amongst these people, I shall add a notable story affirmed by a credible author; I mean Lavaterus, in his book '*De Spectris*,' cap. 8. p. 35. and was discovered at Orleans, *anno* 1534.

The Pretor, (that is, the chief judge of Orleans,) his wife dying, requested of her husband, she might be buried in the church belonging to the Franciscan friars, which was done; and the Franciscans presented by the Pretor with six pistoles; a bribe far beneath their avarice: but they resolved to have a better gratuity from a fall of wood of the Pretor's; which he denying them, it so heated the Franciscans, that they, in revenge, plotted to noise it abroad, 'that his lady was damned eternally.' To carry on this villainy undiscerned, they suborn a young man to act her part so notoriously, that by hideous noises at time of public devotions, he should cause a disturbance, and be a prologue to the tragedy. A doctor of that order and an exorcist, whose plot this was, so designed the scene, that no answer was to be made by the young man if any question were asked of him, but only by signs, which the exorcist only understood, who pre-appointed them, and so could report to the auditory. When this young fellow had amused the people with dismal and un-understood notes, the exorcist boldly asked him, "Whether he were a spirit or not? If a spirit, whose spirit?" relating the names of all such as had lately been buried there. And when he named the Pretor's wife, the young man gave signs, that he was the spirit of that lady. Then the exorcist demanded, "If she were damned or no; and for what offence? Whether for covetousness, or lust, or pride, or want of practical charity; or for the upstart heresy of Lutheranism? And what he meant by those clamours and unquietness? Whether the body, there buried, should be digged up, and carried elsewhere, or not?" To all which he by signs answered affirmatively; which the exorcist and his brethren, the Franciscans, prayed the congregation there present, to take notice of. Yet upon the Pretor's complaint to the French king, and parliament of Paris, and commission issued forth to report the truth hereof; the wickedness of this contrivance came to light, and the parties actors in it were severely sentenced, according to their deserts.

The same author, cap. 7. p. 27. relates a story of the Dominicans, as vile as this, acted at Berne, in Switzerland; that upon a controversy between them and the Franciscans, one affirming, and the other as stoutly denying, they (to evidence the truth of their opinion by miracle) procured their sub-prior, a magician, to raise a spirit, which asserted their doctrine; threatening purgatory, nay hell itself to all that opposed it: and not only so, but likewise destruction and overthrow of the city, unless they cast out the Franciscans thence as hereticks unfit to live. Much more of the like trumpery there was discovered, to the shame of the contrivers.

We might mention the boy of Bilson, the famous cheat in Staffordshire, much of kin to this; discovered by the grave Bishop of Durham; and all to make way for the popish doctrine of miracles. But let this suffice for the present for a caution to the credulous.

———*Si vult populus decipi, decipiatur.*

The Lord-Chancellor's Discovery and Confession; made in the Time of his Sickness in the Tower. With Allowance.

London, printed for R. Lee, without Bishopsgate, 1689.

[Folio, containing Two Pages.]

THE dreadful apprehension of a future being, to a soul so ill-prepared, and the terrors of conscience under the visitation of Heaven, are of that sad weight, that no thought can imagine, but his that groans under it. When I turn my eyes inward, I can look upon myself, as no other than the unhappiest of men, loaded with infamy, misery, imprisonment, and almost despair; but, above all, with the universal hatred of a kingdom: so universal, that I stand the very centre of shame, whilst every tongue that reviles, each eye that loaths, and every finger that points, seems to terminate in miserable me. Such is my hard fate, and such my serious reflections, that I believe, had my faults been tenfold greater than they are, it was impossible for me to disoblige mankind, in all my exalted glory, but half so much, as I have pleased them in my fall. So naturally lovely, in the English eyes, does the distress and ruin of tottering greatness look, where they seem but just.

But all these accumulated calamities are but my lightest burthen; for, alas! how justly, and more sadly mad, I cry out with falling Wolsey, "Had I served my God with half that zeal I served my king, He would not have left me thus wretched." Wretched indeed! when my weakness of body calls me to consider, how near I may stand to that Tribunal, before which the proudest of earthly judges, potentates, and princes tremble. The summons from that terrible Judge is such an alarm, that what would I do, if possible, to soften that Almighty Justice, that stands armed against me? Could the confession of my crimes make the least part of their atonement; how happy should I think myself in unbosoming my whole soul, even to my secretest and minutest thoughts? The sense of which makes me borrow from my pains these few favourable, though distracted minutes; to use that candour and openness, before I leave the world, that may reconcile it, if possible, (amongst all its odium and aversion,) to, at least, one charitable thought of me.

But, alas! before I come to the sad narrative of those numerous ills I have committed; before I launch down into that deep torrent, my aking heart and sad remembrance lead

me up to the fatal fountain-head, from whence they took their rise; and there, to my confusion, I am forced to acknowledge, my crimes are scarce so black, as the polluted source they sprung from. For, whereas ambition, interest, honours, those smiling court-beams, the common *ignes fatui*, are those gaudier snares, that mislead the wandering steps of other offending statesmen; I cannot but shamefully confess, that a viler and sootier coal, rancour and malice, warped me crooked.

The two famous occasions of my rising spleen, and bitterness of spirit, proceeded from the Parliament's bringing me upon my knees for my abhorring of petitions; and next, the City of London's turning me out of my recordership.

The anger, the rage, the spite I conceived at this double disgrace and affront, was the first accursed gall that poisoned me: a resentment that struck me so deep, and so cankered every faculty of my soul, that what is it I did not study, contrive, and plot, to be revenged? I profess, in the agony of my thought, I was an hundred times not only thinking, but resolving, (if no other means,) to turn wizard, to wreak my malice upon my enemies; had my small belief (Heaven forgive me!) of either a God or a devil, persuaded me there was any such creature as a witch, or such an art as sorcery.

As for that damned town of London; not Catiline against old Rome, was half so sworn a foe, as I, against that insolent proud city. Really and sincerely, I could willingly and heartily, out of my own pocket, (though I sold my last rag in the world,) have been myself at the charge of a new Monument; so I had had but the pleasure of a second same occasion of building it. Nay, verily, I envied the fate of the old Erostratus, and that more modern worthy, Hubart; and could have wished my own name, though at the price of his destiny, engraven in the very room of that wisely rased-out inscription, on so glorious occasion.

It was then, alas! edged and enraged with a mortal hate, and an avowed vengeance against that accursed and detested city, and more detested parliaments, with two such meritorious qualifications. I applied myself to the once great Coleman's greater master; at that time an early, and indeed almost governing pilot at the helm; both infallible recommendations to entitle me to the highest hopes of the most exalted honours. In short, I entered, listed, and swore myself engineer-general under that leading hero's banners; and how hugged, and how embraced, my succeeding almost deluge of good fortune, glories, and preferments, will sufficiently testify.

And, though the world has sometimes wondered at so sudden a rise, as in little more than seven years, to mount from a Finsbury pettyfogger, to a Lord High-Chancellor of England; from bawling at a hedge-court-bar for a five-shillings fee, to sit equity-driver, with ten-thousand pounds *per annum;* besides presents and bribes unaccountable, honestly gotten. But, alas! to rectify the mistakes of mankind, and suppress their astonishment at so unprecedented an advance, I must assure them, that as no history affords a parallel of such a crown-favourite as myself; so no age ever yielded such a true crown-grudge neither, to deserve those favours. Alas! my darling fortune moved not half so rapid, as my dearer counsels drove; and all the caresses of my glory were thought but the poorest meed and reward of those services that gained them.

But, to recite my fatal particulars: Upon my first entrance (as I was saying) of engineer-general, our first great attack was against the charter of London; and, to the honour of my premier effort, what by our terrible dead-doing *Quo-warranto*, my own invented battering-ram, planted against them at Westminster, and the Tower-hill guns removed, and mounted against them on the Tower-battlements; we soon reduced that imperious town to almost as entire a subjection and vassalage, as our own hearts, and our Roman friends, could wish.

Next, for those prerogative-crampers, those checkmates of crowns, called Parliaments; there our triumph was absolute: we prorogued or dissolved, and danced them from pillar to post, from Westminster to Oxford, &c. at pleasure; and (Heaven knows) with timely, prudent, and wise care, to hush their too impudently inquisitive curiosity into our Cole-

man's packets; our Le Chaise and Lewis intrigues, and the rest of our popish plots, and cabals; and all (God knows) little enough to keep our cloven-foot undiscovered.

Flushed with such prosperous success, even in my infant mischiefs; what was it that I either staggered or shrunk at? My temptations so allured me, my rewards so dazzled me, and my felicity so hardened me; that moderation, reluctance, or humanity, were only so many manacles and shackles, that my impatient soul threw off with disdain.

Who, alas! but I, with so much unrelenting and pitiless barbarity, triumphed in the blood of those poor miserable Western wretches[1]; and sanguine my very ermines in their gore, till even the air, with the noisomeness of their carcasses, stunk almost as much (if possible) as the very name of Jefferies their butcher? Yes; and I acted by the commissioning vengeance that sent me thither, to inform the heretick-enemies of Rome, how much their blood tickles when it streams; and to let them know by the sample of my hand, how keen is a popish edge-tool.

Was it not I too, that with so much cunning and artifice, and by so many rhetorical high-treason flourishes, wheedled poor Cornish to a gibbet, and Russel to a scaffold? Yes; and it was a master-piece! To give the trembling world a timely warning what Protestant zeal must trust to, when Popish malice is pleased to be angry; and to convince how easily can a Jesuitical engine wire-draw guilt, where Popish rancour is resolved to destroy.

Who dissolved all the charters, and new-garbelled all the corporations, but Jefferies? And why; but to prepare them to understand that (what with our *Quo-warrantos*, and the rest of our modelling tools) we were resolved, at last, to have parliaments *à la mode de Paree*, and their dragoon-reformers too, soon after.

Who invented that ensnaring command to the Bishops, of reading the declaration, and put their refusal to the stretch of high misdemeanour, if not high-treason, but the Chancellor? And why, think you, but to satisfy them what Romish eye-sores are the Protestant Lawn-sleeves; and that they shall want neither justles nor stumbling-blocks to trip their heels up, and their heads off too, when they stand in our way?

Who but the great Jefferies (in defiance of the very fundamentals of human society, the original laws of nature, and to the face of *Magna Charta* itself) got the Bishop of London[2] silenced and suspended; without so much as that universal and common right, sacred even amongst heathens and infidels; *viz.* the privilege of making either plea or defence; condemned, untried and unheard? Yes, I did it; to instruct the world what feeble cobweb-lawn are the bonds of justice, law, liberty, common right, &c. in the hands of an imperial popish Samson Agonistes?

Was it not I too, by my ecclesiastic, high-commission supremacy, (not only against the statutes and customs of the University, but the positive laws of the land,) turned Maudlin-college into a seminary of Jesuits; and in spite of that bulwark of the Church of England, the Act of Uniformity, converted a collegiate chapel into a mass-house? And by the same justice, might not every collegiate, cathedral, and parochial church have had the same conversion? And both the fountains of religion and learning, the mother-universities, been deprived of all her Protestant sons, and re-peopled with the whole race of St. Omer, and Salamanca?

Who did all this? The Chancellor! Yes; and he saved the Church of England, and

[1] [The adherents of Monmouth.]

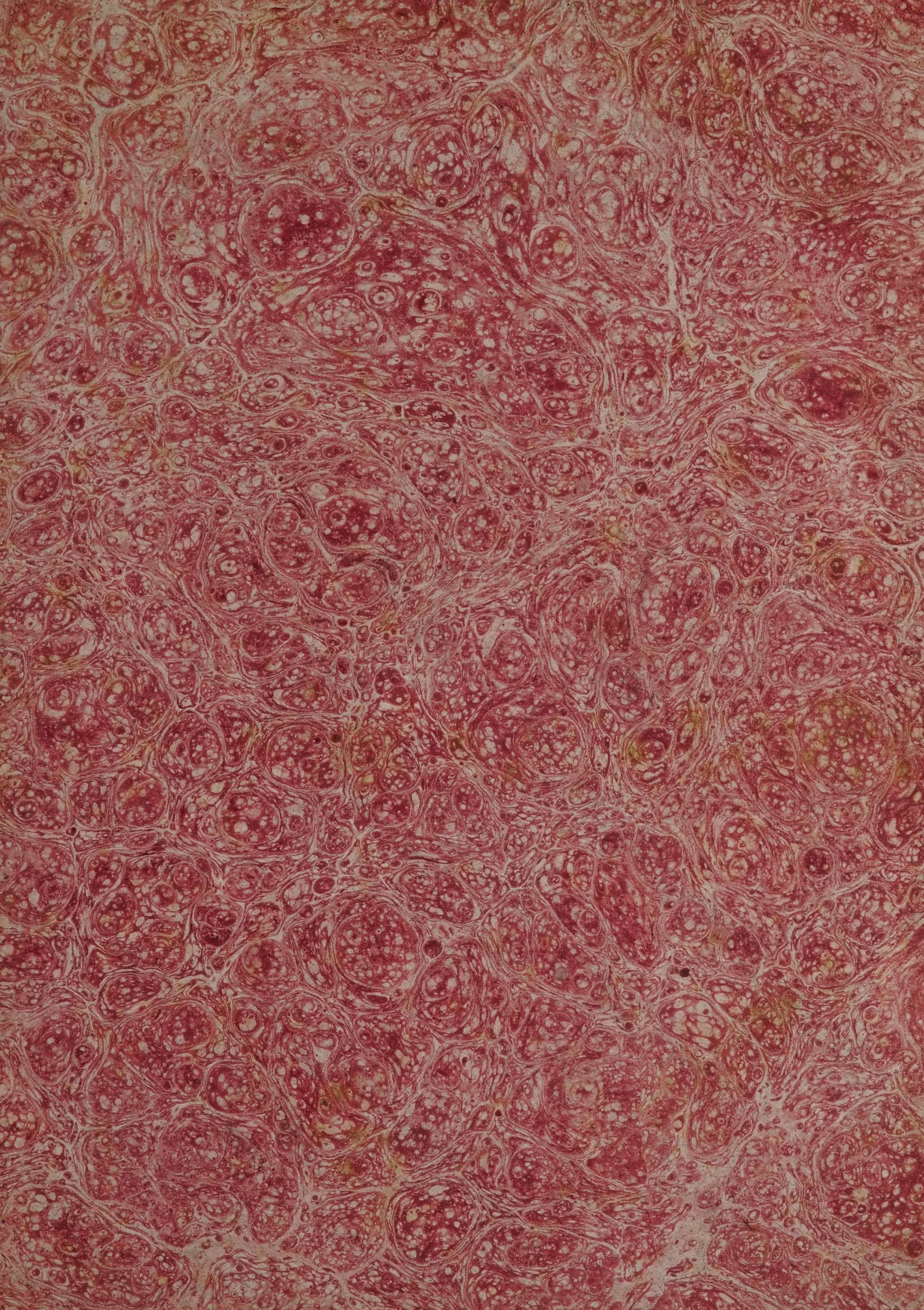
[2] [Compton, bishop of London, brother to the then Earl of Northampton, distinguished himself in the House of Peers by a severe rebuff to the insolence of Jefferies. Soon after, the Bishop was cited before the illegal court called the Ecclesiastical Commission, to answer for having refused to obey the King's command, by suspending Sharpe, a clergyman, who had preached against Popery. He requested a copy of their commission; but Jefferies, with his usual violence, told him, "he might have it for a penny in any coffee-house; and he might believe, in the mean while, that they were not such fools as to sit there without an effectual one." After some delay, he was suspended from his function, until the news of the Prince of Orange's intended expedition, when his suspension was removed. Scott's Dryden, ix. 302.]

the whole English liberty, by it. The nation was lulled into so profound a sleep, that they wanted such thunder-claps, and such a Boanerges, to awaken them from their lethargy.

With these serious reflections, that these rapid and violent motions of the Romish cause, are, and have been the destruction of it; who has been the Protestants' champion; but I? Who has pulled off the vizor from the scarlet whore, and exposed the painted Babylon prostitute; but I? And if I drove like Jehu, it was only to the confusion of a Jezabel. Who called in the deliverer of our church and laws, that second Hannibal, that mighty Nassau; but Jefferies? Who has re-mounted the sinking glory of our temples, till their pinacles shall kiss heaven; but Jefferies? Who has united two such formidable Protestant neighbours with that eternal link of interest, as shall render us once more the arbiters of Europe, and terror of the world; who, but Jefferies? And Jefferies's conduct, has joined those naval forces, those floating walls, that shall one day mew up that French antichristian monster, till in despite and despair, he bursts his soul out at his fistula!

In fine, who has cut off the very entail of popery and slavery from three happy kingdoms; but Jefferies? Three kingdoms did I say? Yes, possibly has laid that foundation to the Protestant cause, as perhaps shall one day make her over-top the seven proud hills, and strike her dagger into the very gates of Rome.

With this confession of my crimes, (which under the afflicting hand of Heaven, I think myself obliged to give the world,) I beseech my enemies themselves so to represent my case, as that at least, 'out of the devourer may come forth meat; and out of the strong, 'sweetness:' and by balancing the services of my actions against the guilt of them, give me some small dawn of hope, that the approaching parliament, my judges, my accusers themselves, may be softened into some commiseration, and forgiveness. I assure them, (if Heaven spare me life to ask it,) they shall want neither confession, discovery, nor contrition, to obtain their absolution. And black as I am, I beg, even my most hard-hearted adversaries, to consider, that still I am not blacker than Judas. And, alas! there was some merit even in Judas; for there wanted his betraying of his God, for the saving of the world.

THE END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

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